

**DARK TOURISM AS A MANAGEMENT TOOL FOR DARK AND  
DISSONANT HERITAGE:  
POLITICAL CHANGE AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION IN SOUTH AFRICA  
AND RUSSIA**

by

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## ABSTRACT

When the global protests of Black Lives Matter commenced, it showed that the future of what this dissertation terms ‘extreme dissonant heritage’ sites is uncertain and are thus often questionable items on tour itineraries. In comparison, dark heritage sites are shown as more stable long-term sites for tour itineraries. The research explores possible steps to effectively curate extreme dissonant heritage sites to be utilised as tourist products. The thesis considers if the law protects dissonant heritage and not only dark heritage sites. Furthermore, it considers the history of legislation with changes of regimes in South Africa and Russia and its impact on monuments. The challenge is to manage public perception, and to recognise the trade-off that often occurs between public opinion and tourism, which informs decisions to keep or remove dissonant monuments. The thesis uses a comparative approach, exploring these issues in Russia and South Africa. The dissertation commences with a brief history of both countries from the late 1800s, covering heritage legislation and the significance of their global location. The research then turns to a discussion of dark and dissonant heritage sites under the respective regimes. The thesis further considers the central role of public perception of dark and dissonant heritage sites discussing representative monuments and sites from both countries for historical context. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the motives associated with, and steps necessary for, using dark tourism as a management tool for endangered extreme dissonant monuments and recommendations for the challenges dissonant and dark heritage sites face.

<b>CONTENTS</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF ACRONYMS</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: Historical Context: North-South Divide and Heritage Legislation .....</b>	<b>16</b>
1.1 Tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation... ..	16
1.2 The Old and New South Africa .....	17
1.3 The North-South divide .....	19
1.3.1 Russia in the Global North (Global East)... ..	20
1.3.2 South Africa in the Global South.....	23
1.4 Legislation on Heritage Sites .....	26
1.4.1 Global heritage legislation... ..	26
1.4.2 Russia.....	27
1.4.3 South Africa .....	29
1.5 Comparison... ..	31
1.6 Conclusion... ..	32
<b>CHAPTER 2: Dark Tourism and Dissonant Heritage.....</b>	<b>34</b>
2.1 Dark Tourism.....	34
2.2 Dark Heritage Sites .....	38
2.3 Dissonant Heritage.....	51
2.3.1 Honour... ..	55
2.3.2 Commemoration... ..	56
2.3.3 Contested... ..	57
2.3.4 Dissonant .....	59

2.4 Dissonant Heritage Sites .....	62
2.5 Conclusion... ..	66
<b>CHAPTER 3: Public Perception in Dark and Dissonant Heritage Differentiation.....</b>	<b>68</b>
3.1 A Dark and Dissonant Heritage Scale .....	69
3.2 Dark versus Dissonant Heritage.....	73
3.3 Psychological Oppression... ..	79
3.4 Conclusion... ..	82
<b>CHAPTER 4: Dark Tourism as a Management Tool .....</b>	<b>84</b>
4.1 Interpretation.....	86
4.2 Preservation .....	89
4.3 Nation Building.....	93
4.4 Potential Economic Benefits .....	97
4.5 Conclusion... ..	99
<b>Conclusion and Recommendations .....</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>107</b>

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>ANCYL</b>	African National Congress Youth League
<b>BCM</b>	Black Consciousness Movement
<b>BLM</b>	Black Lives Matter
<b>DA</b>	Democratic Alliance
<b>DEIC</b>	Dutch East India Company
<b>EFF</b>	Economic Freedom Fighters
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>ICOM</b>	International Council of Museums
<b>ICOMOS</b>	International Council on Monuments and Sites
<b>KGB</b>	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
<b>NHC</b>	National Heritage Council
<b>NKVD</b>	Narodny Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del
<b>NP</b>	National Party
<b>PAC</b>	Pan Africanist Congress
<b>RSFSR</b>	Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic
<b>SAAF</b>	South African Air Force
<b>SACP</b>	South African Communist Party
<b>SAHRA</b>	South African Heritage Resource Agency
<b>SANNC</b>	South African Native National Congress
<b>SANS</b>	South African National Society
<b>SAP</b>	South African Party
<b>SASM</b>	South African Students Movement
<b>SATOUR</b>	South African Tourism
<b>SAVF</b>	South African Women's Federation
<b>UCT</b>	University of Cape Town
<b>UNESCO</b>	United National Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
Figure 01. Bloody Sunday Memorial in St Petersburg	41
Figure 02. The Irene Concentration camp cemetery	43
Figure 03. Abandoned Dneprovsky Gulag Camp	48
Figure 04. Hector Pieterse Memorial	50
Figure 05. Dissonant Heritage Cycle	54
Figure 06. Oliver Reginald Kaizana Tambo Statue	56
Figure 07. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger statue	57
Figure 08. Lenin and Stalin the first two USSR leaders	58
Figure 09. Removal of Cecil John Rhodes statue in UCT premises	60
Figure 10. Soviet monuments in the Fallen Monument Park	60
Figure 11. Heritage Monuments Scale	70
Figure 12. Cleaning red paint on Paul Kruger statue	91

## INTRODUCTION

Every monument and statue is unique and has its own story. The heritage represented by these monuments will not always accommodate everyone in their societies. This much is evident with the recent trends in the United States and the United Kingdom, of destroying or removing statues, actions associated mainly with the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, well known on social media by the hashtag ‘#BlackLivesMatter’. Since this trend commenced, there have been attacks on several statues. For example, the statue of Edward Colston was removed and replaced with a sculpture of BLM protester Jen Reid in Bristol, in the United Kingdom (UK).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in Cape Town, the statues of Cecil John Rhodes were defaced. Most of these statues are erected in the urban environment and attract public attention and are seen as oppressing the public. The argument by Sabine Marshall that “Memorials are never erected for the sake of the dead, who demand our respect. Rather, they are set up by the living for the sake of the living” partly inspired this research.<sup>2</sup> The same memorials meant for the dead carry political and social meanings and roles in their societies.

The focus of this dissertation is on the potential of dark tourism to manage dark and dissonant heritage. Dark tourism is tourism involving travel to sites historically associated with death, tragedy and suffering.<sup>3</sup> Dissonant heritage is the heritage that causes some pain, or that recalls past events not easily reconciled with visitors’ values and everyday experience. This research explores the political regime changes in South Africa and Russia respectively and their influence on heritage sites. In both nations, changing political regimes have resulted in several sites erected to commemorate dark events, which occurred under the previous regimes, monuments to honour the previous regime, and the difficulty of what to do with dissonant heritage monuments.

This dissertation considers the historical context of both nations: from 1891 in Russia and post-1910 Union South Africa until the present. These periods consider the three distinct regimes in both countries: the post-1910 segregation, apartheid and democratic governments

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1 BBC News Service. 2020. Jen Reid: Bristol Black Lives Matter statue removed. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-bristol-53427014>. Access: July 2020.

<sup>2</sup> S. Marschall, “Pointing to the dead: victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa,” *South African Historical Journal*, 60 (2008), pp. 103-123.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lennon, & M. Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attractions of Death and Disaster* (Cengage Learning EMEA, London, 2000).

in South Africa and the Tsarist Monarchy, Socialist State and Russian Federation in Russia, respectively. Furthermore, the dissertation examines the significance of their geographical positions, Russia being in the Global-North (or more specifically, Global East)<sup>4</sup> and South Africa in the Global South. For both countries, monuments erected in honour of previous regimes are perceived differently by distinct communities of citizens, resulting in a challenge to preserve these monuments. Dissonant monuments have great potential to be tourist products in the dark tourism niche, especially those attracted to dark sites since most dissonant monuments hold dark history.

The comparison is of two countries that have different historical contexts. Russia was a state which colonized eastern Europe, while the western European states Holland and Britain occupied South Africa. For both countries, statues and monuments played a significant role in marking their narratives of history. Though both nations are vastly different, they have contemporary debates around the dismantling of statues and monuments. South Africa is now starting to dismantle monuments similar to what happened in Russia in previous decades. On the other hand, Russia has experienced a change of heart and is beginning to *re-erect* historical monuments despite the dark history associated with them. The importance of this study is to highlight and make countries such as South Africa aware of the importance of preserving their tangible heritage despite the history it is associated with them.

Moreover, the research investigates the public perception of these heritage sites. It compares sites erected to commemorate so-called dark events and those erected to honour individuals who then fell out of favour due to regime change, to evaluate if one is crucial compared to the other regarding preservation. The research will further adopt a global perspective on this topic before reaching Russia and South Africa. This comparison is essential because it tells the dark history of different regimes, and it is balanced to show the dark events every regime it led to and how they were commemorated. Moreover, the dissertation investigates the perception of citizens and tourists towards dissonant heritage in the respective countries.

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<sup>4</sup> M. Müller, "In Search of the Global East: Thinking between North and South," *Geopolitics*, 20 (3) (2020), pp. 734-755.

Finally, the research considers preserving these heritage sites erected for dark events and honouring of previous regimes. At least one heritage site is discussed as an example from all three political governments in both countries. It will investigate the legislation adopted globally for dark and dissonant heritage sites as well as in Russia and South Africa. The aim is to examine how the law protects dark and dissonant heritage. Finally, this thesis argues that dark tourism is an effective approach to managing dark and dissonant heritage, provided the differences between them are taken into account and recognising the limitations of preserving extreme dissonant heritage.

## **Methodology**

As discussed by John Tribe in his seminal article “The Indiscipline of Tourism”, this dissertation employs a multidisciplinary perspective as a theoretical base to reflect on the relationship between dissonant heritage studies and tourism studies.<sup>5</sup> Although often conflicting, the research has drawn from both fields to reflect on different aspects of the study. The research used qualitative methodology, namely a literature review and online and archive news analysis, to answer the question of the influence of political regime change on dissonant heritage sites and public perception. Some of the aspects considered in this dissertation are preservation, dissonant heritage, contested heritage, politics and dark tourism.

The literature review has comprised of scholarly papers that provide commentary on relevant topics, in this case, the influence of political regime changes on heritage sites and public perceptions. Most of these sources are secondary sources such as books, journal articles, and websites. Some primary sources are a form of media, and other documents on websites were consulted and discussed in more detail in the literature review below.<sup>6</sup> These older sources and the online news analysis provided information about the historical and recent trends of heritage sites in Russia and South Africa. The historical context used for this dissertation dates as far back as the late 1800s. As a result, it is the reason why the archives were able to provide evidence of these activities and tell a story about the respective regimes. Primary sources were used in this dissertation because they increase the sense of authenticity. Monuments, mainly statues erected to honour heroines/heroes or icons, give insight into the identity and dominant ideas of the regime that ruled. During the erection ceremony,

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<sup>5</sup> J. Tribe, “The Indiscipline of Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3) (1997), pp. 638-657.

<sup>6</sup> A.J. Onwuegbuzie, & F. Frels, *Seven Steps to a Comprehensive Literature Review: A Multimodal and Cultural Approach*. (SAGE, London, 2016).

photographs were taken, speeches were made, diaries were written, and newspapers were published, which provided valuable evidence of these events. These are all essential and viable sources.

Secondly, I consulted online news as part of the primary source research. According to Klaus and Lauf, online news is challenging to the public sphere for two reasons:<sup>7</sup> Firstly, online news can offer a great quantity and diversity of politically and socially relevant information. In addition, online news can be considered a fragmented discourse because of how data can be customized and controlled. Despite the challenges highlighted by Klaus and Lauf, the use of online news was relevant for this dissertation to gather information about public perceptions on the abolished dissonant monuments and ones that are under threat. The central news archives consulted for South Africa is 'News Bank'<sup>8</sup> and 'Rusarchives'<sup>9</sup> for Russia. Online news/newspapers articles were beneficial for this research as I traced the historical development on dismantling monuments in Russia and South Africa. The 'Rusarchives' are all written in Russian, and Russiandict<sup>10</sup> translated sources from these archives. These primary sources contributed to this research by looking at dominant perceptions when the monuments were erected and later taken down. By using online news articles as sources, I examined issues in different historical contexts concerning dissonant monuments. In a 2012 article, Travis emphasized the purpose of using online newspapers for social sciences study.<sup>11</sup> The media focus and examining how journalists construct the news articles when reporting these events are valuable interrogation points.

The electronic resource, SA Media archive, was vital for this research from the South African perspective.<sup>12</sup> SA Media is a news research and press clipping service covering many newspapers and has provided information from 1977 to the present. The news articles were significant when discussing public perceptions on colonial monuments since South Africa became a democratic country in 1994. Finally, the archive was helpful for this research regarding the dismantled, controversial and threatened monuments.

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<sup>7</sup>S. Klaus & E. Lauf, "Research Note: Online and Print Newspapers Their Impact on the Extent of the Perceived Public Agenda," *European Journal of Communication*, 20 (2005), pp. 11-23.

<sup>8</sup><https://www.newsbank.com/libraries/colleges-universities/solutions/resources-location/south-african-news-archive>.

<sup>9</sup><http://www.rusarchives.ru/novosti/novosti-rosarhiva>.

<sup>10</sup><https://www.russiandict.net>

<sup>11</sup>N. Travis, "Exploring the validity of electronic newspaper databases," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15(6) (2012), pp. 451-466.

<sup>12</sup><https://www.sabinet.co.za/information-services/news-research-services/sa-media>.

Therefore, the dissertation intends to investigate the impact of change of political regimes on monuments in two countries and propose how harnessed can dark tourism be as a management tool for this heritage. As a result, a comparative study is a central methodology of this study. The advantage of comparative study it brings a better understanding of the individual cases through comparison, especially with geographical or political differences. The benefits of comparative analysis are raising new lines of questioning and establishing similarity and variance. A comparative study helps design relevant research to tackle historical problems, particularly the preservation of historical monuments, as it draws on the collective intellectual resources of both communities.<sup>13</sup>

## Literature Review

The following scholars and sources were consulted for this research as they have written about dark tourism, heritage sites, dissonant heritage sites, political regime changes, and public perceptions.

### General Sources

Michael Bowman and Phaedra Pezzullo, in their journal article entitled: “What’s so ‘dark’ about ‘dark tourism’?” consider the meanings of dark tourism.<sup>14</sup> The source was appropriate for this research as it sketches a background and the existing knowledge about dark tourism or thanatourism as it is also known. Their question, “What’s so dark in dark tourism?” was employed in this study about dark commemoration sites discussed as dark heritage sites in this study. This source was helpful in this dissertation because it defines the darkness in dark tourism is and how dissonant heritage fits into thanatourism. Some of the aspects debated by Bowman and Pezzullo are touched on by other scholars such as J.J. Lennon and M. Foley, who consider the attractions of death in their book *Dark Tourism: The attraction of Death and Disaster* (2000).<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone, in their book *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*

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<sup>13</sup> J. De Bruijn, G. Van de Bunt, & M. Mills, “Comparative Research: Persistent Problems and Promising Solutions,” *International Sociological Association* 21(5) (2006), pp. 619-631.

<sup>14</sup> P.C. Pezzullo, & M.S. Bowman, “What’s so ‘Dark’ about ‘Dark Tourism’?: Death, Tours, and Performance,” *Tourism Studies*, 9(3) (2010), pp. 187-202.

<sup>15</sup> Lennon & Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attractions of Death and Disaster*.

(2009), consider the darker side of travelling, and this also forms part of the aspects of the dark qualities in dark tourism destinations.<sup>16</sup>

A book by Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Luisa Passerini & Sigrid Kaasik-Krogerus entitled *Dissonant heritage and memories in contemporary Europe* (2019) is one of the sources which discusses dissonant heritage and memories.<sup>17</sup> The book has contributed to this dissertation through discussions about the politics of heritage, reconciliation, contested heritage, painful heritage and the mediated re-enactments of conflicted pasts. The discussions consider the past dynamics from the perspective of tangible and intangible remnants and competing memories. The study further embraces the dissonant heritage and memories in Europe, which includes Russia, and as a result, is relevant as the comparison this study seeks to make.

### **Heritage in Tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation**

In an article, V. Tatlin, S. Dymshits-Tolstaia and John Bowlt discuss a memorandum issued by Lenin on 12 April 1918.<sup>18</sup> The memorandum ordered the “dismantling of monuments erected in honour of the Tsar and their servants, forming projects for monuments to the Russian Socialist Revolution.” They discuss how Lenin prioritised the purpose and objectives of the Russian socialist revolution and considered monuments erected to honour the Tsar irrelevant for the new regime. New monuments to be put up were required to commemorate the great days of the Russian socialist revolution since the fall of the Tsarist monarchy.

Matthew Rendle and Anna Lively’s article highlights how the heritage of the dark past should be handled or represented in the present time.<sup>19</sup> In this case, in Russia, it represents the events before and after the 1917 revolution. They highlight how both need representation in

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<sup>16</sup>R. Sharpley & P.R. Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (Channel View Publications, Bristol, 2009).

<sup>17</sup>T. Lähdesmäki, L. Passerini, S. Kaasik-Krogerus & I. van Huis, *Dissonant Heritage and Memories in Contemporary Europe* (Springer, Cham, 2019).

<sup>18</sup>V. Tatlin, S. Dymshits-Tolstaia & J. Bowlt, “Memorandum from the Visual Arts Section of the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment to the Soviet of People's Commissars: Project for the Organization of Competitions for Monuments to Distinguished Persons (1918),” pp. 70-74.

<sup>19</sup>M. Rendle & A. Lively, “Inspiring a ‘fourth revolution’? The modern revolutionary tradition and the problems surrounding the commemoration of 1917 in 2017 in Russia,” *Institute of Historical Research*, 90(247) (2017), pp. 230-249.

the country as the nation celebrated a centenary since these events. The article discusses the significant year of 2017 in Russia and its division in its support for the two previous regimes, the Tsarist monarchy and the Soviet Union. The author highlights the sensitivity of the year as one of the most controversial centenary commemorations in world history. President Vladimir Putin had to handle the commemoration of the 1917 centenary without being biased. The author states that the centenary had the potential to be politically dangerous. As a result, the national holiday, the 'Day of Accord and Reconciliation', was renamed. Still, Putin instead created a 'Day of National Unity' to accommodate both regimes and other events in Russia, referring to the period as a 'time of troubles'.

An internet article by E.V. Rybakova, "On the development of dark tourism in Russia", is relevant for this research. It discusses the possible development of dark tourism destinations in Russia based on seven classifications.<sup>20</sup> This source was relevant for this investigation as one of the aspects investigated was the heritage sites erected to commemorate the tragedies of the past in Russia. The seven classifications highlighted by the author are (1) Dark Fun Factory, where an attraction "offers a breath-taking trip to a dark period of history and reveals a fearful and soul-chilling event of the past." (2) Dark Exhibitions whose "goal is to educate, inspire, impress and answer questions, which people sometimes do not dare to or have no time, to ask". (3) Dark Dungeons are attractions where tourists change into clothes to keep as souvenirs. During their visit to prisons, they take their fingerprints, and they are given "individual cells and taken for a walk in the prison yard". (4) Dark Resting Places are attractions such as cemeteries and graves, and excursions are to educate people, mainly about the graves of famous people. (5) Dark shrines are places where many people died due to accidents, then turned into memorial sites and places of mourning. (6) Dark conflict sites are sites of historical re-enactments of battles where visitors to the museum get a chance of "getting into the thick of battlefield action". Moreover, lastly, (7) Genocide tourism denote visits to places that commemorate the deliberate killing of large groups of people.<sup>21</sup> The four (2; 4; 6 & 7) categories from these seven categories by E.V. Rybakova confirms and is

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<sup>20</sup> Rybakova, Ekaterina. 2014.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287352226\\_ON\\_DEVELOPMENT\\_OF\\_DARK\\_TOURISM\\_IN\\_RUSSIA](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287352226_ON_DEVELOPMENT_OF_DARK_TOURISM_IN_RUSSIA). Access: 10 February 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Rybakova, Ekaterina. 2014.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287352226\\_ON\\_DEVELOPMENT\\_OF\\_DARK\\_TOURISM\\_IN\\_RUSSIA](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287352226_ON_DEVELOPMENT_OF_DARK_TOURISM_IN_RUSSIA). Access: 10 February 2020.

relevant to this study that these destinations form part of dark tourism destinations from both countries and not only in Russia on dark and dissonant heritage sites sections.

A book by Martin McCauley, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union*, has provided the historical context of the Soviet Union.<sup>22</sup> This information was used to understand the monuments erected in this period, how they were perceived during the Soviet regime, and how they became dissonant heritage because of several tragedies. Moreover, this source mainly discusses the rise and fall of the Soviet Union. As a result, it was essential for this research as it makes connections between the two political regimes in Russia.

Sergei Kruk supports the idea of the continued preservation of dissonant heritage and makes an argument for its benefits.<sup>23</sup> The author argues that the production of Soviet Union statues was to guarantee jobs in the factory known as Māksla. Indeed, the economy was uplifted as the Māksla factory reached annual profits of \$0,4-0,5 million during 1951-1956. The artists that worked at the factory earned the highest average wages of any Soviet workers. In the present, the statues continue to be beneficial as they attract tourists. Moreover, it was valuable for this research as it helped to emphasize how dissonant heritage sites can benefit the state or a nation economically.

A book by Orlando Figes entitled: *Revolutionary in Russia, 1891 – 1991: A Pelican Introduction* (2014) provided historical context about the revolution in Russia.<sup>24</sup> It gave information about the Russian revolution and the dismantled monuments attached to these three regimes since 1891. In these three regimes, the author discusses the types of governments that ruled Russia and the origin of the revolutions. Moreover, and most importantly, the focus is how the fallen regimes are remembered, especially with the monuments that remain in the country.

Robert Service's book *The last of the Tsar's: Nicholas II and the Russian Revolution* (2017) was another important source for this research, especially with the new monuments recently erected for Tsar Nicholas II.<sup>25</sup> The author discusses the last ruler, Nicholas II, as somewhat admired, while on the other hand perceived as being stubborn. The author

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<sup>22</sup> M. McCauley, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union* (Routledge, New York, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> S. Kruk, "Profit rather than politics: the production of Lenin monuments in Soviet Latvia," *Social Semiotics*, 20(3) (2009), pp. 247-276.

<sup>24</sup> O. Figes, *Revolutionary in Russia, 1891-1991: A Pelican Introduction* (Penguin, UK, 2014).

<sup>25</sup> R. Service, *The Last of the Tsars: Nicholas II and the Russian Revolution* (Pan Macmillan, London, 2017).

substantiates most of his arguments with the Tsar's diaries and other unexplored records from the period. The source was significant and well-supported by recent newspaper articles reporting on the vandalism of monuments *re-erected* for the honour of Tsar Nicholas II, emphasizing those who are in support and those against the memorials for the Tsar. It also discusses the monuments which Lenin's Soviet Union dismantled. This book was relevant as it showed how the change of political regime could negatively affect monuments.

A chapter titled "Dissonant heritage and dark tourism at Lenin's Mausoleum" by Magdalena Banaszkiwicz from the book *Heritage of death: Landscape of emotion, memory and practice* (2017) is also a source that was important for this research.<sup>26</sup> Banaszkiwicz reflects on dark tourism and dissonant heritage, which are some of the main concepts this research investigates. Moreover, the author compares and links dark sites established for commemoration and sites that changed from honour to dissonant heritage. An article by Natalia Dushkina, entitled: "Heritage at Risk: The Fate of modernist buildings in Russia", was another important source for this study that discussed the preservation of monuments and the reinstatement of monuments destroyed by the Bolsheviks.<sup>27</sup> It also discusses how the new Russian state changed its perception towards monuments, intending to protect heritage and investment capital in this area, compared to the neglect of the previous Communist regime. The two decades of the Russian Federation provide an example of how a new government values different aspects of the past to its predecessor and is also the counterpart of South Africa post-1994.

Regarding the legislation on heritage sites and dark tourism as a management tool, a book published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Moscow office was practical.<sup>28</sup> Entitled *Innovative policies for Heritage Safeguarding and Cultural Tourism development* (2005), this source significantly contributed to one of the main concerns of this study, which is the preservation of heritage sites and how Russia is dealing with its dark past compared to South Africa. This source discusses "cultural policy and the legislative basis for heritage safeguarding and cultural tourism development on a national and international level". As this is a comparative study, the source measured and

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<sup>26</sup> M. Banaszkiwicz, "Dissonant heritage and dark tourism at Lenin's Mausoleum," in Silverman, M. F. (d), *Heritage of death: Landscape of Emotion, memory and practice* (Routledge, London, 2017), pp. 78-130.

<sup>27</sup> N. Dushkina, "Heritage at Risk The Fate of Modernist Buildings in Russia," *Arch*, 5(1) (2008), pp. 1-14.

<sup>28</sup> UNESCO, *Innovative Policies for Heritage Safeguarding and Cultural Tourism Development* (UNESCO Moscow Office, Moscow, 2005).

determined if both countries align with the UNESCO's safeguarding policies or guidelines by comparing Russia and South Africa.

### **Heritage in the Old and New South Africa**

The journal article by Graham Dominy and Luli Callinicos, "Is There Anything to Celebrate? Paradoxes of Policy", is a helpful source that examines South Africa's past from several perspectives and question if there is anything to be celebrated.<sup>29</sup> The source is significant as they discuss aspects applicable to colonial monuments preserved in the country. Their question is on the commemoration of the Anglo-Boer War (or South African War of 1899-1902) and the Irene Concentration camps. These examples were helpful for the dark heritage sites. The main argument raised by these authors is the questioning of commemorating colonial events in a democratic state as they believe they have no significance in the present. Considering the main argument of this dissertation, all monuments are significant, but extreme dissonant heritage as shown in Figure 11 does not deserve to be commemorated in the public space. They can alternatively celebrate extreme dissonant heritage monuments on the Dissonant Theme Park as recommended later.

A book by Tej vir Singh, *New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Strangers Practices* (2004), discusses how the previous regimes in South Africa are perceived and represented to visitors.<sup>30</sup> In contrast to Dominy and Callinicos, the author also clarifies that he supports the protection of dissonant heritage sites and discusses the heritage of atrocity and how it can be managed. He also shows how this heritage can be used, considering how apartheid is used for entertainment in South Africa as a practical example of dissonant heritage management. The author argues that management of these atrocity heritage sites enhances nation-building and extends heritage tourism products.

Two articles by Sabine Marschall used in this dissertation are "Making money with memories: The fusion of heritage, tourism and identity formation in South Africa"<sup>31</sup> as well

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<sup>29</sup> G. Dominy, & L. Callinicos, "Is There Anything to Celebrate? Paradoxes of Policy: An Examination of the State's Approach to Commemorating South Africa's Most Ambiguous Struggle," *South African Historical Journal*, 41(1) (1999), pp. 388-403.

<sup>30</sup> T. vir Singh, *New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices* (CABI Publishers, 2004).

<sup>31</sup> S. Marschall. "Making Money with Memories: The Fusion of Heritage, Tourism and Identity Formation in South Africa," *Historia*, 50(1) (2005), pp. 103-122.

as, “Pointing to the dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa”.<sup>32</sup> In the first article, Marshall discusses why heritage monuments are erected and use South Africa as an example of a country that erected monuments to make money in the post-apartheid period. This source contributed significantly to this research because it discusses how monuments can alleviate a nation’s economy. In the second article, Marschall discusses the challenges which arise in the procedure of erecting these monuments. Some of the significant events commemorated are controversial. For example, which anti-apartheid organization, the African National Congress (ANC) or the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), owns the commemorated events of the Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960?

M.K. Flynn and Tony King’s article “Symbolic Reparation, Heritage and Political Transition in South Africa’s Eastern Cape” is appropriate for this study. It discusses the political transition from apartheid to democracy.<sup>33</sup> This article’s primary concern is exploring the “relationship between public history and civic nation building”, and the question of reparations for apartheid and how it benefits South African heritage because it receives public money and is not governed by political directives. The authors note how most of South Africa’s heritage sites, before 1994, represented the white minority. After apartheid, most of these monuments which representing the white minority were attached to the previous apartheid regime. “New symbols and monuments were developed for a non-racial South Africa intended to contribute to nation-building”.

Shanade Barnabas’ article “Engagement with Colonial and Apartheid Narratives in Contemporary South Africa: A monumental debate” mainly used newspaper articles focusing on the call for the removal of colonial and apartheid-era commemorations.<sup>34</sup> The article investigates the protection of colonial and apartheid monuments or dissonant heritage in the public sphere. The author’s argument are mainly on the negligence of the other heritage. Hence, it is the reason these calls for the removal of colonial monuments dominant in the public space. It also discusses the decolonization of South African universities which began

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<sup>32</sup> Marschall, “Pointing to the dead: victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa,” pp. 103-123.

<sup>33</sup> M.K. Flynn, & T. King, “Symbolic Reparation, Heritage and Political Transition in South Africa’s Eastern Cape,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 13(6) (2007), pp. 462-477.

<sup>34</sup> S. Barnabas, “Engagement with Colonial and Apartheid Narratives in Contemporary South Africa: A Monumental Debate,” *Journal of Literary Studies*, 32(3) (2016), pp. 109-128.

in 2015 with the removal of Cecil John Rhodes' statue at the University of Cape Town. Following this, vandalism on several monuments and statues took place across the country.

Considering the protection and preservation of dissonant heritage, a journal article by Andreas Durbach, "Cultural Heritage as Transformation: a study of four sites from post-apartheid South Africa", was significant as it discusses how "cultural heritage is a potential agent of transformation in the 'new' democratic South Africa".<sup>35</sup> The author discusses the South African democracy evolution in relation to the negotiated transition and transformation to democracy. Durbach further argues that the narrative of the rainbow nation does not only include racial integration but also the legacies of a repressive past visible on the monuments. He further argues that cultural heritage has a role in "serving the competing complexities of compromise, reconciliation and transformation".

Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu's article, "Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: is it effective?" was relevant because the law is the procedure used for protecting monuments or dissonant heritage.<sup>36</sup> The author provides the history of heritage legislation in South Africa, which occurred during the three political periods being the Union of South Africa (1910-1948), Apartheid (1948-1990) and Democracy (1994-present). These three political periods are also the main periods used in this study, and therefore, this article provides the required legal context. Ndlovu's argument emphasizes the broader framework of heritage legislation, arguing that an indigenous form of heritage 'legislation' existed long before colonialism with the bushmen. It was ignored and replaced with a Eurocentric legislation that prioritized protecting colonial heritage.

A journal article by Jackie Grobler entitled: "The Impact of politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa", has contributed to this research as he also uses the three political periods mentioned above.<sup>37</sup> The author discusses how monuments and memorials of a country often reflect on the "foundation myth" and the "political ideology of the rulers" of

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<sup>35</sup> A. Durbach, "Cultural Heritage as Transformation: A Study of Four Sites from Post-Apartheid South Africa", in A. Durbach & L. Lixinski (Eds.). *Heritage, Culture and Rights: Challenging Legal Discourses* (Hart Publishing, Oxford, 2017), pp. 205-226.

<sup>36</sup> N. Ndlovu, "Legislation as an Instrument in South African Heritage Management: Is It Effective?," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 13(1) (2011), pp. 31-57.

<sup>37</sup> J. Grobler, "The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa," *Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, University of Pretoria*, 22(1) (2008).

that country.<sup>38</sup> His focus is a South African context, but his arguments were applied to Russia. Moreover, Grobler discusses the representation of cultural property to tourists. This information was employed for South Africa and Russia since the historical context in both countries is controversial when focusing on the honour and celebration of their respective heroes and heroines.

A journal article by Peter Merrington, “Heritage, Pageantry and Archivism: Creed systems and Tropes of Public History in Imperial South Africa, circa 1910” provided a snapshot of South Africa in 1910.<sup>39</sup> The author also discusses how the invention of heritage for the first ‘new’ Union of South Africa of 1910 focused on unity between the two colonizers, the Boer republics and the British colonies. In the process, he points out that most of the population, the Africans, were ignored. Another article by Merrington (1997) “Masques, Monuments and Masons: The 1910 Pageant of the Union of South Africa”, also provided important information for this study from 1910 in South Africa regarding heritage and monuments.<sup>40</sup>

The National Heritage Council (NHC) report entitled: “The Liberation Struggle and Liberation Heritage Sites in South Africa” have significantly informed this dissertation.<sup>41</sup> The report discusses three political phases (Phase 1: 1652-1910, Phase 2: 1910-1960 and Phase 3: 1960-1994) in South Africa, but for this study, Phases 2 and 3 will be consulted as they provide information about the struggle and liberation sites from 1910. The NHC discusses the development and management of the legacy of the liberation struggle. Concepts discussed in this report also contributed to this research report regarding preserving South African cultural heritage. Finally, the NHC report also provided a historical context for all the heritage sites discussed in the chapters below.

A journal article by Milena Ivanovic and Melville Saayman entitled: “Telling or Selling? Experiencing South African cultural heritage tourism products”, discusses the representation

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<sup>38</sup>Grobler, “The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa,” p. 168.

<sup>39</sup> P. Merrington, “Heritage, Pageantry and Archivism: Creed Systems and Tropes of Public History in Imperial South Africa, circa 1910,” *Southern African Histories*, 25(Pre-millennium) (1999), pp. 129-151.

<sup>40</sup> P. Merrington, “Masques, Monuments, and Masons: The 1910 Pageant of the Union of South Africa,” *Theatre Journal*, 49(1) (1997), pp. 1-14.

<sup>41</sup> G. Houston, S. Mati, D. Seabe, J. Peires, D. Webb, S. Dumisa, K. Sausi, B. Mbenga, A. Manson and N. Pophiwa. 2013. *The Liberation Struggle and Liberation Heritage Sites in South Africa* (Human Science Research Council, 2013).

of South African cultural heritage.<sup>42</sup> It is essentially how dissonant heritage is presented to tourists. In another journal article by Clinton van der Merwe entitled: “Tourists guides’ perception of cultural heritage tourism in South Africa, ”<sup>43</sup> the author interviewed several tourist guides to understand how they perceive South African cultural heritage and how they felt about the preservation of heritage sites in South Africa could be developed and preserved. Both sources present insight into how tourist guides perceive the cultural heritage sites before understanding the citizens’ and tourists’ perceptions. Finally, the aim is to find out if cultural heritage products are for selling or storytelling to the tourists and if any of the two impacts the preservation of cultural heritage. The two authors show that tourist guides support the preservation of cultural heritage because they perceive any cultural heritage as necessary. Most of the tourist guides will support preservation because these are the products that they utilize on a daily basis in the tourism industry.

This literature review shows that past studies have primarily focused on understanding how monuments and statues link with politics and regimes. Most of the studies consulted discuss destroying monuments, especially extreme dissonance perceived as a form of continued psychological oppression. Most Russian studies examine why monuments were damaged in the past, while the focus of the South African sources is dominantly a debate between abolishing and preserving dissonant heritage monuments. These sources from both countries prove the earlier point that countries such as South Africa need to look up to Russia on how to deal with the dark past, even though Russia was one of the countries that no one could look up to in the past.

## Chapter Outline

Chapter one discusses the historical context and North-South Divide between Russia and South Africa. The historical context focuses on the three political regimes, two old regimes and present politics. The discussion of this history is significant to show how dark and dissonant heritage came about. The transition of political power also had an impact

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<sup>42</sup> M. Ivanovici & M. Saayman, “Telling or selling? Experiencing South African cultural heritage tourism products,” *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (AJPHERD)* (2013), pp. 172-186.

<sup>43</sup> C. D. van der Merwe, “Tourist guides’ perceptions of cultural heritage tourism in South Africa. *Bulletin of Geography*,” *Socio-economic Series*. 34 (2016), pp. 117-130.

both on old and newly heritage established monument. The North-South divide, which is both a socio-economic and political division, emphasises the history of these two countries considering how colonisation and the Cold War impacted both countries. Most of the monuments and statues discussed in this dissertation were directly influenced by politics, especially during the imperialism and the Cold War. Hence, this chapter provides a broad context about the political landscape in both countries.

Chapter two provides a discussion of commemoration and dissonant heritage, highlighting some of the heritage sites representatives of these concepts. The chapter surveys the reasons for dismantling and vandalising monuments, extreme dissonant heritage, which commemorates or honours and symbolises a political regime in Russia and South Africa. Furthermore, the chapter highlights why dissonant heritage sites destroyed or removed compared to dark heritage sites. The chapter concludes by discussing both concepts (dark and dissonant heritage) and how the public perceives them.

Chapter three discusses public perceptions, which considers who the heritage represents and how local and international visitors perceive them. Considering local visitors, it further subdivides the discussions into the groups that perceive certain monuments as an honour while, on the other hand, those who perceive said monuments as dissonant heritage. Moreover, the chapter considers how the different groups or ethnicities perceive dissonant heritage monuments as ‘psychological oppression’ because they do not represent and honour their heritage.

The last chapter proposes how dark tourism can act as a management tool to navigate the heritage issues discussed in chapters two and three. It considers the positive side of these monuments, looking at their potential as profitable national historical heritage. It considers why moderate dissonant heritage should be preserved as a tourist attraction, especially for tourists who visit both countries (Russia and South Africa) mainly motivated by an interest in the history of these countries. The chapter also argues that the tourism industry in both nations can change public perceptions to perceive dissonant heritage as tourist attractions that can boost both local and national economies. The chapter makes a proposal for the responsible and sensitive curation of such dissonant heritage sites.

# CHAPTER 1:

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT: NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE AND HERITAGE LEGISLATION

This chapter provides a historical context for the Russian Federation and South Africa, from 1891 for Russia and South Africa from the post-1910 Union. The historical background of each nation is significant because it brings a better understanding of the reasons for the dismantling of monuments. Both countries have something in common: the dark history of the previous regimes, which oppressed their respective people. Russia was a totalitarian state in the last two regimes, while in South Africa, the majority were oppressed by colonial governments, from segregation through to apartheid. The critical difference which this chapter flags is that heritage legislation was not implemented in Russia, and when a regime collapsed it fell with its public monuments. From the South African perspective, the colonial monuments were protected and justified by laws of preservation. As discussed in this chapter, this shows the controversy surrounding monuments in general attached to politics with or without heritage legislation laws.

### 1.1 Tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation

In 1891, the Russian Federation crowned the last king of the Tsarist monarchy, Nicholas II. The tsarist autocracy was established in 1547, with Ivan IV the Terrible as the first king. It lasted until 1917 when the Soviets overthrew it, which declared the Soviet Union power.<sup>44</sup> In Russia, 1917 marked an end to the Tsarist's autocracy under the leadership of Nicholas II, and he subsequently became an icon of the Tsarist monarchy. The Tsar ruled with a hierarchy. The social structure ranged from the Tsar and royal family at the top of the pyramid, the elite, followed by the Russian Orthodox Church, Tsarist military officers, the middle class (bourgeoisie) and a large peasant mass (poor, peasants, farmers and workers).<sup>45</sup> The inequality built into the social structure was one of the primary causes of the Russian Revolution, which took place in 1917. In November 1917, the peasants and working-class led by Vladimir Lenin and the Bolshevik revolutionaries revolted against the government of Tsar

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<sup>44</sup> A. Mironowicz. "Orthodox Church in Tsar Russia," *Elpis*, 19(3) (2017), p. 21.

<sup>45</sup> Mironowicz. "Orthodox Church in Tsar Russia", pp. 21-27.

Nicholas II. After the revolt in less than a year, Nicholas II was assassinated, and the Bolsheviks executed his family. A civil war broke out in 1918, and after the civil war, a new socialist government took over Russia in the same year.<sup>46</sup> The new government which came into power was led by the Bolsheviks and was known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), with Vladimir Lenin as the first leader.<sup>47</sup>

The socialist government ruled in Russia from 1918 until 1991, when it was dissolved under Mikhail Gorbachev as the last leader of the socialist government. The USSR was perceived as a rescue from the dictatorship of the Tsarist monarchy. The USSR turned out to continue a dictatorship in Russia. During the socialist government, dictatorship was most evident during the leadership of Joseph Stalin, who ruled from the mid-1920s to 1953. Stalin used manipulation and terror to destroy his opposition. Historians estimate that Stalin's regime was responsible for an estimated twenty million deaths or more.<sup>48</sup> Most of the dark heritage sites which are discussed in this dissertation occurred under the leadership of Stalin. In 1991 under the leadership of Gorbachev as the eighth and last leader of USSR, Russia became the Russian Federal Republic. Boris Yeltsin became the first president and served until 1999. To date, four presidents have served Russia. The current president of Russia, Vladimir Putin, has served two terms, both under non-partisan or independent and United Russia.<sup>49</sup>

## 1.2 The Old and New South Africa

On 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902, the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging in Pretoria ended the Second Anglo-Boer War (or the South African War), fought from 1899 to 1902. The treaty marked peace between South African colonisers and an independence 'hope' for the Africans.<sup>50</sup> In 1910, the colonies and republics known as Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and

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<sup>46</sup> McCauley, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union*, p. 62.

<sup>47</sup> IBP, Inc, *Russian Regional Economic and Business Atlas Volume 1 Economic and Industrial Profiles*. (Lulu.com, Washington DC, 2013); Figes, *Revolutionary in Russia, 1891-1991: A Pelican Introduction*.

<sup>48</sup> C. Haven. 2010. *Stalin killed millions. A Stanford historian answers the question, was it genocide?*. <https://news.stanford.edu/2010/09/23/naimark-stalin-genocide-092310/>. Access: 9 April 2020.

<sup>49</sup> IBP, Inc, 2013. *Russian Regional Economic and Business Atlas Volume 1 Economic and Industrial Profiles*. (Lulu.com, Washington DC, 2010, pp. 24-25); REUTER, O. JOHN. "The Politics of Dominant Party Formation: United Russia and Russia's Governors," *EUROPE-ASIA STUDIES*, 62(2) (2010), p. 272; Figes, *Revolutionary in Russia, 1891-1991: A Pelican Introduction*.

<sup>50</sup> Merrington, "Masques, Monuments, and Masons", pp. 1-14.

Orange free state were united by South Africa Act 1909 passed in Britain.<sup>51</sup> It combined the white minority over the African majority, coloured and other races. In two-years, after South Africa was unified, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) presently known as African National Congress (ANC) was founded as a party with the initial purpose to represent the excluded races in the Union of South African government.<sup>52</sup>

Louis Botha became the first prime minister and J.B.M. Herzog was minister of justice. Both emphasised the equality of the two official languages, English and Dutch. In 1914, the National Party (NP) was founded. It originated in disagreement amongst South African Party (SAP) members, and a need for political freedom from Britain. As the party policies prioritized Afrikaner nationalism, it attracted Afrikaner people and became known as the Afrikaner's political party.<sup>53</sup> The Afrikaans community was not fully independent, as D.F Malan said after the 1948 elections "Today South Africa belongs to us once more. South Africa is our own for the first time since Union, and may God grant that it will always remain our own".<sup>54</sup> The 1948 election victory of the National Party changed the South African landscape once again. The NP implemented the policies and laws that attempted to make South Africa to remain its own and the government unashamedly prioritised the Afrikaner people.

The National Party ruled South Africa for over four decades. It was sustained by the racial laws which it implemented and made it more difficult for South Africa to gain true independence at the time most African countries were gaining freedom from colonialism since the early 1950s. In South Africa, there seemed to be no hope, and Africans established armed resistance organisations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Pan African Congress' POQO to challenge the apartheid government. The NP responded with violent

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<sup>51</sup> R. Marsh, R, *All About South Africa: Our Country, Its People, History, Cultures, Economy and Wildlife*, (Penguin Random House South Africa, Cape Town, 2013, p. 41).

<sup>52</sup> E.J. Verwey. *New Dictionary of South African Biography, Volume 1 New Dictionary of South African Biography, Human Sciences Research Council* (HSRC Press, Pretoria, 1995); Merrington, "Heritage, Pageantry and Archivism", pp. 129-151.

<sup>53</sup> N. L. Clark & W. H. Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Routledge, New York, 2013 p. 28.)

<sup>54</sup> H. Giliomme, 2003. *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, London, 2003, p. 487).

repression, which led to bloodshed in the country and events which I refer to in this dissertation as ‘Dark Events’.<sup>55</sup>

By the late 1980s, the apartheid government was pressurized internally by a country-wide civil uprising and externally with sanctions. However, it remained standing, because of its propaganda of protecting South Africa from communism. With the collapse of communism in eastern Europe in 1989, things changed and symbolised the end of the Cold War. Frederik Willem (FW) de Klerk was forced in his speech of 02 February 1990 to unban all oppositional parties and unconditionally release imprisoned political leaders. Those in exile returned to the country. The government (NP) was then willing to negotiate an end to apartheid and establish a new and democratic constitution. The negotiations discussed the future of South Africa between the NP, ANC and other political parties and it successfully led to the first democratic elections in 1994. Since South Africa became independent and a democratic country, the ANC has ruled for over 27 years with five black (African) presidents.<sup>56</sup>

### 1.3 The North-South divide

The North-South divide is the world divided into two with socio-economic and political. The North comprises rich or developed countries, whilst the South includes poor or developing countries. During the Cold War, the world was divided into three: the First World being the United States and its allies, while Russia was the Second World with its allies, and the rest of the world fell into the last category of the Third World. This division is significant for this dissertation. It compares two nations, Russia and South Africa, placed in the Global North (Global East) and South respectively, and Russia in Second World and South Africa in First and third world because it allied to the United States of America. The socioeconomics and politics in both countries were different and also had positive and negative effects with regards to their heritage.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> J. Frueh, *Political Identity and Social Change: The Remaking of the South African Social Order* (SUNY Press, New York, 2012, p. 47).

<sup>56</sup> B. Glad & R. Blanton. “F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela: A Study in Cooperative Transformational Leadership,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 27(3) (1997), p. 566; Clark & Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, (Routledge).

<sup>57</sup> Müller. “In Search of the Global East: Thinking between North and South”, pp. 734-755.

This section discusses the general origins and challenges of dissonant heritage sites in the northern and southern hemisphere. It discusses colonialism, the effects of the Cold War, and the impacts the Iron Curtain had on tourism. Firstly, is colonialism classically defined as “the policy of a country acquiring full or partial political control over another country and retain its authority with the aim of exploiting it economically”<sup>58</sup>. Secondly, I will look at the impacts of the Cold War on both countries.

### 1.3.1 Russia in the Global North (Global East)

Russia has a history of colonial intervention in Eastern Europe, sometimes referred to as the Global North. The Russian geographical location is sometimes referred to as the Global East as Muller argues that Russia does not belong to the North neither the South but falls in between because it is too rich to be in the South and too poor to be in the North.<sup>59</sup> In the final year of the Second World War, the Soviet Union invaded countries such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany and Poland in their war with Nazi Germany. Unlike most Western countries that colonised Africa and other continents, Russia did not describe these areas as Russian colonies.<sup>60</sup> According to Băicoianu, the USSR conducted internal colonisation, representing the power relations inside the original boundaries.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, imperial colonisation proper occurred from the western countries, which sought external “territorial expansion and the production of specific power relations” with these far-flung regions. Hence Etkind states that most Russian historians described Russian policy as self-colonisation intending to grow the Russian empire in Europe.<sup>62</sup>

After the Second World War, Russia intended to reclaim its great power status in Europe. As a dictatorship, Russia used its military force and communist ideology, forcing itself onto these territories. This led to the well-known ‘Iron Curtain’, referring to the imaginary divide in Europe. While Eastern Europe was under the influence of the Soviets and

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<sup>58</sup> O. F. Nwanosike & L. E. Onyije. “Colonialism and Education,” *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(4) (2011), pp. 2039-2117.

<sup>59</sup> Müller. “In Search of the Global East: Thinking between North and South”, (2020), pp. 735-736.

<sup>60</sup> D. C. Moore. “Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique,” *Globalizing Literary Studies*, 116(1) (2001), pp. 111-128.

<sup>61</sup> A. BĂICOIANU. “IS THE “COLONIAL” IN “POST-COLONIAL” THE “SOVIET” IN “POST-SOVIET”? THE BOUNDARIES OF POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES,” *DACOROMANIA LITTERARIA*, 2 (2015), p. 93.

<sup>62</sup> A. Etkind. “How Russia ‘Colonized Itself’ Internal Colonization in Classical Russian Historiography,” *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR HISTORY, CULTURE AND MODERNITY*, 3(2) (2015), pp. 159–172.

communism, Western Europe was transformed by American culture and capitalism.<sup>63</sup> As mentioned earlier, the Soviet Union needed to continue its domination of the states it occupied in the Eastern Bloc, including East Berlin in Germany and made sure that these states had no open contact with the non-communist states. This then led to the Cold War, which was an ideological battle, according to James and Roberta, it was a battle which involved hostility and destruction between the capitalist West and the communist-controlled East that competed with the political and economic ideologies.<sup>64</sup>

Threats and propaganda characterized the Cold War. It was a war between two superpowers who were afraid to fight each other directly, and instead fought this war ideologically worldwide, including southern Africa. According to Sokolski, the 20<sup>th</sup> century experienced total wars of destruction, referring to the First and Second World Wars, where the great powers attacked cities and mostly led to civilian casualties.<sup>65</sup> The two superpowers established the so called 'Defensive Alliance'. Firstly, it was the Western capitalist states founded the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) pact in April 1949. Six years later, the communist states then responded with a defensive alliance known as the Warsaw Pact in May 1955.<sup>66</sup> Both alliances, 'NATO' and the 'Warsaw Pact', were founded and signed as the preparation for a possible attack across the Iron Curtain of the communism enemy on the other side of iron curtain. This was of the well-known idea of the Mutually Assured Destruction Strategic doctrine. Because both sides possessed enough nuclear weapons, it was impossible for war because both sides would be destroyed.

To preserve the communist ideology in the European states which it occupied, each state had a communist government loyal to the USSR. Moreover, the USSR used the Red Army as a threat against any deviation from its will. This was ostensibly to ensure that these communist states were not threatened and influenced by the Western democratic countries and capitalist ideology. One of the phenomenal events of the Cold War was the wall built in Berlin in August 1961 with the intention that East Germany, which was occupied by the

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<sup>63</sup> M. Banaszkiwicz, N. Graburn & S. Owsianowska. "Tourism in (Post)socialist Eastern Europe," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 15(2) (2017), p. 110.

<sup>64</sup> A. R. James & W. Roberta, *Cold War: The Essential Reference Guide* (ABC-CLIO, Oxford, 2012.pp. ix).

<sup>65</sup> H. D. Sokolski, *Getting MAD: Nuclear Mutual Assured Destruction, Its Origins and Practice* (DIANE Publishing, Carlisle, 2004, pp. 16 & 29).

<sup>66</sup> A. J. Parrington. "Mutually Assured Destruction Revisited: Strategic Doctrine in Question," *Airpower Journal*, 11(4) (1997), p. 6.

USSR, was not influenced by West Germany, occupied by the United States of America, France and Britain.<sup>67</sup> The harshness in Eastern Europe, led to several riots and protests in these states to achieve greater independence from the USSR.

Initially, many in Eastern Europe welcomed the Soviet troops, as they saw them as liberators who pushed the Nazi forces out of Eastern Europe. It is evident with the Red Army monuments that were erected, and Red Army cemeteries to relocate the Soviet soldier's remains. For example, in Poland, the Polish Communist Party and other organisations further erected more monuments in decades later to mark anniversaries related to communism in the country and were national and local commemorations.<sup>68</sup> Soon, after the communist policies were implemented, these states attempted to challenge Stalinist policies search for independence, but USSR crushed their attempts.<sup>69</sup> Countries such as Hungary were among the first to protest to replace the communist leaders with a freely elected government in 1956. But the USSR responded with military force, and invaded these countries and crushed the independence movement, and arrested anyone associated with the uprising.<sup>70</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the Cold War divide in Europe harmed tourism. After the Second World War, there was a severe restriction on freedom of movement for those in the Eastern Bloc. Between 1945 and 1991, citizens in the Eastern Bloc had difficulty to obtain passports and experienced visa restrictions and limitations, all of which made it difficult for citizens to participate in foreign tourism. The only allowed trips were for the elite, made up of Communist Party members, and they also had to meet various formal and financial conditions to leave the country. The communist governments in the Eastern Bloc controlled the activities of travel organisers and ensured that all ordinary citizens had equal access to leisure and recreation. According to Banaszkiwicz, this only happened because they needed to boost the local economies and prove that socialism was superior to capitalism.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> United States. Central Intelligence Agency. Historical Collections Division, 2011. *A City Torn Apart: Building of the Berlin Wall*. Washington, D.C: Central Intelligence Agency, Historical Collections.

<sup>68</sup> E. Ochman, "Soviet war memorials and the re-construction of national and local identities in post-communist Poland," *Nationalities Papers*, 38(4) (2010), pp. 509-530.

<sup>69</sup> M. Kramer. "The Soviet Union and the 1956 Crises in Hungary and Poland: Reassessments and New Findings," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33(2) (1998), p. 163.

<sup>70</sup> Kramer. "The Soviet Union and the 1956 Crises in Hungary and Poland: Reassessments and New Findings", p. 167.

<sup>71</sup> Banaszkiwicz, Graburn & Owsianowska. "Tourism in (Post)socialist Eastern Europe", pp. 111-112.

### 1.3.2 South Africa in the Global South

Unlike Russia, the region that would become South Africa was colonised by two European states, namely Holland and later Great Britain. The South African geographical location is referred to as a global division between first and third world. Barber argues that it is astride the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and its global trading interests.<sup>72</sup> During the First World War, South Africa also colonised Namibia, formerly South West Africa, until 1990, when Namibia gained its independence. When the Second World War ended in 1945, the resultant Cold War provided the perfect global context for South Africa to prolong its internal and external colonialism.<sup>73</sup> The prolonged happened because the two superpowers influenced almost every country worldwide and needed to preserve their ideologies. In the case of South Africa, the government in Pretoria had most of its support from the Western countries after it proved itself several times that it was a secure enemy of communism. In contrast, the oppositional organisations such as the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) were substantially interlinked and materially aided by the Soviet Union and its allies.<sup>74</sup>

During the Cold War, South Africa was regarded by the capitalist West as the most powerful country in Africa. It was recognised as the only state in Africa that would potentially mount a defence of the African continent in the event of Communist threat. According to Eddie Michel, the National Party government adopted America's anti-communist and anti-Soviet policies, which placed South Africa on the side of the capitalist states. As a result, South Africa was trusted in the African continent to fight against communism.<sup>75</sup> The close relationship was most evident when the South African Air Force (SAAF) delivered approximately 4 100 tons of cargo to West Berlin. The loyalty that the NP government showed to the West overshadowed the social and racial struggle in the country.<sup>76</sup> The support from the communist countries such as China and the Soviet Union for the

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<sup>72</sup> J. Barber. "The new South Africa's foreign policy: principles and practice," *International Affairs*. 81(5) (2005), pp. 1079-1096.

<sup>73</sup> E. Michel. "My children, you are permitted in time of great danger to walk with the Devil until you have crossed the bridge': President Truman, Apartheid, and the Early Cold War," *South African Historical Journal*, (2020) p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> A. Thomson, *U.S. Foreign Policy Towards Apartheid South Africa, 1948–1994: Conflict of Interests* (Springer, New York, 2008, p. 6.)

<sup>75</sup> Michel. "My children, you are permitted in time of great danger to walk with the Devil until you have crossed the bridge': President Truman, Apartheid, and the Early Cold War", p. 15.

<sup>76</sup> Michel. "My children, you are permitted in time of great danger to walk with the Devil until you have crossed the bridge': President Truman, Apartheid, and the Early Cold War", pp. 272-298.

oppositional organisations (ANC, SACP and PAC) against apartheid gave credence to the apartheid propaganda of protecting southern Africa from communism. When the oppositional organisations formed military wings, they labelled them as terrorist organisations. The Western powers were aware of the situation in South Africa. While they did not necessarily support the policies of apartheid, but because of fear of communism, they were not prepared to break relations with South Africa. Moreover, South Africa was one of the countries which provided the West with essential commodities, and it was a significant market for Western products.<sup>77</sup>

The ‘racist’ governments in South Africa, especially during the apartheid era, harmed tourism. The racial laws governed the country and ensured that the white minority enjoyed power and wealth, and only a few black South Africans had access to the tourism industry. The movement of black South Africans was monitored, and it was difficult for them to participate in domestic tourism. The white international tourists had limitations in exploring the South African landscape because black culture was ignored and regarded as less importance to the tourism economy.<sup>78</sup> Instead, international tourists would rather be taken to national parks when they visited South Africa and kept away from the native locations.<sup>79</sup> For example, it was difficult for international tourists to visit townships because they were biased as dangerous places and unwelcoming tourists.<sup>80</sup>

The tourism industries in Russia and South Africa were negatively affected by the politics and socioeconomics of the past. Even though the two countries are in two different hemispheres (North and South), colonialism and the Cold War played a role and affected the tourism industry in both countries. After the Second World War, the tourism industry boomed worldwide. But ironically, it was not the case in Russia and South Africa. In both countries, the regimes restricted the movement of people. The racial laws restricted South

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<sup>77</sup> SAHO, 2019. South Africa’s Foreign Relations during Apartheid, 1948.

<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-africas-foreign-relations-during-apartheid-1948>. Access: September 2020; Etkind. “How Russia ‘Colonized Itself’ Internal Colonization in Classical Russian Historiography”, pp. 159–172.

<sup>78</sup> S.C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian. “TRANSFORMING TOURISM: BLACK EMPOWERMENT, HERITAGE AND IDENTITY BEYOND APARTHEID,” *South African Geographical Journal*, 81(1) (1999), p. 22.

<sup>79</sup> J. Dlamini, *Safari Nation: A Social History of the Kruger National Park* (Ohio University Press, Ohio, 2020) p. 148.

<sup>80</sup> Goudie, Khan & Kilian. “TRANSFORMING TOURISM: BLACK EMPOWERMENT, HERITAGE AND IDENTITY BEYOND APARTHEID”, pp. 22-31; Dlamini, *Safari Nation: A Social History of the Kruger National Park*.

Africans, limiting domestic movement and international tourists to explore South African cultures fully. In both countries, tourism went up a few years after the end of Cold War. Citizens then participated in domestic tourism, and international tourists visited these two countries to explore the new Russia and South Africa.<sup>81</sup>

The end of the cold war was symbolised by the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1989. It also ended the Iron Curtain, and freedom of movement began in the Eastern Bloc. It once again offered an opportunity for residents in post-socialist states to travel and for foreign tourists to visit countries of the new European states. Soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall, tourist agencies were established, such as the National Tourism Administration and National Tourism Organisations. While previously, these organisations were only found in Western Europe, they were now re-established in the Eastern Bloc states. In the Eastern Bloc, tourist agencies were prohibited, and the Soviet Union had also monitored and restricted foreigners' movement. Any person who needed to travel either to or from Eastern European countries would consult only one travel agency owned and controlled by the Soviet Union. According to Bohlen, Russia only became an accessible country a few years after the collapse of the Soviet Union.<sup>82</sup> Citizens began travelling freely without fear of the *Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti* (KGB), transportation was also accessible, and accommodation mainly was fully booked. In less than five years, more than 1,500 organisations emerged which were involved in tourist-related business.<sup>83</sup>

As noted, South African tourism was negatively affected by the new era of 1948 with its apartheid policies. The apartheid system racially separated South African citizens and created separation for tourists in facilities and amenities such as beaches, hotels and restaurants. Though South Africa was and remains a tourist attraction with unique natural resources such as beaches and landscapes, tourism declined due to growing socio-political unrest and international boycotts during the last decades of apartheid. According to Spencer and Steyn, tourism was further affected by the Sharpeville massacre and Soweto uprisings. The

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<sup>81</sup> Banaszkiwicz, Graburn & Owsianowska. "Tourism in (Post)socialist Eastern Europe", pp. 111-112;

J. P. Spencer & J. N. Steyn. "South African tourism: An historic evaluation of macro tourism policies," *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (AJPHERD)*, 17(2) (2011), pp. 178-200.

<sup>82</sup> C. Bohlen. 1992. *Russia: Tourism Transformed*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/17/travel/russia-tourism-transformed.html>. Access: September 2020.

<sup>83</sup> Banaszkiwicz, Graburn & Owsianowska. "Tourism in (Post)socialist Eastern Europe", pp. 111-112; P. Burns. "Tourism in Russia: background and structure," *Tourism Management*, 19(6) (1998), pp. 555-565.

SATOUR then promoted South Africa as a “World in one Country”, but tourist visitation never reached great heights again.<sup>84</sup> South African tourism went up only after 1994 or what Spencer and Steyn dub “the Mandela era”.<sup>85</sup> They argue that Mandela’s image contributed to the growing popularity of the country, and it was once again perceived as a new and accessible destination. As a result, the South African tourist industry experienced growth once again.

## 1.4 Legislation on heritage sites

The broad definition of legislation is known as enacting or making laws. Cultural heritage is the property inherited from the past. According to Ndoro *et al.*, using the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) legal definitions of cultural heritage, cultural heritage is the present manifestations of the human past, inherited, or anything transmitted from ancestors or past ages.<sup>86</sup> This inheritance can be intangible or tangible cultural heritage. This section discusses the legislation set in place by UNESCO and other organizations for the global protection of universal heritage, with a specific focus on dissonant heritage monuments. Finally, it explores the set of heritage laws passed by the Russian Federation and South Africa and organizations set up to protect the cultural heritage in their countries.

### 1.4.1 Global heritage legislation

UNESCO is a world agency that aims to promote peace and security through international cooperation in education, science and culture. UNESCO works with several international organisations such as International Council of Museums (ICOM), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and national heritage organisations. Together with international and national organisations, UNESCO has established conventions and treaties since the end of the Second World War to protect world heritage (intangible and tangible). Based on these conventions and treaties, laws were drafted and agreed on at a global and national level to preserve heritage sites recognised as

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<sup>84</sup> Spencer & Steyn. “South African tourism: An historic evaluation of macro tourism policies”, p. 187.

<sup>85</sup> Spencer & Steyn. “South African tourism: An historic evaluation of macro tourism policies”, p. 187.

<sup>86</sup> W. Ndoro, A. Mumma & G. Abungu, *Cultural Heritage and the Law protecting immovable heritage in English-speaking countries of sub-saharan Africa*, (Rome, 2008, p. 25).

outstanding universal values. Heritage sites not recognised as universal values are protected by governments together with national heritage organisations, shortly discussed for Russia and South Africa respectively.

As one of the prominent organisations regarding monuments and heritage worldwide, UNESCO gave a statement related to the global protest of Black Lives Matter and the destruction of monuments. The report by UNESCO commented on the colonial or oppressors statues that were destroyed, also commenting on the issue raised ‘Racism’. The statement comments on the rejection of the other, stating that it happens in many forms and to any person most visible day-to-day. According to UNESCO, “for a while, we have nurtured the illusion that we are living in a post-racial era,” and the international convention and laws are not enough to end the everyday discriminations. Furthermore, based on these racial issues faced globally, UNESCO state that this kind of resistance is to be expected and has already proved contentious with the toppling of monuments.<sup>87</sup>

The main aim of the conventions and treaties, either at a global or national level, is to protect cultural heritage in general. But this does not go without challenges, especially when it comes to dissonant heritage. It is always challenging to preserve the heritage that causes pain, or that recalls past events not easily reconciled. Their protection is sometimes perceived to clash with advocates of human rights and social justice or redress. Moreover, most of these organisations agree and advocate that dissonant heritage monuments have historical and cultural significance and should be protected for future generations through conservation and restoration, especially when they threaten to dismantle them.<sup>88</sup> Chapter 4 further discusses how dissonant heritage has been curated and exhibited to the public.

### 1.4.2 Russia

In Russia, the first official heritage legislation was only passed as late as 1976 by the then USSR. They wrote legislation for the protection and use of monuments of history and culture. Russia has never been a country that prioritised the safety and preservation of its

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<sup>87</sup> UNESCO, N.d. *Racism: Confronting the unthinkable*. <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2020-4/racism-confronting-unthinkable>. Access: 28 October 2021.

<sup>88</sup> V. Kisić. 2016. *Governing Heritage Dissonance: Promises and Realities of Selected Cultural Policies*, (European cultural foundation) p. 62.

heritage. In 1978, two years after the first legislation passed, the Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic (RSFSR) developed preservation concepts in a more detailed manner. It established consideration to protect and preserve historical and cultural heritage in the late 1980s, during the Soviet regime. It took time before they were further developed, even after the end of the USSR. It was only given attention in 2002 when it adopted historical and cultural monuments into federal law. The first federal law that protected cultural heritage sites was no. 73-FZ passed in 2002, and a year later, in 2003, another federal law was added no. 131-FZ. The Federal Law no. 131-FZ of October 6<sup>th</sup>, 2003, outlined general principles for local self-government organisations.<sup>89</sup> Both federal laws, no. 73-FZ and no. 131-FZ, which aimed to protect historical and cultural monuments, were fundamentally new and needed further development.

On 30 April 2021, the 2002 Federal Law no. 73-FZ was amended. According to this federal law, the protection of cultural heritage objects is a legal procedure system that ensures studying the objects and benefits future generations. Hence, “as stipulated in clause 47. 4 of federal law, everyone has the right of access and free receipt of the information on the cultural heritage objects”. Since the federal laws were implemented, the Russian state, specifically on the cultural heritage objects, prioritises the laws through the local government bodies and Russian Federation public authorities. The law on cultural heritage objects has three types: monuments, ensembles and noteworthy places. It recognises that monuments and ensembles can also be in noteworthy places. The federal executive body authorised by the Russian Federation government was assigned to design border territories to protect cultural heritage objects.<sup>90</sup>

Federal Law no. 131-FZ, which is “the general principles of organisation of local self-government in the Russian Federation”, supports federal law no. 73-FZ above. The federal law is by the Russian federation constitution giving rights to the Russian citizens. The law

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<sup>89</sup> N. V. Medvedeva, E. V. Frolova, I. Y. Shimanskaya, O. V. Rogach & E. E. Kabanova. 2017. *The directions and mechanisms of historic cultural heritage actualization*. <http://www.revistaespacios.com/a18v39n02/a18v39n02p19.pdf>. Access: September 2020; FEDERAL LAW OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, 2002. *About objects of cultural heritage (historical and cultural monuments) of the people of the Russian Federation*. <https://cis-legislation.com/document.fwx?rgn=3103>. Access: May 2020.

<sup>90</sup> FEDERAL LAW OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, 2002. *About objects of cultural heritage (historical and cultural monuments) of the people of the Russian Federation*. <https://cis-legislation.com/document.fwx?rgn=3103>. 28 June 2021.

points out two articles related to the preservation of cultural heritage: the ‘local significance of a settlement’ (article no. 14) and ‘local significance of an Urban Okrug,’ Okrug is a territorial division for administrative (article no. 16). Both articles point out the protection of cultural heritage such as monuments of history and culture to the level of local self- government or local municipality.<sup>91</sup>

The federal law invoked several new concepts dealing with the protection of heritage and the territory of cultural heritage objects and added historical and cultural expertise. As noted, the Soviet Union only enacted heritage legislation in the late 1980s. It makes sense when Medvedeva et.al. argue that there are still no mechanisms of heritage preservation, and they are inadequately handled. Moreover, the authors state that only thirty-one percent of existing monuments have the federal law status.<sup>92</sup>

### 1.4.3 South Africa

In contrast to Russia, South Africa has a comparatively much longer history of heritage legislation, with the first law passed in 1911 by the South African National Society (SANS). When the legislation commenced, it was not meant for heritage in general but to prevent the export of rock art painting and engravings out of the country. In 1923, heritage legislation to protect natural heritage, and historical monuments was extended, as they were then considered important and needed preservation. Though the new legislation considered all-natural heritage (biodiversity, ecosystems and geological structures), historical heritage (such as historic buildings, places or sites) and monuments (such as statues or commemoration monuments) to be important, it still ignored some of the heritage in the country. According to Ndlovu, the heritage acts that were passed promoted the heritage of colonial rulers over the oppressed.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> S. D. Shenfield. “Russian Federation Federal Law “On the General Principles of the Organization of Local Self-Government in the Russian Federation” No. 131-FZ of October 6, 2003,” *Statutes and Decisions*, 41(5) (2005), pp. 34 & 38.

<sup>92</sup> Medvedeva, Frolova, Shimanskaya, Rogach & Kabanova. 2017. *The directions and mechanisms of historic cultural heritage actualization*. <http://www.revistaespacios.com/a18v39n02/a18v39n02p19.pdf>. Access: September 2020.

<sup>93</sup> Ndlovu, “Legislation as an Instrument in South African Heritage Management”, p. 34.

The implemented legislation never made it clear that it was illegal to “destroy, damage, excavate, alter, remove from its original site or export from the Republic” any cultural heritage until 1969 when the National Monument Act was passed. Furthermore, Ndlovu argues that legislation was used as a respond to social problems by giving an example of how the legislation promoted the physical (tangible heritage) as opposed to spiritual (intangible heritage) management.<sup>94</sup> Though Ndlovu emphasises archaeological sites, such as rock art, it is similar to protecting colonial monuments instead of the societies oppressed by the tangible dissonant monuments. For example, the statue of Paul Kruger in Pretoria’s Church Square, which is always affected whenever the issue of racism and colonialism arises, was recently defaced in June 2020 with red paint during the international movement of Black Lives Matter. The statue of Kruger is further discussed as an example of a dissonant heritage site in Chapter 2. Finally, Ndlovu also argues that the South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA), established in 2000, still uses the past legislation that promotes colonial monuments, over the heritage of oppressed communities.<sup>95</sup>

In 1999, the National Heritage Resource Act was passed, currently being used to protect national heritage resources. The legislation intends to empower civil society to nurture and conserve their heritage resources for future generations. A further aim is to have “an integrated and interactive system to manage the national resources and maintain national standards for managing the national heritage resources”. Moreover, the act intends to establish heritage authorities in provinces and local areas to protect the national heritage resources.<sup>96</sup> SAHRA is one of the heritage organisations responsible for protecting national heritage resources. The details were published in the Government Gazette of 2 June 2000, with twelve chapters focusing on specific heritage resources. Chapter 3, “National Heritage Site, Provincial Heritage Site, Provisionally Protected Place, or Structure older than 60 years”, particularly sections 27(18), 29(10) and 34(1).<sup>97</sup> Outlines the requirements and procedures necessary before permission is granted to destroy, damage, deface, remove from its original position, or demolish any structure.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Ndlovu, “Legislation as an Instrument in South African Heritage Management”, p. 43.

<sup>95</sup> Ndlovu, “Legislation as an Instrument in South African Heritage Management”, pp. 31-57; SAHRA, 2000. *National Legislation and Regulations*. <https://sahris.sahra.org.za/about/legislation>. Access: 2 October 2020.

<sup>96</sup> Government Gazette. NATIONAL HERITAGE RESOURCES ACT, 1999. Volume 420, (2000) pp. 1-31.

<sup>97</sup> Government Gazette. NATIONAL HERITAGE RESOURCES ACT, 1999. Volume 420, (2000) p. 7.

<sup>98</sup> SAHRA, 2000. *National Legislation and Regulations*. <https://sahris.sahra.org.za/about/legislation>. Access: 2 October 2020.

The National Heritage Resource Act of 1999 clearly states that any monument or structure can be removed or relocated, but a strict legal procedure must be undertaken. According to this law, any group that wishes for a specific monument, colonial monument, to be removed need to undertake a thirty days public consultation process. During the process, the authorities will notify the public about the application submitted. It will then invite the public to provide feedback on whether a specific monument should be removed or not. The main reason for this procedure is to protect the historically attached group to the monument/s, either culturally or spiritually.

Moreover, the act aligns with the national policy of reconciliation, where monuments or statues, especially colonial monuments, are deemed part of social cohesion and nation building. This point is discussed in detail in chapter three. The act makes sure that no other society or group heritage is endangered for South African history. Hence, it is illegal for people to take the law into their own hands and deface or destroy monuments.<sup>99</sup>

## 1.5 Comparison

As established, it is evident that Russia has only recently begun to value its heritage, evident in the relatively short history of heritage legislation, which began in the 1970s. In contrast, in South Africa, heritage protection has been codified in law since the early 1900s but has been complicated by its colonial history. The preservation of dissonant heritage is still a challenge globally, and most nations are still struggling to accommodate their contested heritage. Chapter 4 further discusses the approaches towards dissonant heritage and how they can benefit a nation as a whole. However, considering the history of both nations, Russia was a country that focused on the future. At the same time, South African colonial governments aimed to mark their existence in the country, justifying their actions with conservation and preservation.

In Russia, since the era of the Tsars, the nation was ruled by an autocracy. During the era of the Tsarist monarchy, the only monuments which existed honoured the Tsarist

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<sup>99</sup> SANews. 2015. *No application to remove statues*. <https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/no-application-remove-statues>. Access: 20 May 2021.

leaders and their government. After the Bolsheviks overthrew the Tsarist monarchy, the Soviet Union took the same action to honour its leaders and their government. The Soviet Union also needed to make sure that it marked its authority in the country. By doing so, they destroyed most of the monuments and symbols associated with the Tsar. The actions of two governments to mark their existence meant not valuing the past and its heritage. Considering the Soviet Union, they believed they were creating a new society and that communism was the future of Russia. It is evident when the Soviet Union was the first government in Russia to introduce the heritage legislations which meant to preserve the Soviet Union heritage because most of the previous government/s heritage no longer dominated the public space. It was slightly late when the heritage legislation was introduced because most Russian citizens, including the countries the Soviet Union occupied, were no longer in support of communism. In the late 1980s, when communism collapsed, most of the heritage legislation was not yet well known or respected by the Russian citizens. Hence the Soviet Union monuments were still taken down and destroyed even though heritage legislation existed.

From the South African perspective, heritage has always been valued as a remembrance of the past since the early 1900s. The Dutch and the British prioritised their existence with the erection of monuments to protect their existing heritage. Another reason to implement the heritage laws might have been how Afrikaner heritage was under threat during and after the South African war. With the introduction of a ‘scorched earth’ policy, one of its impacts was that Afrikaner houses were destroyed. As a result, most of the Afrikaner tangible heritage was burned down along with the houses. Despite the arguments by Ndlovu arguing that the heritage laws which meant to protect only the colonial heritage, the reason might have been, with a lesson from the war and the colonial perspective, that their existence in the country needed to be remarkable especially in the public spaces considering the extension of laws to preserve historical buildings.<sup>100</sup>

## 1.6 Conclusion

The chapter discussed some of the key concepts that provide a foundation for understanding the attacks on monuments, more detailed in the following chapters. The

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<sup>100</sup> Ndlovu, “Legislation as an Instrument in South African Heritage Management”, p. 34; Redblackwritings, 2015. *"Scorched Earth" (Anglo-Boer War) documentary (2000, South Africa)*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kz2FoHyVpRE&t=5604s>. Access: 22 October 2020.

historical background from Russia highlights that it was a country that had historically been an autocracy or dictatorship. At the same time, South Africa was historically a colony of Dutch and British settlers. These factors demonstrate that regimes from both countries prioritised their political heritage. In Russia, with the absence of heritage legislation, it was easy to remove political monuments. At the same time, South Africa introduced heritage legislation earlier, but only in the interests of their colonial history. Both countries were also politically affected by the outbreak of the Cold War, especially South Africa that became a battleground of the war compared to the Soviet Union that was the leading superpower during the war. Russia prioritised and aimed to export communism, while South Africa, on the other hand, prioritised capitalism. However, the tourism industry was negatively affected in both countries. Finally, it is the implementation of heritage laws and their objective with the global heritage legislations which has become more critical worldwide since the end of the Second World War. However, to Russia, heritage laws were still not that important until the late 1980s.

The historical context drawn from Russia and South Africa in this chapter brings a better understanding of dark tourism, dark heritage and dissonant heritage discussed in the next chapter. Furthermore, as the next chapter focuses on these three concepts while using actual sites as examples, it also draws from the differentiation of these two countries' global locations. The historical context of the North-South divide makes it clearer that almost every dark and dissonant heritage site around the world is associated with a political narrative. Both countries have commonalities and differences, and it is the reason they were chosen for this comparative study. South Africa was shown to have a long history of heritage legislation, while Russia has made relatively recent interventions.

## CHAPTER 2:

# DARK TOURISM, DARK HERITAGE AND DISSONANT HERITAGE

This chapter explains in more detail examples of dark tourism, dark heritage, and dissonant heritage sites, with examples drawn from South Africa and Russia across the chosen time periods. Furthermore, the chapter looks at heritage sites erected to remember a dark past and purposefully erected to honour leaders from the previous regimes. However, slowly they were later perceived as dissonant or contested heritage after a regime change. The most significant commonality that Russia and South Africa have is that dark heritage sites are highly respected and therefore their long-term security seems surer. This includes sites commemorating dark events or burial sites. Moreover, most of these dark heritage sites are implicated in the oppression and histories of people attempting to challenge respective regimes. The difference that this chapter demonstrates is the fate of dissonant monuments; in Russia, new governments did not hesitate to destroy dissonant heritage, while in South Africa, monuments have always been protected due to the early introduction of legislation. This chapter will introduce a ‘dissonant heritage cycle’ that illustrates the phases a monument generally proceeds from honour to dissonant status, with the possibility of the cycle being iterative (involving repetition). Considering the situation in Russia as discussed in this chapter, a monument can pass from the dissonant stage back to honour, for example, the *re-erection* of statues to honour Joseph Stalin in Russia.

### 2.1 Dark Tourism

Dark tourism, which entails travelling to places historically associated with death, tragedy and suffering, existed long before people realised they were dark tourists. According to Stone and Sharpley, dark tourism dates as far back as when people travelled to attend public executions or the Roman gladiatorial games.<sup>101</sup> Three new concepts were introduced in the early 1990s in the academic tourism literature, which is “Black Spot”, “Thanatourism”

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<sup>101</sup> R. Sharpley & P. Stone. “CONSUMING DARK TOURISM: A Thanatological Perspective,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(2) (2008), p. 574.

and “Atrocity”.<sup>102</sup> Since then, many articles and books were published to understand what is attractive to tourists about tragedy and death and how sites are managed and interpreted. Yuill explains the fascination most simply when she states that “One simply has to watch traffic slow to a crawl when passing a car accident to understand this. However, this fascination goes beyond the side of a highway and enters the realm of tourism”.<sup>103</sup>

The dark sites were usually referred to as heritage, as Hartmann argues that they were preferably labelled ‘heritage’ for a broader concept of heritage and not specified heritage.<sup>104</sup> In the mid-1990s, the term heritage was seen as too broad, as was tourism, so terms such as dissonant heritage, thanatourism and dark tourism emerged. Dark tourism further developed into dark tourism typologies to clarify the visitors’ motivation to visit dark sites. The concept needed to be refined due to the diversity of sites and allow for the degrees of their darkness. The dark tourism destinations are characterized by their respective events, for example, they have terminologies such as genocide tourism, war tourism, disaster tourism, and prison tourism, to mention a few.<sup>105</sup> Considering the above terminologies, it shows that dark tourism is broad and hence this dissertation mainly focuses on statues and monuments to link dark tourism and dissonant heritage..

Dark tourism became more popular during the political climate change between 1985 to 1995, and people began travelling across the Iron Curtain to visit dark sites associated with the Cold War. According to Hartmann, the end of Cold War had a significant role in encouraging tourism and increased travelling, especially to Eastern Europe.<sup>106</sup> In addition, the “removal of travel barriers between the West and the East” made tourist destinations more accessible. For example, Western travellers had an opportunity to visit the Gulag labour camps in the former Soviet Union. This political change also offered the world an opportunity to visit Robben Island, the infamous prison that incarcerated Nelson Mandela and

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<sup>102</sup> A. P. Fonseca, C. Seabra & C. Silva. “Dark Tourism: Concepts, Typologies and Sites,” *J Tourism Res Hospitality*, 0(2) (2016), p. 1.

<sup>103</sup> S. M. Yuill, “Dark Tourism: Understanding visitor motivation at sites of death and disaster,” (Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, 2003), p. iii.

<sup>104</sup> R. Hartmann. “Dark tourism, thanatourism, and dissonance in heritage tourism management: new directions in contemporary tourism research,” *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 9(2) (2014), p. 167.

<sup>105</sup> Fonseca, Seabra & Silva. “Dark Tourism: Concepts, Typologies and Sites”, pp. 1-6.

<sup>106</sup> Hartmann. “Dark tourism, thanatourism, and dissonance in heritage tourism management”, p. 169.

others for many decades. It became apparent that ‘cultural tourism’ was too narrow and hence researchers developed terminology such as ‘dark tourism’.<sup>107</sup>

The tourist, or visitors in general, have different motivations to visit dark tourist attractions. Lubbe describes a five-step tourist motivation ladder that tourists generally fulfil before they visit tourist destinations.<sup>108</sup> Firstly, psychological motivation is necessary, as tourists drove by curiosity. Secondly, there is a security need, and the tourist then tends to find out if the destination is safe before they can visit. Thirdly is the relationship need, where tourists look at the content presented at the destination for opportunities and social interaction with local people. The fourth step is self-esteem or development. Visitors consider a destination based on its ability to satisfy their behavioural needs, such as gaining status or growth in knowledge. Lastly is the need of self-actualisation, where tourists evaluate destinations based on their perceived experience at the destination. The tourist experience is an essential factor that every tourist is looking for, as is discussed below. Tourists interested in dark sites also have different motivations, which adds to the general motivations discussed above and are ‘dark tourists’. According to Raine, these tourists seek to experience something different to their daily lives and an emotional release by confronting unpleasant events.<sup>109</sup> Most are interest in history and education, while some emphasise the opportunity to walk through the sites and thus experience the surroundings. In addition, some of these dark tourists are survivors, perpetrators, or victims’ relatives.<sup>110</sup>

Depending on the motivation, the primary purpose or curiosity to visit dark sites is different in each case. For example, survivors’ motivations are different to a perpetrator’s visiting the same dark site. Both visitors, survivors and perpetrators are mostly driven by what Raine refer to as ‘catharsis,’ which is a release of emotions.<sup>111</sup> The survivors mostly recall the tragic moments and are still wondering about the possibilities of their survival. At the same time, some perpetrators might visit out of a regret for their actions and clear their conscience. Moreover, there are victims’ families and general tourists. The victims’ relatives are mostly motivated with the purpose of healing, finding closure, and the remembrance of

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<sup>107</sup> Hartmann. “Dark tourism, thanatourism, and dissonance in heritage tourism management”, pp. 166-182.

<sup>108</sup> B. A. Lubbe. *Tourism Management in Southern Africa* (Pearson Education South Africa, Cape Town, 2003).

<sup>109</sup> R. Raine, R. “A dark tourist spectrum”, *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 7(3) (2013), pp. 243.

<sup>110</sup> Raine, “A dark tourist spectrum”, pp. 242-256.

<sup>111</sup> Raine, “A dark tourist spectrum”, p. 243.

their loved ones. At the same time, on the other hand, general dark tourists are mainly attracted with interest in history and education.<sup>112</sup>

Despite all these different motivations that attract dark tourists, the primary purpose is to experience the history exhibited at the site. According to João *et al.* tourists experience pleasant and memorable places where they can build their own travel experience and satisfy their personal needs.<sup>113</sup> It can also be a self-esteem or development need, as mentioned earlier, where tourists seek to satisfy their behavioural needs.<sup>114</sup> Most tourist attractions are marketed as destinations with the potential and capability to offer an experience to the tourist, and so are dark tourism attractions. Looking at the sites that developed due to human actions or politics, the products tourists experience also serves as a lesson that death and suffering are avoidable as they were contingent primarily and could have been avoided.

Dark tourism is unique and different to other types of tourism. According to Sharpley and Stone, dark tourism is represented as a ‘play’, ‘integration’ and ‘classification’.<sup>115</sup> The experience of play comes because of collective celebration, remembrance and mourning of the individual or group death. The integration is the fascination on the broader context with how the death occurred and not death itself, as well as dark tourists seeking to integrate with death by witnessing the violence of death. Lastly, it is the classification of social status where tourists travel to dangerous places and serve as an interest of death and consuming such experience.<sup>116</sup>

Sharpley and Stone further state that dark experiences come with four shades. Firstly, pale tourism, where tourists have a minimal interest in death and visit dark attractions unintentionally. Secondly, grey tourism demand, where tourists have an interest in death but unintentionally visit dark sites. Thirdly, grey tourism supply describes the sites established to exhibit the death experience and attract tourists who are not predominantly interested in death. Lastly, black tourism, which is an alternative term for dark tourism in this case,

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<sup>112</sup> Raine, “A dark tourist spectrum”, pp. 242-256.

<sup>113</sup> R. João, P. Cardoso, M. Jânio & M. Figueiredo, *Handbook of Research on Human-Computer Interfaces, Developments, and Applications* (IGI Global, Hull, 2016, p. 243).

<sup>114</sup> Lubbe. *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*.

<sup>115</sup> Sharpley & Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, p. 17.

<sup>116</sup> Sharpley & Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*.

describes an experience that is purely dark as the sites are purposefully meant to supply tourists with dark experiences and satisfy their needs.<sup>117</sup> These categories specifically discuss the dark heritage sites meant to attract tourists as compared to dissonant heritage sites. The dark heritage sites from both countries on the section below relates to these four shades of experience.

Tourism has two main functions, which is education and enjoyment. Dark tourism has less entertainment and more education because these sites were not purposefully established or developed as tourist attractions. They mostly came about by accident, and these sites are then promoted to attract visitors because of media. According to Ntunda, dark tourism and media are thoroughly interconnected, especially with the global communication technology revolution of the last decades.<sup>118</sup> Dark tourism sites also can provide political interpretations of the past events and the opportunity to write or re-write the history of people's lives and deaths. Even though dark tourism offers less entertainment, it continues to grow. It is supported by an argument that tourists interested in death, disaster and atrocity are growing in the tourism industry.<sup>119</sup> The following two subheadings, namely, dark heritage and dissonant heritage sites, fall under dark tourism destinations. The sites discussed below are different and examples of dark tourism destinations from Russia and South Africa will be discussed.

## 2.2 Dark Heritage Sites

Lennon and Foley define *dark tourism* as “the representation of inhuman acts and how these are interpreted to visitors.”<sup>120</sup> *Commemoration* is defined as the act of commemorating the past event or dead person to be remembered. Dark heritage or dark commemoration sites are places of grief, which recall the inhuman acts associated with tragedy, suffering and death. Dark heritage sites are different looking at the death and sufferings associated, so it is crucial to examine how they differ. According to Sharpley and Stones, dark sites can be

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<sup>117</sup> Sharpley & Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, p. 20.

<sup>118</sup> J. Ntunda, *Investigating the challenges of promoting dark tourism in Rwanda*. (Anchor Academic Publishing, Hamburg, 2014, p. 17).

<sup>119</sup> Ntunda, *Investigating the challenges of promoting dark tourism in Rwanda*; Sharpley & Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*; Lennon & Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attractions of Death and Disaster*.

<sup>120</sup> Lennon & Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attractions of Death and Disaster*.

weighed from lightest to darkest.<sup>121</sup> The lightest sites are predominantly for entertainment since they are erected for commercial purposes and are inauthentic product interpretations. These are sites where the actual death did not happen. On the other end, the darkest sites are associated with death and suffering and where the actual deaths occurred. The darkest sites are predominantly for educational purposes and conservation and are perceived as reliable and offer a genuine product interpreted to the visitors. Across the spectrum, from lightest to darkest, all sites have political influence and ideology, but the lighter the site is, the lower its political influence.<sup>122</sup>

E.V Rybakova also supports the differentiation of dark sites discussed by Lennon and Foley as he discusses the seven classifications of dark heritage sites.<sup>123 124</sup> The classifications discussed in detail in the literature review are “the dark fun factory, the dark exhibition, dark dungeons, dark resting places, dark shrines, dark conflict sites and genocide tourism.” Sites that are erected from the entertainment level to the educational level are also highlighted. Looking at how these dark sites are differentiated, they still form part of dark destinations attracting dark tourists. Bowman and Pezzullo also question the darkness of dark tourism. Their main finding was that it is a fashionable and emotive term that generalizes a complex, multifaced and multi-dimensional phenomenon.<sup>125</sup> Considering these findings of the levels of dark sites and how they are differentiated, this research examines four dark heritage sites in Russia and South Africa to illustrate the variables mentioned above.

The first Russian example of a dark heritage site is remembered as ‘Bloody Sunday,’ which took place under the Tsarist monarchy in Russia. The South African example is the Irene Concentration Camp, associated with pre-Union southern Africa. Both events fall under the darkest criteria of dark heritage sites because the commemorations mark the actual sites where death, tragedy and suffering occurred. Bloody Sunday is a commemoration of a dark event where peaceful protesters were shot in January 1905 by Tsarist soldiers in St

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<sup>121</sup> Sharpley & Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, p. 21.

<sup>122</sup> Sharpley & Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*.

<sup>123</sup> Lennon & Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attractions of Death and Disaster*.

<sup>124</sup> Rybakova, E. V., 2014. *On Development of Dark Tourism in Russia*.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287352226\\_ON\\_DEVELOPMENT\\_OF\\_DARK\\_TOURISM\\_IN\\_RUSSIA](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287352226_ON_DEVELOPMENT_OF_DARK_TOURISM_IN_RUSSIA). Access: February 2020.

<sup>125</sup> Pezzullo & Bowman, “What’s so ‘Dark’ about ‘Dark Tourism’?: Death, Tours, and Performance,” p. 189.

Petersburg. The Irene Concentration camp was established during the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War (South African War) by the British.

To explain the first dark event, on Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> January 1905, father Georgii Gapon led more than 150 000 workers and their families to St Petersburg. The march was a peaceful protest to address Nicholas II on improving the working conditions for workers. Although the march was already planned, the Tsarist government ordered it to be cancelled and dispatched roughly 12 000 troops to prevent the march from reaching the palace in St Petersburg. However, the march went ahead because the workers wanted to submit a petition calling for an eight-hour working day, the right to strike, and a constituent assembly election. As a result, when the first group approached the Nava Gates to the palace, troops opened fire on the crowd, and more than 150 people were killed, and hundreds were wounded, including women and children.<sup>126</sup> Father Gapon retreated when Nicholas II promised to introduce democracy, but a government agent later murdered the priest.<sup>127</sup>

Bloody Sunday weakened the Tsarist regime, and it is now commemorated as the beginning of the revolution, which nearly brought the Tsarist monarchy to its knees. It is evident when Lenin said, “today is the twelfth anniversary of ‘Bloody Sunday’, which is rightly regarded as the beginning of the Russian revolution”. Since 1905, Lenin saw a political opportunity and realised that the power of the peasants constituted the main threat to the regime. According to Kingston-Mann, Lenin realised that political changes could most likely be brought about by the peasants’ actions and not by the middle class or bourgeoisie.<sup>128</sup> The Bolsheviks later seized power from the Tsarist monarchy with a successful revolution in 1917.<sup>129</sup> “Bloody Sunday,” also known as the Bloody Sunday Massacre, is commemorated in St Petersburg. The monument was unveiled in 1960 on Cnr 13 janvāra iela & 11 Novembra Krastmala on the bank of the Daugava River outside the old city (figure 01). The bronze monument depicts a man taking a flag from his fallen comrade. According to Wombat, this is

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<sup>126</sup> S. M. Kenworthy. “An Orthodox Social Gospel in Late-Imperial Russia,” *Religion and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, Volume 1, (2006), pp. 1-29.

<sup>127</sup> R. Cavendish. “‘Bloody Sunday’ in St Petersburg,” *History Today*, 55(1) (2005).

<sup>128</sup> E. Kingston-Mann. “Lenin and the Challenge of Peasant Militance: From Bloody Sunday, 1905 to the Dissolution of the First Duma,” *The Russian Review*, 38(4) (1979), pp. 434-455.

<sup>129</sup> R. Wombat. 2017. *1905 – Bloody Sunday Monument*.

<https://ramblingwombat.wordpress.com/2017/04/23/1905-bloody-sunday-monument/>. Access: March 2021.

the river in St Petersburg where over 70 people were shot and drowned trying to flee from the scene through thin ice and where the snow was turned bright red with the victims' blood.<sup>130</sup>



Figure 01: Bloody Sunday Memorial in St Petersburg

Photo: <https://ramblingwombat.wordpress.com/2017/04/23/1905-bloody-sunday-monument/>. Access: March 2021.

As depicted in the picture, the monument was erected on the exact location in St Petersburg where the Bloody Sunday Massacre occurred. On the left side of the picture, a bridge crosses the river where some protesters drowned. One figure is cast as falling, presumably representing a worker who had just been shot. Though this man is mortally wounded as depicted, his compatriot stands confident and is ready to confront the Tsarist government. His expression of anger represents that protesters did not lose hope to challenge Tsar Nicholas II and the monarchy after the massacre. The monument emphasised that violence was not a solution, but until the people of Russia were freed, they would continue to fight against absolutism in Russia. This is one of the monuments and events that the Soviet Union utilised to seize power from the Tsar monarchy because twelve years later, the Soviet Union came into power.

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<sup>130</sup> Wombat. 2017, <https://ramblingwombat.wordpress.com/2017/04/23/1905-bloody-sunday-monument/>.

Regarding the selected South African site, Irene concentration camp, on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1899, the second Anglo Boer War (South African War) began and lasted for almost three years. It was a war between two colonial powers, Great Britain and the Boers, recently reviewed and renamed the South African war because black Africans also took part in the war. The second Anglo Boer war outbreak is believed to have been triggered by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. The other factors that led to this war were the conflict of political ideologies of imperialism, republicanism, and the Jameson Raid. During the war, the British set up concentration camps because of their ‘Scorched Earth Policy’.<sup>131</sup> It was a strategy by the British to have these concentration camps usually located closer to the railway lines, Irene being one of the thirty-one concentration camps. So that they could burn down the houses and crops and kill the livestock to prevent the Boer commandos from having support in the countryside and so that Afrikaner people in the farms were left stranded and had concentration camps as the only place, they could turn to. According to Van Vollenhoven, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1900, the Irene concentration camp was opened, and the population in the camp increased rapidly, resulting in the death of more than 27 000 Boer women, children, and African people in the camps, and this happened because of inadequate food, water and medical care.<sup>132</sup>

The South African war ended on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1902 with the victory of Great Britain. The first offer of peace by the British was in March 1901, but the Boers rejected the offer until 1902, when they fully accepted the defeat and loss of their independence with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902.<sup>133</sup> In 1909, the South African Act was passed in Britain that granted dominion status to territory and gave political control to the white minority. Even though black Africans were promised political rights after the war, this did not happen. The treaty excluded Africans and reorganized South Africa as the British and Boer cooperated to form a white supremacist state.<sup>134</sup> During the second Anglo-Boer War/ South African War, nearly 60 000 lives were lost, including the deaths in the concentration camps, which included an estimated 12 000 African deaths both on battlefields and in the

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<sup>131</sup> C. Van Onselen, *The Cowboy Capitalist: John Hays Hammond, the American West, and the Jameson Raid in South Africa* (University of Virginia Press, 2018).

<sup>132</sup> A. C. Van Vollenhoven, *A Report on a heritage impact assessment for the erection of a memorial at the Irene Concentration camp cemetery, city of Tshwane, Gauteng Province* (Archaetnos, Pretoria, 2019, p. 13).

<sup>133</sup> SAHO, 2019. *Peace Treaty of Vereeniging - original document*. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/peace-treaty-vereeniging-original-document> Access: August 2020.

<sup>134</sup> R. Cavendish. “The peace of vereeniging: May 31st 1902,” *History Today*, 52(5) (2002), p. 65.

concentration camps, which were not recorded in the past. The Irene concentration camps (figure 02) was turned into a memorial of the war, situated at 11 Stepford Rd, Irene Security Estate, Centurion. According to van Vollenhoven, the concentration camp memorial represents three words: ‘Care’, ‘Hope’, and ‘Peace’.<sup>135</sup> As van Vollenhoven explains, the words represented “‘Care’ for our fellow human beings, care for our loved ones, ‘Hope’ for the future, hope for all humanity and ‘Peace’ in our hearts to appreciate the beauty of nature and art, and to teach the future generation to value and cherish and love life.”<sup>136</sup>



Figure 02: The Irene Concentration Camp Cemetery

Photo: M.S. Motena, 2021

The Irene Concentration Camp was reconstructed by the South African Women’s Federation (SAVF) in 1958, transforming the cemetery into a garden of remembrance. The gravesite originally had graves numbered with metal plates by the British authorities. The highest number of metal plates ever found during the reconstruction was numbered 2 156 which shows that the deaths that occurred in the Irene camps were over the generally

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<sup>135</sup> van Vollenhoven, *A Report on a heritage impact assessment for the erection of a memorial at the Irene Concentration camp cemetery, city of Tshwane, Gauteng Province*, p. 15.

<sup>136</sup> van Vollenhoven, *A Report on a heritage impact assessment for the erection of a memorial at the Irene Concentration camp cemetery, city of Tshwane, Gauteng Province*, p. 15.

accepted number of 1 149. Before the reconstruction, the graves consisted of piles of stones closely placed to each other. This burial style might have been because many people died in the camps, and there was a burial almost every day during the war. In 1958 the new symbolic tombstones were erected. The photo above (figure 02) shows that the tombstones were alphabetically erected from the entrance according to the people who died in the camps. The names and dates written on the black granite gravestones range from twelve to twenty names divided on both sides of the tombstone. The original rocks used for the graves were reused for paving around tombstones and some for the memorial wall. The site is referred to as a garden of remembrance. Moreover, as shown in the photo, it is a beautiful garden with trees, flowers and a lawn. The site is currently under the protection of the SAHRA.

The site was turned into a memorial site 56 years after the tragedy. In 1958, it was also the tenth anniversary of the National Party victory in 1948, which subsequently had control over the national state with four provinces. After so many years, the reconstruction of the site was influenced by the increasing political power of Afrikaners in South Africa. According to Stanley and Dampier, the political role of Afrikaner women's after the war was significant for politics because of specifically selected testimonies. The testimonies have contributed to the development of Afrikaner Nationalism, and hence it had to be acknowledged and publicly commemorated.<sup>137</sup> These testimonies are problematic, and an issue as Dominy and Callinicos question 'if is there anything to celebrate?' especially looking at the history of the war, where it has always been one side of the interpretation because black people were not acknowledged on this commemoration monument.<sup>138</sup>

The sites of tragedy or death are sensitive and have relevance for future generations. According to Frew, these sites are essential to the community as they acknowledge the fact that people lost their families and close friends and are still grieving.<sup>139</sup> 'Bloody Sunday' is one of the dark heritage sites associated with the brutality of the Tsarist government. The Irene concentration camp memorial is a dark heritage site depicting the tragedy and sufferings during the Second Anglo Boer War (South African War) at the hands

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<sup>137</sup> L. Stanley & H. Dampier. "Aftermaths: post/memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902," *European Review of History*, 12(1) (2005), p. 105.

<sup>138</sup> Dominy, & Callinicos, "Is There Anything to Celebrate?" *Paradoxes of Policy*, p. 294.

<sup>139</sup> E. Frew, From living memory to social history: commemoration and interpretation of a contemporary dark event. In: J. J. L. Glenn Hooper, ed. *Dark Tourism: Practice and interpretation*. (Routledge, New York, 2016, p. 14.)

of the British. Nevertheless, the followed regimes repeated similar tragic events resulting in other dark sites. It is essential to consider how the new regimes discredited the previous regimes using these dark tragic events.

When there is a political transition and a new regime, the previous government is often discredited, developing new narratives. In this case, the dark events discussed above were used by the new regimes, both the USSR and the apartheid government, to discredit the old regimes and provide support for their new political narratives. The USSR, especially the first leader Lenin, spoke about how the Tsarist government was ruthless and how the Communists would be better. In South Africa, the apartheid government also employed a similar narrative to discredit the Union government after coming into power. It used the Anglo Boer War and the concentration camps to feed its base of Afrikaner nationalism.<sup>140</sup>

Vladimir Lenin, who became the first leader of the Soviet Union, mostly used Bloody Sunday in his speeches to convey how the Tsar's rule was savage. Hearing of the 1905 massacre while in exile, Lenin believed that a turning point in Russia's history had been reached. On the 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary of bloody Sunday, Lenin emphasised that the Tsar had ordered troops to open fire on unarmed workers who were not Social Democrats but loyal and God-fearing subjects. He further used statistics pointing out how the number of strikers increased from 43 000 to 440 000 in one month. His argument was directed to how capitalism was a system that did not work for Russia as it did in capitalist countries, which did not treat their people like the Tsar's government did. As a result, the discrediting of Tsarist rule and capitalism worked for the Soviet Union, and most of the Russian citizens believed communism was the right system for Russia.<sup>141</sup>

In South Africa, compared to the Soviet Union, which used 'Bloody Sunday' to discredit the Tsar and capitalist governments, the concentration camps were used as a foundation of Afrikaner nationalism. Afrikaner nationalism was not coterminous for all Afrikaners, but the events of the war subsequently constructed a nationalist frame. As Stanley

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<sup>140</sup> Marxists Internet Archive, n.d. *Marxists Internet Archive Library*. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/index.htm>. Access: 2021; Stanley & Dampier. "Aftermaths: post/memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902", pp. 91-119.

<sup>141</sup> Marxists Internet Archive, n.d. *Marxists Internet Archive Library*. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/index.htm>. Access: 2021.

and Dampier state, this happened by using the concentration camps for political purposes and always pointing out that ‘they deliberately killed “het volk” our people’ referring to the British.<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, they used women’s testimonies to be more reliable than men’s testimonies as they were on commando defending the fatherland. According to Stanley and Dampier, these testimonies were exaggerated and written between fifteen to forty years after the events, in contrast to the claims that were written during the war.<sup>143</sup> They further argue that the testimonies entirely forgot about the presence of black people in so-called ‘white’ camps and that racism and segregation were taken for granted by the writers when they were writing stories.<sup>144</sup> Stanley and Dampier believe that the South African War not only immediately affected Afrikaner society, but worse, that scars of violence made them hate and fear blacks and later provided a basis for apartheid.<sup>145</sup> As Afrikaner nationalism grew and developed from the 1920s, the state-funded and promoted public commemoration of the war, and in the process, for political purposes, they left out the remembrance of blacks who were in the concentration camps. The same commentators further argue there were no signs that black people were in these camps because the Afrikaner nationalist had smaller numbers of the dead recorded in each camp compared to the number recorded by the British. Furthermore, the blacks and coloured, English or other names foreign to Afrikaner society were left out.

After the Russian Revolution and subsequent civil war, the Soviet Union controlled Russia and ruled until 1991. When the Soviets came into power, most Russians celebrated the end of the totalitarian rule of the Tsar, but soon, especially during the Stalinist era, history repeated itself. When the Russian people started to see the same dictatorial policies emerge, they tried to challenge the communist government but failed. As mentioned earlier, the Soviet Union had the secret police known as the Cheka and *Narodny Kommissariat Vnutrennikh Del* (NKVD). Moreover, any Russian citizen who tried to challenge or oppose the Communist government was imprisoned or executed, one of the famous sites being the Gulags or forced

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<sup>142</sup> Stanley & Dampier. “Aftermaths: post/memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902”, p. 95.

<sup>143</sup> Stanley & Dampier, “Aftermaths: post/memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902”, p. 98.

<sup>144</sup> Stanley & Dampier. “Aftermaths: post/memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902”, pp. 91-119.

<sup>145</sup> Stanley & Dampier. “Aftermaths: post/memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902”, pp. 99-102.

labour camps.<sup>146</sup> The Gulag forced labour camps were established immediately after the USSR came into existence by Vladimir Lenin in the 1920s and ran until the early 1950s after the death of Joseph Stalin.

The Gulag labour camps were later made famous by the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn who was once sent to the labor camps for criticizing Stalin's regime and wrote a factual book titled *The Gulag Archipelago* describing life in the Gulag labour camps.<sup>147</sup> These camps were notorious prisons that incarcerated about 18 million people. The camps' population rapidly increased during the rule of Stalin because he viewed these camps as an efficient way to boost industrialization in the Soviet Union. These notorious prisons housed common criminals and those who opposed the Communist party, such as old government officials, educated people, students, writers, and anyone perceived as anti-Stalinist. Many died from the living conditions, particularly far below sub-zero temperatures, starvation, overcrowded accommodation and unsanitary conditions resulting in diseases while some prisoners were executed.<sup>148</sup>

The Gulag labour camps were weakened after the death of Stalin and mostly remained to imprison common criminals while most political prisoners were released. Most of the Gulag labour camps were destroyed after 1991, but one of the camps still authentically preserved is Dneprovsky Gulag Camp which was abandoned in 1955 and was not used as a prison (figure 03). According to Koryo Tours, the camp's entrance, buildings, guard towers, fences are still standing. There is a cemetery where the graves were numbered but not named, and prisoners were buried haphazardly regardless of any religion they might have believed or followed.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> J. Bergman. "Was the Soviet Union Totalitarian? The View of Soviet Dissidents and the Reformers of the Gorbachev Era," *Studies in East European Thought*, 50(4) (1998), pp. 247-281.

<sup>147</sup> Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. 2020. *Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn*. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Aleksandr-Solzhenitsyn>. Access: 14 June 2021.

<sup>148</sup> Revelations from the Russian Archives, n.d. *Internal Workings of the Soviet Union*. [https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/intn.html#skip\\_menu](https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/intn.html#skip_menu). Accessed April 2021.

<sup>149</sup> Koryo Tours, 2020. *Dneprovsky Gulag Camp, Magadan | Russia Travel Guide*. <https://koryogroup.com/travel-guide/dneprovsky-gulag-camp-magadan-russia-travel-guide>. Access: April 2021.



Figure 03: Abandoned Dneprovsky Gulag Labour Camp

Photo: <https://koryogroup.com/travel-guide/dneprovsky-gulag-camp-magadan-russia-travel-guide>. Access: April 2021.

As noted, the picture above depicts the abandoned Dneprovsky Gulag labour camp, which functioned during the ruling of Lenin and Stalin. The Dneprovsky camp is located in a mountainous area, and it was a tin mining camp, clearly shown here with a shaft sinking tower. The old and decaying infrastructure and the overgrown grass and trees on the site show that the site does not and did not have any function since the early years after the death of Stalin. While most Gulag camps continued to operate as prisons after the death of Stalin, the Dneprovsky camp was abandoned, and it is the only Gulag camp that is authentic, depicting how the camps were. The reason this camp was abandoned may have been because it is very isolated. The nearest urban area to the Dneprovsky gulag camp is Magadan City, 250 kilometres away and without proper roads.<sup>150</sup>

Unlike in Russia, where the majority felt that the Soviet Union was their saviour, in South Africa, it was different when the new regime came into power. Segregation was

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<sup>150</sup> Koryo Tours, 2020. <https://koryogroup.com/travel-guide/dneprovsky-gulag-camp-magadan-russia-travel-guide>.

entrenched and intensified as the country was officially ruled by racial policies, and further oppressed the majority African population. Several protests and riots took place to challenge the apartheid government's policies, and one of the most famous protests was organised by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The march was planned to be a peaceful protest against the 'pass laws', but unfortunately, the protesters were shot by the police and 69 people died on the scene, which would go down in history as the Sharpeville massacre.<sup>151</sup>

Another well-known protest was the Soweto uprising on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976. On the morning of 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976, black students ranging between 3 000 - 10 000 mobilised themselves for a peaceful march to protest the apartheid government's decision to make Afrikaans a medium of instruction. The students demanded equal access to education, especially since the government introduced the Bantu Education Act in 1953. The students also demanded the removal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. The march was planned to be held at Orlando stadium in Soweto and was organised by the South African Students Movement (SASM) and supported by the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The march did not get to the stadium as they were met with armed police. According to Ndlovu, the police asked students to disperse, and after failing to do so, armed police began releasing dogs, firing teargas and live ammunition.<sup>152</sup> As is well-known, one of the first victims was Hector Peterson, aged 13, who became the iconic martyr of the Soweto uprising. Estimates of protesters killed on the day range between 176 to 700. The protest then spread nationwide and carried on until 1977, with many boycotting schools, universities and workplaces.<sup>153</sup> The protest gained international attention, especially when the photo of dying Hector Pieterse, taken by Sam Nzima, exposed the brutality of apartheid government to international media. Activists around the world began lobbying for economic sanctions and the United States of America also condemned the shootings, and as a result, the apartheid government was increasingly ostracised internationally. The Soweto uprising weakened the apartheid regime. Though the protest was about Afrikaans language in schools, it turned into a tragic event and

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<sup>151</sup> Marschall. "Pointing to the Dead: Victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa," p. 117; Houston, Mati, Seabe, Peires, Webb, Dumisa, Sausi, Mbenga, Manson and Popiwa. 2013. *The Liberation Struggle and Liberation Heritage Sites in South Africa*, p. 239).

<sup>152</sup> S. M. Ndlovu. *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of June 1976*. (Ravan Press, Randburg, 1998, p. 342).

<sup>153</sup> Ndlovu, *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of June 1976*.

gave the black liberation movement confidence. According to Sithole, Hector Pieterse's sister stated that "We never thought that would be the turning point".<sup>154</sup>

In democratic South Africa, 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976 is remembered with a national holiday as Youth Day, declared by the South African government on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1995. A memorial and museum were built in Orlando West, Soweto, just two blocks away from where Hector was shot and killed (figure 04). The memorial was unveiled by the late former ANC President Nelson Mandela on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1992 and the museum was officially opened on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2002 and exhibits the chronology of the 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976 build-up and schools that went on strike afterwards.<sup>155</sup> The event is commemorated and recognises the sacrifices and contributions made by the youth of 1976 who stood up against the apartheid government.



Figure 04: Hector Pieterse Memorial  
Photo: M.S. Motena, 2021

<sup>154</sup> A. Baker. 2016. *This Photo Galvanized the World Against Apartheid. Here's the Story Behind It.* <https://time.com/4365138/soweto-anniversary-photograph/>. Access: 26 April 2021; Houston, Mati, Seabe, Peires, Webb, Dumisa, Sausi, Mbenga, Manson and Pophiwa. 2013. *The Liberation Struggle and Liberation Heritage Sites in South Africa*, p. 295).

<sup>155</sup> S. Marschall. "Visualizing Memories: The Hector Pieterse Memorial in Soweto," *Visual Anthropology*, Volume 19, (2006), p. 149.

The memorial is curated to celebrate the youth who gave their lives in the struggle for freedom. The message “To Honour the Youth who gave their Lives in the Struggle for Freedom and Democracy” is emblazoned on the memorial. It was erected by the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) with a design of a red granite tombstone. It also states on the granite that it was officially unveiled by the president of ANC, Dr. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1992. There is also artistic work portraying the iconic photo taken by Sam Nzima showing Hector Peterson carried by a fellow student after he was shot by the police, together with Peterson’s sister. On the left side of the tombstone, a message stating “In Memory of Hector Peterson and all other young heroes and heroines of our struggle who laid down their lives for Freedom, Peace and Democracy” is displayed.

These dark heritage sites offer an opportunity for remembrance and education. The sites act as learning centres about the dark past and as tangible sites of memory. They offer an opportunity for the sites to be tourist destinations. The four sites discussed above, Bloody Sunday, Irene Concentration Camps, the Gulag camp and the Hector Pieterse Memorial, all serve the purpose of memory and remembrance. According to Tony Walter, “if there is no formal way to care for the dead, all that is left is to remember them.”<sup>156</sup> Walter is supported by Marschall when she argues that “Memorials are never erected for the sake of the dead, who demand our respect. Rather, they are set up by the living for the sake of the living.”<sup>157</sup> The dark heritage sites are then simply places of the memorial. As the British war cemeteries states, “At the going down of the sun, and in the morning, we will remember them”.<sup>158</sup>

### 2.3 Dissonant Heritage

Considering dissonant heritage, the standard heritage definition is very broad and vague, especially looking at terms such as contested or dissonant heritage. It also refers to tangible and intangible aspects. Heritage has always been known as a term that refers to the inheritance received or passed from the ancestors. However, Zazu argues that the conception of heritage is problematic because ‘there is no such thing as heritage.’ He supports his argument stating that “the value that we attach to that which we call heritage is similarly

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<sup>156</sup> T. Walter, ‘Dark Tourism: Mediating Between the Dead and the Living’. Sharpley & Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, p. 46.

<sup>157</sup> Marschall. “Pointing to the dead: victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa,” p. 103.

<sup>158</sup> T. Walter, ‘Dark Tourism: Mediating Between the Dead and the Living’, p. 46.

contested, when viewed from a different cultural perspective.”<sup>159</sup> From contested heritage evolves dissonant heritage (figure 05), where the heritage recalls past events which are not easily reconciled and are seen as unsuitable from an evolving cultural or political perspective. Examples of this heritage are shortly discussed under ‘dissonant heritage sites’.

Battilani *et al.* discuss the process that generally occurs when heritage becomes dissonant using Forlì and Predappio, towns from Italy, as case studies. They argue that it happens when dominant groups use their views to analyse if a monument is still relevant and should be preserved. In their argument, the first element in this procedure is the disappearance of self-esteem, which is when dominant people no longer feel proud of the monument, which results in a dark historical figure being abandoned. It is not always the case, especially considering how colonial monuments have always represented the minority in South Africa and never the majority. The second element which may lead to dissonant heritage is continuity across time. There is re-writing of history and changing of the social landscape, such as a political transition. As a result, such heritage monuments no longer function as a presentation of present identity or politics. It is influenced by power relations, such as how monuments have been targeted in Russia after every political transition.<sup>160</sup>

In support of Battilani *et al.*, Smith further argues that the cause of dissonant heritage lies in observation and interpretation.<sup>161</sup> Heritage becomes dissonant due to shifts in interpretation and specifically considering who is interpreting the heritage monument or place, which is when the value and meaning of that heritage are weighed. It happens when people, groups or communities, value the past differently, and according to Smith, this is also influenced by the dominant social or ethnic groups who hold political power.<sup>162</sup> As a result, heritage becomes a political resource considering how a particular group tends to identify heritage in terms of nationalism. This kind of heritage becomes problematic or contested when the new political regime no longer favours heritage. An example of such contested heritage is the Voortrekker monument.

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<sup>159</sup> C. Zazu. “Heritage – A Conceptually Evolving and Dissonant Phenomenon: Implications for Heritage Management and Education Practices in Post-colonial Southern Africa,” *Southern African Journal of Environmental Education*, Volume 28, (2011), p. 136.

<sup>160</sup> P. Battilani, C. Bernini & A. “Mariotti. How to cope with dissonant heritage: a way towards sustainable tourism development,” *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 26(8) (2018), pp. 1417-1436.

<sup>161</sup> L. Smith, 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. (illustrated ed. Routledge, London); Battilani, Bernini & A. “Mariotti. How to cope with dissonant heritage: a way towards sustainable tourism development”, pp. 1417-1436.

<sup>162</sup> Smith, 2006. *Uses of Heritage*, p. 81.

The Voortrekker monument was built in 1937 in honour of the Voortrekkers, who left the Cape Colony between the 1830s and 1840s and settled in the interior of South Africa. The monument was built as a commemoration of the Voortrekkers, but it became a product of the Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s. When it was built, it was politically fit and suitable for the identity of the Afrikaner people. It is evident when Andries Breytenbach, a theology professor at the University of Pretoria, also defended it, stating that the monument had a message that “the whites have a right to be here. It is their land”.<sup>163</sup> After the political transition took place in 1994, the Voortrekker Monument was perceived as a symbol of racism and some saw it as a representation of the apartheid regime. According to Nessman, rumours quickly spread that after the end of the apartheid regime, the monument would be demolished or painted pink and become a gay nightclub.<sup>164</sup> The reason for such different perceptions towards this monument is because it was one of the heritage monuments which were dominant prior to 1994, reflecting the interests and identity of a white minority.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> The Washington Times., 2003. *Afrikaner totem adapts to times*.

<https://m.washingtontimes.com/news/2003/may/14/20030514-101717-9585r/>. Access: 8 June 2021.

<sup>164</sup> R. Nessman. 2003. *South Africa's Symbol of a Bygone Era*. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2003-may-11-adfg-temple11-story.html>. Access: May 2021.

<sup>165</sup> Flynn, & King, “Symbolic Reparation, Heritage and Political Transition in South Africa’s Eastern Cape,” p. 465.

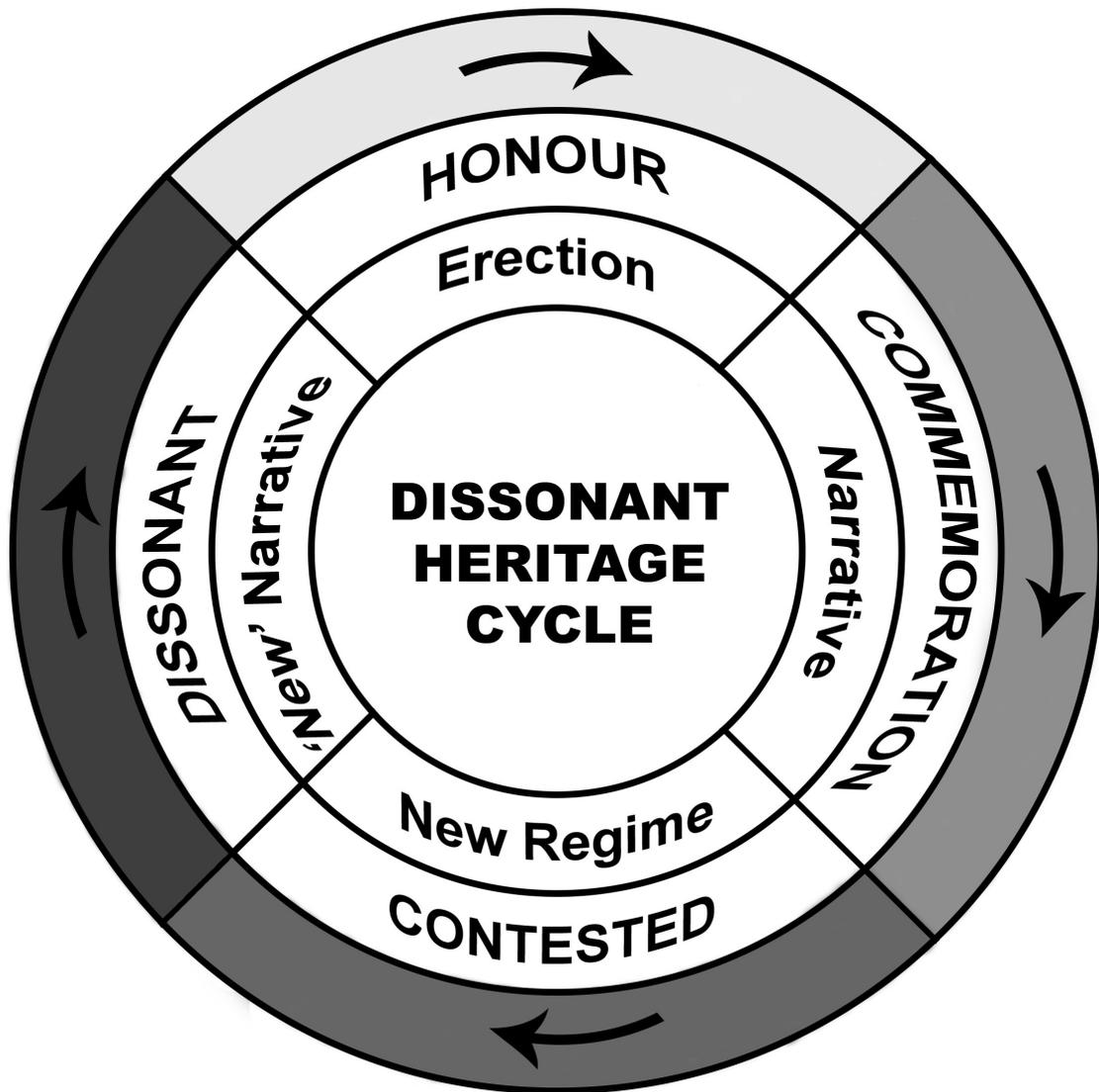


Figure 05: Dissonant Heritage Cycle  
 Compiled by: M.S. Motena, 2021

The dissonant heritage cycle above shows how dissonant heritage evolves, explicitly looking at monuments or statues. The cycle shows four categories: ‘Honour’, ‘Commemoration’, ‘Contested’ and finally ‘Dissonant’. For a monument or statue to be perceived as dissonant heritage, it generally goes through all these phases, from the time it is erected to when it is finally threatened or dismantled/destroyed. Each of these categories will be discussed in turn. The situation in Russia, emphasises the iterative nature of dissonant heritage because of the possibility that a monument or statue may pass from the dissonant stage back to honour, as noted, for example, the *re-erection* of statues to honour Joseph Stalin in Russia.

### 2.3.1 Honour

Monuments are initially intended to confer respect and special recognition to a person or event displayed in public. Considering statues, a person honoured at this phase can still be alive or dead. At this phase, of erection and honouring, the political narrative would still be in favour showing a high amount of respect even though certain groups, or many in society, may not be in support of the honour for different reasons, the monument would still stand. For example, the statue of the late African National Congress president Oliver Tambo was erected at O.R Tambo International Airport in South Africa. The statue was officially unveiled in October 2020 by President Cyril Ramaphosa (figure 06). Due to the cost of the monument, some citizens were not pleased. However, the statue was still erected, and President Ramaphosa justified the statue, saying that Tambo deserved to be commemorated. He was the architect of South Africa's freedom and noted that the statue would be a significant tourist attraction.<sup>166</sup> From the Russian side, an example of an honorary monument is the statue of Vladimir Lenin. The monument was unveiled on November 7, 1925, and this is one of the first monuments in the Soviet Union erected in Nizhny Tagil, Russia. The monument was designed by Alexey Frolov, a school drawing teacher, and it is also one of the little statues of Lenin. The sculpture of Lenin statue is small in stature, but what makes it significant is that he is depicted standing on a globe and underneath the globe is a depiction of four books each, showing the quotes of the leader.<sup>167</sup> This statue is one of the earliest monuments erected after the victory of the Soviet Union over the Tsar.

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<sup>166</sup> C. Bhengu. 2020. *South Africans react to OR Tambo statue: 'Can we build houses, healthcare and schools?'*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-10-28-south-africans-react-to-or-tambo-statue-can-we-build-houses-healthcare-and-schools/>. Access: 12 November 2020.

<sup>167</sup> M. Markovskiy. 2021. *Lenin Monument in Nizhny Tagil, Russia*. <https://www.dreamstime.com/lenin-monument-nizhny-tagil-russia-was-unveiled-november-overall-design-made-school-drawing-teacher-alexey-frolov-image122395844>. Access: July 2021; Rusmania, 2021. *Lenin Monuments*. <https://rusmania.com/lenin-monuments>. Access: March 2021.



Figure 06: Oliver Reginald Kaizana Tambo Statue  
Photo: M.S. Motena, 2021

### 2.3.2. Commemoration

Once a monument has been erected and unveiled, it serves to commemorate the person or event. The person or event is publicly remembered and considered extraordinary and fits neatly into the dominant political narrative. An example of this is the statue of Paul Kruger in Pretoria, president of the Transvaal from 1883 to 1900 (figure 07). The statue was first installed at Prince's Park. It was later moved to Pretoria station before finally being unveiled at Pretoria's Church Square in 1954 by National Party prime-minister Dr D.F. Malan.<sup>168</sup> It was unveiled in Church Square by the apartheid regime because it bolstered the political narrative. Kruger was seen as an extraordinary leader and an important figure in the history of the Afrikaner people. In Russia, Vladimir Lenin was perceived in a similar way to Kruger as an extraordinary leader. Lenin's monuments were erected to commemorate him as the first leader to rescue the Russian people from the Tsarist monarchy. Hence Lenin was, and to some Russian people still is, perceived as one of the most iconic leaders in Russian history.

<sup>168</sup> L. Koorts. "An Ageing Anachronism: D.F. Malan as Prime Minister, 1948–1954," *A Journal of Interdisciplinary Synthesis*, 36(1) (2010), p. 130.



Figure 07: Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger statue  
Photo: M.S. Motena, 2021

### 2.3.3. Contested

The third phase of the dissonant heritage cycle is ‘contested heritage’, when a monument or statue becomes controversial heritage in the public space. It takes place when new political regimes or leadership comes into power. At this phase, the monument is questioned, if it is appropriate, mainly when a political transition occurs. The heritage attached to the monument may remain essential to a certain group of people. However, in most cases, it does not accommodate the majority and presents a political narrative, and as a result, it becomes inappropriate to occupy public space. Considering this kind of heritage, an example is the statue of Lenin and Stalin in Omsk, Russia, which for many people symbolised a dictatorship (Figure 08). While initially, some Russian citizens might not appreciate the monument, it could not be questioned. It became controversial, however, during Khrushchev’s policy of ‘De-Stalinisation’.<sup>169</sup> The statue of Lenin and Stalin depicted

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<sup>169</sup> S. Kruk. “Semiotics of visual iconicity in Leninist ‘monumental’ propaganda,” *Visual Communication*, 7(1) (2008), pp. 27-56.

them in conversation, with Lenin sitting on a bench and Stalin standing. The monument was removed in the early 1960s because it did not fit the political narrative of the new leader, Khrushchev. The policy of De-Stalinisation aimed to remove Stalin's statues or monuments, including those where Stalin was depicted with Lenin. Khrushchev saw the statues of Stalin as being unsuitable for public spaces because of the actions of Stalin in Russia during his leadership, which to a certain extent resulted in a bad name for the USSR as a socialist state.



Figure 08: Lenin and Stalin, the first two USSR leaders

Photo: <https://rusmania.com/lenin-monuments>. Access: March 2021.

Another example of contested heritage is again the statue of Paul Kruger in Church Square. After the political transition and end of the apartheid regime, the statue of Kruger in Church Square has been controversial. With the new political regime, the monument lost its value or reputation in the public's eyes because it no longer aligned with the dominant political values of reconciliation and nation-building. Nevertheless, as Smith argues, "all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's."<sup>170</sup> To a certain

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<sup>170</sup> Smith. *Uses of Heritage*, p. 80.

extent, this is true because the statue of Kruger is predominantly representative of the heritage of the Afrikaner people and, to a certain extent, is perceived as a national historical figure.

### 2.3.4 Dissonant

The last phase of the cycle is dissonant heritage, and at this level, the heritage is no longer contested but dissonant and sometimes highly or extremely dissonant. The monuments are perceived as heritage that is not easily reconciled with visitors' or citizens' values and experiences. Although, as mentioned earlier, that heritage always excluded and accommodated certain groups, a monument might be perceived as dissonant, but there will always be a group or segment of society which will differ on this perspective. However, when a monument reaches this level, it is often vandalised, defaced, destroyed, or dismantled in most cases. In some cases, they are removed from the public space.

An example from South Africa is the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, which was removed in April 2015 from the premises of the University of Cape Town (UCT) (figure 09). The statue of Rhodes was vandalised with paint before it was removed from its original place with a crane. The crowd, which mostly comprised of UCT students, gathered around the statue with board messages, and one of the messages visible on the photo was "we're not done yet", which is a message commenting about the racism taking place at the UCT and the need for decolonising public spaces in South Africa. Another example, from Russia, is the 'fallen monument park' also known as Muzeon Park of Arts or Sculpture Park in the Krymsky Val building in Moscow that was established in 1992, and is where some of Russia's dissonant monuments were taken.<sup>171</sup> As shown in the photo (Figure 10), the park is well-maintained with green trees and a lawn. The park exhibits the Soviet Union leaders such as Stalin and Lenin, as shown below, along with plaques providing information on every statue. A vast sculpture portrays the USSR symbol of communism with a hammer and sickle on the left side. The statues and monuments exhibited in this park were removed from the public spaces and placed in this park.

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<sup>171</sup> uvisitrussia, n.d. *Fallen Monument Park*. <https://www.uvisitrussia.com/fallen-monument-park/>. Access: May 2021.



Figure 09: Removal of Cecil John Rhodes statue in UCT premises

Photo: <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/rhodes-will-fall-oxford-university-remove-stature-amid-anti-racism-n1231387>. Access: March 2021.



Figure 10: Soviet monuments in the Fallen Monument Park

Photo: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/07/world/europe/russia-statues-lenin-stalin-dzerzhinsky.html>. Access: March 2021.

Dissonant heritage sites are mostly vandalised or removed during a political transition. For example, the Soviets removed the monuments of the Tsar, and then Soviet statues mainly were removed and vandalised after the fall of the Soviet Union. However, in the case of South Africa, the political transition has never affected dissonant heritage, which is comprised of colonial monuments. These monuments always have and still are protected by heritage legislation. The only time when a monument has been removed or relocated in South Africa, the authorities followed the procedure outlined in the National Heritage Resource Act of 1999, discussed in chapter one. An example is the statue of Cecil Rhodes on figure 09.

As noted above, the dissonant heritage cycle is iterative. An example is the recent erection of a statue to honour Joseph Stalin, which was unveiled in Novosibirsk in Siberia and Bor, a town approximately four hundred kilometres east of Moscow. In Novosibirsk, the bust of Stalin was erected in 2019 for the 74<sup>th</sup> Second World War anniversary. In 2020, a three-meter statue commemorating the Soviet leader was unveiled in Bor town for the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war.<sup>172</sup> The erection of these monuments was justified because Stalin was seen to have saved Russia from the Nazis and the world. According to this revisionist history, as outlined on *Siberia.Realities*, the repression Stalin launched was necessary because the Soviet Union had many enemies.<sup>173</sup> Although some people opposed the erection of the monument and called it an embarrassment, arguing that Stalin was a criminal, more than 11,000 people signed a petition for it to be erected. At the unveilings for both statues, the majority of those in attendance were elderly and held Stalin's portrait and Soviet symbols. They primarily argued that the statue was suitable for everyone. They would not allow the

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<sup>172</sup> The Moscow Times, 2020. *Russian Communist Unveils Stalin Statue on WWII Anniversary*. <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2020/06/25/russian-communist-unveils-stalin-statue-on-wwii-anniversary-a70698>. Access: 12 April 2021.

<sup>173</sup> *Siberia.Realities*, 2019. '*Generalissimo Of The Great Victory*': *Communists Unveil Stalin Statue In Siberia Amid Protests*. <https://www.rferl.org/a/generalissimo-of-the-great-victory-communists-unveil-stalin-statue-in-siberia-amid-protests/29932972.html>. Access: 23 February 2021.

liberals to distort their history, maintaining that Stalin was a historical figure that deserved to be celebrated.<sup>174</sup>

It should be noted that the dissonant heritage cycle does not apply to all monuments. In some cases, monuments can be perceived as dissonant heritage from the day erected. For example, with the colonial monuments in South Africa, only the colonists honoured the monuments, and it was immediately dissonant heritage for Africans who were oppressed. From the Russian perspective, when the monuments of Soviet leaders were erected, especially of Stalin, public opinion did not matter. Moreover, from the Russian history, the monuments went straight from honour to dissonance, and this happened when the political transition took place. From the South African perspective, the monuments somehow followed the cycle, especially looking at how the national heritage acts protected them. However, in general, monuments are affected by political transitions, mediated by national heritage legislation and how the law intends to preserve history and heritage.

## 2.4 Dissonant Heritage Sites

This section discusses the dissonant heritage monuments in Russia and South Africa, respectively. The discussion ranges from the monuments built in commemoration for the Tsarist regime leaders and the Soviet Union in Russia and monuments built for some British and Dutch leaders in South Africa. Some of these monuments were dismantled and re-erected, while others were vandalised and threatened to be dismantled. One of the famous monuments from Russia is the memorial built in honour of Alexander II. Tsar Alexander II is often called ‘Tsar the liberator’ or ‘Tsar the deliverer’ as he abolished serfdom in 1861. The memorial was begun in the early 1900s and was completed in 1911. The monument was officially unveiled by his grandson, Tsar Nicholas II. His accomplishments before being assassinated were recorded on the memorial, such as that he freed millions of peasants from centuries of slavery. Moreover, he adopted a Western-style political system granting Russian citizens individual rights.<sup>175</sup> Despite the argument that he was a liberator, his monuments

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<sup>174</sup> Siberia.Realities, 2019. ‘Generalissimo Of The Great Victory’: Communists Unveil Stalin Statue In Siberia Amid Protests. <https://www.rferl.org/a/generalissimo-of-the-great-victory-communists-unveil-stalin-statue-in-siberia-amid-protests/29932972.html>. Access: 23 February 2021.

<sup>175</sup> P, Gilbert. 2019. Consecration of monument to Alexander II in the presence of Emperor Nicholas II in Kiev 1911. <https://tsarnicholas.org/2019/08/29/consecration-of-monument-to-alexander-ii-in-the-presence-of-emperor-nicholas-ii-in-kyiv-1911/>.

were still destroyed in 1918 by the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks destroyed almost all monuments that commemorated or honoured the Tsars, including Tsar Alexander II. As Tatlin *et. al.* state, Lenin argued that monuments erected to honour the Tsars no longer had historical significance.<sup>176</sup> Only the Russian socialist revolution was to be honoured and commemorated. All Tsarist monuments were perceived as dissonant during the Soviet regime, and hence most were destroyed.<sup>177</sup>

The Soviet Union erected thousands of monuments in commemoration of the regime and its leaders. As the regime was quick to destroy the Tsarist monuments, the government made sure that it dominated the public iconography in every city around Russia and in the states it occupied. According to Whalley, seven thousand concrete and statue memorials were built in Russia alone honouring Vladimir Lenin.<sup>178</sup> By 1991, many monuments were destroyed and vandalised after the USSR collapsed, but several remained standing because there were so many. Lenin statues, along with other Soviet leaders such as Stalin, became inappropriate after the fall of the Soviet Union. Even though Lenin was a well-respected leader at the beginning of the communist state, subsequent political actions, especially during the leadership of Stalin overshadowed it. Communism was indeed a political ideology that most Russian and other states in Europe had faith in, but with decades of dictatorship, the perception changed. It was seen as another oppressive regime. When communism fell, Russian people celebrated its end and praised the capitalist principles introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev, such as *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). *Glasnost* was a political policy which gave Russian citizens a platform to discuss political and social issues, in other words, freedom of speech. As a result, Russians expressed their opinions regarding the Soviet Union government and the need for an end. After it ended, communism together with the monuments erected to honour it, became largely dissonant heritage.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Tatlin, Dymshits-Tolstaia & Bowlt, “Memorandum from the Visual Arts Section of the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment to the Soviet of People's Commissars: Project for the Organization of Competitions for Monuments to Distinguished Persons (1918),” pp. 70-74.

<sup>177</sup> Service, *The Last of the Tsars: Nicholas II and the Russian Revolution*.

<sup>178</sup> Z. Whalley. 2018. *Where Have Russia's Lenin Statues Gone?*.

<https://theculturetrip.com/europe/russia/articles/where-have-russias-lenin-statues-gone/>. Access: 26 February 2021.

<sup>179</sup> D. W. J. McForan. 1988. “Glasnost, Democracy, and Perestroika,” *International Social Science Review*, 63(4) (1988), pp. 165-174.

On 21<sup>st</sup> January 1890, nine years before the outbreak of the second Anglo-Boer/South Africa War, the first statue of Queen Victoria was unveiled in front of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town. The statue was carved from white marble by the eminent sculptor, Mr T. Brock and was officially unveiled by the colony's governor, Sir Henry Loch. The monument was erected as a representation of a great and good queen. According to Sir Gordon Sprigg, the premier at the time, justified that it was erected as “an expression of the affection of the people of this colony to Her Majesty's person, and as an indication of their adherence to that form of Constitutional Government which places the Sovereign at the head of the State.”<sup>180</sup>

Another statue of Queen Victoria in front of the city library in Gqeberha previously known as Port Elizabeth is perceived as a dissonant heritage like any other colonial monuments. This statue of the former British monarch was vandalised after the ‘Rhodes Must Fall’ campaign at the University of Cape Town. After the statue of Rhodes was successfully removed from the university, within a month, the statue of Queen Victoria was splashed with green paint. According to Strumpfer, it was intended to permanently damage the monument because the green colour is not easily cleaned from a white marble statue.<sup>181</sup> The monument of Queen Victoria, like any other colonial monuments, the monument of Queen Victoria viewed from a colonial perspective and seen as a source of psychological oppression, which is discussed later. The monument is perceived as dissonant heritage because it is one of the oldest colonial monuments in the country that has dominated the public space for an extended period and resulted in the South African heritage landscape viewed from the colonisers' perspective.<sup>182</sup>

On 18<sup>th</sup> May 1899, five months before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, the statue of Jan Van Riebeeck was unveiled in Cape Town, previously called the Dutch Cape, by then- city mayor Thomas Ball. Jan van Riebeeck was the Dutch navigator and colonial administrator of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC). In 1651, he left the Netherlands

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<sup>180</sup> J. Salter-Whiter. 1892. *A Trip to South Africa*. (W. Pile, New York, p. 31).

<sup>181</sup> J. Strumpfer. 2016. *Restoring Queen Victoria - A glimpse into the life of a Conversation Technician*. <http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/restoring-queen-victoria-glimpse-life-conservation-technician>. Access: 17 June 2020.

<sup>182</sup> D. Smith. 2015. *Vandalism of apartheid-era statues sparks fevered debate in South Africa*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/10/vandalism-of-apartheid-era-statues-sparks-fevered-debate-in-south-africa>. Access: 17 June 2020.

travelling with three ships called Dromedaris, Reijger and the yacht Goede Hoop and arrived at the Cape on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1652.<sup>183</sup> The statue stood as an honour and commemoration of the first European to settle in the Cape in 1652 on the same site where he stepped ashore in 1652. Significantly, the bronze sculpted statue was donated to the city of Cape Town by Cecil John Rhodes.<sup>184</sup> On the morning of 8<sup>th</sup> April 2015, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) announced a planned march to remove the statue of Jan van Riebeeck from the city of Cape Town. The removal was unsuccessful as Johan Willemsse, a member of Action Forum, saved the statue by chaining himself to the monument to prevent it from being attacked.<sup>185</sup> It is believed that the war on statues was provoked by the former president, Jacob Zuma, when he claimed that “all South Africa’s problems started with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck”.<sup>186</sup>

Another issue surrounding monument sites that are seen as dissonant heritage are the monuments that give only one side of the story or narrative of commemoration. One of the dissonant heritage monuments with an unbalanced narrative is the commemoration sites of the second Anglo-Boer/South Africa War in South Africa. An example of this war is a war memorial statue in Uitenhage’s Market Square in Eastern Cape depicting an old South African soldier. The war memorial, depicting a white soldier from the same war, was attacked and vandalised because it is perceived as dissonant heritage due to its portrayal of an unbalanced historical commemoration. The monument honours white soldiers from the war while excluding the black Africans who also played a role in the war.<sup>187</sup>

More problematic is the statue of Maria van Riebeeck, donated by the Portuguese and Dutch governments in 1952 for the tercentenary celebration. The statue presents a quandary, questioning if she is the nation’s mother and, if so, what about the women who lived there before she arrived? Compared to the Soviet monuments in Russia, which were removed after

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<sup>183</sup> J. Hunt, *Dutch South Africa: Early Settlers at the Cape, 1652-1708*. (Troubador Publishing Ltd, Leicester, 2005, p. 12).

<sup>184</sup> Y. Lalkhen & S. Roomanyay. 2020. *If Rhodes Must Fall, then so must Jan van Riebeeck*. <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/opinion/if-rhodes-must-fall-then-so-must-jan-van-riebeeck-49838578>. Access: September 2020.

<sup>185</sup> RDM NEWS WIRE, 2015. *Man chains himself to Van Riebeeck statue*. <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2015-04-09-man-chains-himself-to-van-riebeeck-statue/>. Access: February 2021.

<sup>186</sup> D. Smith. 2015. *Jacob Zuma under investigation for using hate speech*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/19/jacob-zuma-investigation-hate-speech>. Access: September 2020.

<sup>187</sup> News24. 2015. *War memorial statue in Uitenhage 'necklaced'*. <https://www.news24.com/News24/War-memorial-statue-in-Uitenhage-set-alight-20150402>. Access: September 2020.

the collapse of communism regime, the statue of Maria van Riebeeck is extremely controversial. It is one of the reasons why it is constantly threatened to be dismantled. The statue is randomly vandalised because it is standing in a public space in a democratic state where people have freedom of speech and can express their views and opinions. However, it is unfortunate because they unlawfully express their views, such as vandalism. From a different perspective, the tension from the statues defenders leaves provoking messages on statues such as ‘I STOLE YOUR LAND, SO WHAT?’ and ‘HE RAPED YOUR WOMEN SO WHAT?’.<sup>188</sup> In Russia, the Soviet monuments were removed without any consultation of the public opinion because Russia was still in transition from the USSR dictatorship. Although Mikhail Gorbachev already introduced freedom of speech with *glasnost* (openness), it was limited as it did not open discussion to the citizens who still honoured the Soviet Union regime. Moreover, it is because there was no well-established legal framework to deal with dissonant heritage.

Considering the dissonant heritage sites discussed above, they all reflect on a particular regime. The erection of these monuments was based on what Grobler call the ‘foundation myth’,<sup>189</sup> because it showcase the rulers of the country at that time. Most of the monuments discussed are utilised as heritage and cultural tourist attractions linked to the nation’s past. The political transition does take place, and the vital aspect is how the new regime plans to represent the heritage and culture to tourists. In South Africa, the representation of the attractions to the tourist has always been manipulated, especially to the international tourist, where most of the attractions were aligned with the interests of the white minority. In the case of Russia, regimes tended to fall with their heritage, then it resulted in a way that most of the tourist attractions are aligned with the present regime of the time.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Kiernan. 2015. *Meanwhile In Cape Town: This Chap Has Chained Himself To The Jan Van Riebeeck Statue [Images]*. <https://www.2oceansvibe.com/2015/04/08/meanwhile-in-cape-town-this-chap-has-chained-himself-to-the-jan-van-riebeeck-statue-images/>. Access: 17 June 2021; Y. Lalkhen & S. Roomanyay. 2020. *If Rhodes Must Fall, then so must Jan van Riebeeck*. <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/opinion/if-rhodes-must-fall-then-so-must-jan-van-riebeeck-49838578>. Access: September 2020.

<sup>189</sup> Grobler, “The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa” p. 168.

<sup>190</sup> Grobler, “The Impact of Politics on Heritage and Cultural Tourism in South Africa”.

## 2.5 Conclusion

Dissonant and dark heritage sites are both sensitive sites with different historical contexts. Considering the dark heritage sites, they can fit the political narrative, and despite their historical context, they are not easily targeted to be vandalised. In contrast, dissonant heritage monuments are easily targeted and destroyed. The monuments represent a repressive past and are erected to honour a specific event or a person, excluding other groups. Hence, they evolve from honour to dissonant status. As for dark heritage sites, although what is commemorated on the monument or site does not accommodate everyone, the sites are mostly respected and not vandalised. They are associated with tragedy, suffering or death, and hence it is deemed too sensitive to target and destroy quickly.

These two concepts, dissonant and dark, are significant as they tell different stories and are perceived differently by the public. Considering both forms of heritage, one needs to remember that these monuments either emerged to honour a regime or as a result of a regime's actions. Any monument or memorial is intended to honour and respect a certain historical event, phenomenal person or regime. This honour and the associated commemorations are either dissonant or dark, depending on how the society identifies them. In most cases, the dark heritage sites are mostly left out of the political controversy because they are sensitive, as mentioned above. It all depends on public perception regarding dissonant heritage, as is further discussed in the next chapter. They are mostly affected by the political transitions and the history of the nation. Moreover, as a result, most of the dissonant monuments affected by change of regimes and public perception stands a chance to be used as dark tourism products post-regimes when they have passed the honour stage shown in figure 05.

As this chapter discussed, the Gulag camps emerged as a dark commemoration because of the Soviet Union's actions. On the other hand, the statue of Stalin is an example of dissonant heritage that was initially erected to honour the Soviet Union leader. After Stalin's death and later the fall of the USSR, statues of Stalin were destroyed, but some of the Gulag Forced camps were preserved. In the South African context, the Anglo Boer war memorials always narrated how the Afrikaner women and children suffered from the war in concentration camps while excluding the black Africans from these memorials. The dark memorial sites such as concentration camps are not usually vandalised. However, the history is *re-written* and an example is renaming the 'Anglo-Boer war' to the 'South African war'.

## CHAPTER 3:

# PUBLIC PERCEPTION IN DARK AND DISSONANT HERITAGE DIFFERENTIATION

This chapter examines public perceptions regarding public monuments, specifically the monuments erected for political leaders under the different regimes in South Africa and Russia. Most of these monuments are erected in the urban environment and attract attention. It also considers the monuments erected to commemorate dark events both in Russia and South Africa and discusses explicitly the sections of society the heritage represents and those it does not. Moreover, the central question of how monuments can be viewed as psychological oppression will be addressed. Moreover, this chapter will engage further on how perception and reality are not always the same thing, especially considering aspects such as preservation for tourism versus the removal of monuments in the interests of decolonising public spaces. This chapter differentiates between aspects such as ‘removal’, ‘preservation’ and ‘tourism’. It underlines that the decision to remove dissonant heritage always comes with the expense of these aspects. Considering the ‘public perceptions’, this chapter further investigates the opinion and views of the public regarding when a monument, memorial or statue is erected and how they are currently perceived.

*Public perception* is mostly defined as an idea, a belief, opinion, or an image which is often held by many people and based on how things are seen or understood. These ideas or beliefs generally influence individuals or certain groups’ behaviour, as people choose to see things in specific ways towards monuments. Memorials or monuments have no inherent meaning, and instead, they only become valuable and meaningful once people start to attach meaning to them, either negatively or positively. According to Dowler *et al.*, these social and cultural determinants differ according to time and place. Considering how the monuments are being defaced and dismantled in a certain period, it is evident that peoples’ choices or perceptions would be different, especially when there is a political transition.<sup>191</sup> For example, every monument around the world is and will always be suitable and unsuitable to at least one group or to specific individuals, especially monuments erected to honour or

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<sup>191</sup> E. Dowler, J. M. Green, M. W. Bauer & G. Gasperoni, Assessing public perception: issues and methods. In: C. Dora, ed. *Health, Hazards and Public Debate: Lessons for Risk Communication from the BSE/CJD Saga*. Copenhagen: World Health Organization, 2006, p. 40).

commemorate certain people or historical events, which is further elaborated below (figure 11). Public perception, ideas, and beliefs are socially and culturally constructed and subject to change, especially when there is a change of political regimes. In what follows, the chapter looks more deeply at how the statue of Cecil John Rhodes and Paul Kruger are perceived in South Africa and the reasons behind their defacing, removal and vandalism. Russia is complicated because most of the monuments that were removed are now being re-erected. The focus will specifically be on the monuments erected, removed and *re-erected* to honour Tsar Nicholas II and Joseph Stalin.

### 3.1. A Dark and Dissonant Heritage Scale

Considering the dissonant heritage cycle already discussed in (Figure 05), all the stages on the cycle result from political change and evolving societies. The model is mainly based on the change of political power, but is not limited only to the change of political regimes. It seems politically and socially important to honour the present regime, especially with monuments. However, as political regimes change, it then has an impact on these types of monuments. In most cases, the monuments reflect the good or bad the previous regimes have done for the country. Looking at the model from a different perspective of politics and ideologies, the society's perception is another critical perspective on any monuments, either old or new. The four phases represented in Figure 05 can be perceived differently by individuals, and a single monument can rotate around the stages of the dissonant heritage cycle. A monument/statue that one person or community considers to be dissonant to another person can still be an honour, resulting in the third stage (contested). In contrast, for another person, heritage is associated mainly with historical commemoration.

The dissonant heritage cycle model discussed in Figure 05 described a cycle of monuments from honour to dissonant, influenced mainly by politics. In contrast to the dissonant heritage cycle, the heritage monument scale model (Figure 11) uses the monuments, memorials and statues discussed from the 'dark' and 'dissonant' heritage sites sections with examples drawn from the research in South Africa and Russia. Both models align with the discussion by Rybakova with 'development of dark tourism in Russia'. These two models show the potential to use dark, moderate and extreme dissonant monuments as dark tourism products while preserving these types of heritage. It then shows that dark tourism can manage these types of heritage, especially extreme dissonant heritage monuments.

The monuments listed in Figure 11 are discussed in terms of public perception regarding preservation and tourism, where their existence in the public space is at risk or endangered. The scale ranges from one to four showing the risk from low (lighter) to high (darker) of a monument being threatened, dismantled or destroyed. The lower the number, the less at risk the monument is. The monuments shown in this scale include those affected by the change of regimes and by socio-politics from the public perception.

1 DARK HERITAGE	2 DARK/DISSONANT HERITAGE	3 MODERATELY DISSONANT HERITAGE	4 EXTREME DISSONANT HERITAGE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bloody Sunday Memorial</li> <li>- Irene Concentration Camp Cemetery</li> <li>- Dneprovsky Gulag labour Camp</li> <li>- Hector Peterson Memorial</li> <li>- Red Army Cemetery</li> <li>- Enoch Sontonga Memorial Park</li> <li>- Robben Island</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Paul Kruger grave</li> <li>- Joseph Stalin grave</li> <li>- Heroes' Acre Cemetery</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Alexander II Memorial</li> <li>- Lenin and Stalin Statue</li> <li>- Chief Tshwane statue</li> <li>- Andries Pretorius statue</li> <li>- Louis Botha statue</li> <li>- Nelson Mandela Statue</li> <li>- Oliver Tambo statue</li> <li>- Fallen Monument Park</li> <li>- Voortrekker Monument</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cecil Rhodes Statue</li> <li>- Paul Kruger statue</li> <li>- Tsar Nicholas II statue</li> <li>- Joseph Stalin statue</li> <li>- Queen Victoria statue</li> <li>- Jan van Riebeeck statue</li> <li>- Maria van Riebeeck statue</li> <li>- War Memorial statue</li> </ul>

Figure 11: Heritage Monuments Scale  
 Compiled by: M. S. Motena, 2021

The first category includes the monuments at least risk of being removed or destroyed. Some of the heritage sites in this block were discussed under the section 'dark heritage sites' and remain valuable to tourism as tourist products because their future seems surer and thus available to visitors and suitable for a dark tourism itinerary. In this category, monuments rely highly on preservation for their existence and not on protection from heritage legislations or organisations. In this block are the monuments that commemorate events that led to suffering and death and are mostly perceived from only one side of perspective: 'tragedy sites' which deserve respect from the public.

The second category is the monuments or memorials that are generally at low risk of being vandalised but they are still sometimes randomly vandalised. The reason is that people intend to disrespect the specific person in their grave even though these memorials are not in the public space. There is a thin line between the two because these monuments can be perceived as a sensitive site because they involve death and demand respect. The same monument can also be perceived as a dissonant heritage site. As much as it involves death, it was established to pay respect to a certain person or people and could have meaning for individuals who are still bitter to even see the commemoration plaque of that person or people. In this scenario, an example is two dark sites, specifically graves which are discussed in this dissertation, the gravesite of Paul Kruger in South Africa and Stalin in Russia. Both sites are dark sites that highly need respect and are susceptible sites, but again they are becoming dissonant because their names, even on the graves, displease specific individuals or groups.

The third category of moderately dissonant monuments, are not threatened with being removed from the public space. Along with first and second categories, these monuments are protected by legislation but do not depend on the law for their safety. This category is described as moderately dissonant heritage because they stand at a point where they are not threatened. These monuments do raise some issues depending on where the monument is located. The social issues surrounding these monuments range from where some people may be offended about why some monuments are isolated, such as the Soviet statues in the Fallen Heroes Park. Another moderately dissonant monument is the statue of Lenin and Stalin. It cannot be removed because it includes Lenin, but is dissonant because of the inclusion of Stalin. Another example is the statue of Oliver Tambo at O.R. Tambo international airport, where people raised concerns about its cost. The concern was that money spent on it should have been used to tackle social issues facing the country, such as hospitals, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. The monuments are suitable for tourism products because as much as there is some controversy attached, they remain tourism products that will always be available to the tourists. After all, they are not at the point of being removed or destroyed because of negative public perception.

In the last category, represented with a darker colour, are the monuments that are regularly in the newspaper headlines for being vandalised, and are mainly perceived as

psychologically oppressive. These monuments depend on the legislation for their safety because they are extremely dissonant, and their future existence in the public space is not guaranteed. These are the monuments that stand on the cusp of being removed. With reference to Figures 05 and 09, the Rhodes statue at UCT could no longer be kept in the public space, despite counter arguments for historic preservation and that the past cannot be changed. The two perceptions surrounding the statue are because the monument is part of South African history that needs preservation, and secondly, the statue is also colonising the public space. The first argument of preservation of South African heritage was seen as compromised, and decolonising the public space was considered the more pressing need. In some other cases, statues such as the one of Paul Kruger, Stalin and more listed are still standing, despite their perception as extremely dissonant heritage by the public. These monuments are consistently defaced and threatened with removal and are mostly protected by heritage legislation. Some people are emotionally attached to these monuments and mostly justify their preservation as national tangible heritage but at the expense of psychological oppression of people with their presence in the public space. These monuments are indeed part of the national history. They are often valuable as tourist products, and if curated properly, they will serve as dark tourist attractions. However, it would not be advisable for tour operators to plan their itineraries around these types of extreme dissonant heritage since they are consistently vandalised. Moreover, their future is often uncertain, hence the Russian approach of an ‘extreme Dissonant Theme Park’ is considered below.

As shown from the four categories, not all dark and dissonant monuments are at a high risk of being dismantled. However, not all dissonant monuments should be preserved in the public space, especially extreme dissonant heritage. Preserving these monuments because of tourism or in the interests of the ‘history of the nation’ at the expense of the majority of people’s emotions, described as ‘psychological oppression’, only makes things worse and can result in these monuments being destroyed and this heritage being lost. Considering all four categories, the monuments in the fourth category need to be carefully approached, especially for dark tourism, hence the proposal for an ‘extreme Dissonant Theme Park’. In the public space, these extreme dissonant heritage monuments are a highly uncertain fixture for dark tourism because their future existence is not guaranteed. The possibility of not fulfilling itineraries, because the future existence of such extreme dissonant heritage is not guaranteed, is a distinct possibility.

### 3.2 Dark versus Dissonant Heritage

The heritage monument scale in Figure 11 shows two heritage types that are different from any other tangible heritage. The dissonant heritage monuments have qualities that pose problems or controversy in the public space compared to dark heritage monuments. Dark heritage sites, with examples listed in Figure 11, have a unique heritage that is not controversial compared to the dissonant heritage. According to Lähdesmäki *et al.*, dissonant heritage is different from common heritage because it is controversial. Lähdesmäki *et al.*, further emphasise that dissonant heritage contains “tension and a quality which testifies to the play among different discourses, and opens the space for a number of diverse actions.”<sup>192</sup> The argument of Lähdesmäki *et al.*, that any monument considered dissonant enables dissonant interpretation, resonates with the discussion of heritage monuments scale portrayed in Figure 11.<sup>193</sup> Some of the listed monuments in the dissonant heritage scale are further discussed below to highlight how the public perceives them. As much as some are making a comeback in the case of Russia, their existence in the public space is not guaranteed. The perception around these monuments evolves around the change of regimes because how they are perceived in the present is quite different from how they were perceived in the past or when erected.

The statues of the last Tsar, Nicholas II, have become a symbol of the fall of the Tsarist monarchy. As discussed in the first chapter, the statues of Tsarist leaders were destroyed by the Bolsheviks in the early 1900s. However, under the Russian federation, Tsar Nicholas II is being honoured again, and his statues are being *re-erected* in public spaces. It has not gone unchallenged in Russian society, especially with those who tend to see the Soviet Union as a better regime than the Tsarist monarchy. As we have seen, in a similar way, most of the statues of Soviet leaders were destroyed after the collapse of communism. However, statues of Soviet leaders such as Joseph Stalin have also been returned to some public spaces. It has become a statue controversy in Russia, where some people hate the Soviet regime and praise the Tsarist monarchy, while others hold the opposite view. An example of this controversy in Russia arose when the statues of Tsar Nicholas II were re-

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<sup>192</sup> Lähdesmäki, Passerini, Kaasik-Krogerus & van Huis, *Dissonant Heritage and Memories in Contemporary Europe*, p. 8.

<sup>193</sup> Lähdesmäki, Passerini, Kaasik-Krogerus & van Huis, *Dissonant Heritage and Memories in Contemporary Europe*.

erected. According to Masis, more than twenty-five monuments have been erected in honour of Tsar Nicholas II since the fall of the Soviet Union.<sup>194</sup> Nicholas II's rehabilitation is evident in statues and billboards with messages such as 'Forgive us, our sovereign!'. There are those who still honour, love or even worship the last Tsar, in the latter case believing that his statues have miraculous power. Some bring their ill children to touch the statue and claim they are cured.

The Tsar gained most of the respect because he died with his family when the Bolsheviks murdered them.<sup>195</sup> The death of Tsar Nicholas II as the last leader of the Tsarist monarchy has reinforced his perception as a good and saintly leader. Nevertheless, some argue that although he was savagely murdered, it does not automatically make him a saint. He was nicknamed 'bloody Nicholas' because, as mentioned earlier, of the 'Bloody Sunday' massacre in 1905. Andrey Froshkayzer, a businessman who funded some of the Nicholas II statues, however, argued that "We must respect the czar (sic); he is the father of the nation. He was killed, he sacrificed himself."<sup>196</sup> Considering the statement of Froshkayzer, it clearly shows that Tsar Nicholas II is honoured chiefly because of how the Bolsheviks killed him. Those who still respect and admire the last Tsar campaigned and successfully blocked a release of a film titled *Matilda* (2017) that was set to be released in October 2017. The film tells the story of Nicholas II's love affair, and Russian monarchists claim it is disrespectful of the supposedly saintly Russian monarch. The film director's studio was subsequently attacked, several cinemas were threatened, and a movie theatre was set on fire.<sup>197</sup>

The statues of Tsar Nicholas II have also been vandalised. In Vladivostok, his statue was smeared with green paint, while in Novosibirsk, the bronze statue was attacked with an axe, and in Leninsk-Kuznetsky, someone threw eggs at the statue of the monarch. The re-erection of the Tsar Nicholas II statues raised a concern for those who were detractors of the Tsarist monarchy. It echoes the controversy surrounding the re-erecting of statues for

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<sup>194</sup> J. Masis, 2017. *A century after the revolution, Russians build monuments to the czars*. <https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-11-07/century-after-revolution-russians-build-monuments-czars>. Access: 16 April 2020.

<sup>195</sup> Masis, <https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-11-07/century-after-revolution-russians-build-monuments-czars>.

<sup>196</sup> Masis, <https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-11-07/century-after-revolution-russians-build-monuments-czars>.

<sup>197</sup> Masis, <https://www.pri.org/stories/2017-11-07/century-after-revolution-russians-build-monuments-czars>; A, Roth. 2017. A Russian love story about Nicholas II and a ballerina leads to death threats. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/a-russian-love-story-about-nicholas-ii-and-a-ballerina-leads-to-death-threats/2017/09/25/2a670e48-9d50-11e7-b2a7-bc70b6f98089\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/a-russian-love-story-about-nicholas-ii-and-a-ballerina-leads-to-death-threats/2017/09/25/2a670e48-9d50-11e7-b2a7-bc70b6f98089_story.html). Access: 16 April 2020.

Joseph Stalin. As we saw, some of the monuments and statues erected in honour of Stalin were first dismantled by his own regime a few years after Stalin's death in 1953. In February 1956, Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin's crimes, and as a result, residents pulled down some of the Stalin statues. Most of the Stalin statues were not destroyed, however, until the fall of the Soviet Union when more were destroyed and removed from the public spaces. As we saw, however, Stalin is making a comeback to the streets of Russia.<sup>198</sup>

The re-erecting of Stalin statues is a historical and heritage controversy in Russia because of differing public opinion and perceptions. It also includes Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin, when he stated that the restoration of Stalin's image in recent years is a complex topic. Some of the Russian citizens perceive Stalin as a brutal leader because of purges, persecutions, and famines he is seen as being responsible for, resulting in millions of deaths. Those who differ from this perception see Stalin as a great leader who defended his nation by defeating the German military after they invaded the Soviet Union during the Second World War.<sup>199</sup> Despite the different opinions about Stalin and his regime, he made a comeback on the streets of Russia and is again honoured like Tsar Nicholas II. It happened after getting 70 percent support from polls regarding the re-erection of his statue in 2019. Therefore, it seems that most Russians positively appraised Stalin's role in Russian history. In May 2019, his statue was unveiled in Novosibirsk in one of the cities in Russia. Alexei Denisjuk, who lobbied for the statue of Stalin, proclaimed that "the long battle to restore the good name of our leader has finally been successful" as he claimed a political victory during the gathering of unveiling the statue.<sup>200</sup>

However, one of the statues recently erected to honour Stalin in the city of Surgut was attacked just like the statues of Tsar Nicholas II were vandalised. The Stalin statue erected in Siberia City did not last even a day after it was unveiled before it was already

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<sup>198</sup> M. Krutov & R. Coalson,. 2018. *Swamp Thing: Stalin Statue Emerges From The Deep, Forcing Town To Confront Its Past*. <https://www.rferl.org/a/swamp-thing-russian-town-confronts-past-as-stalin-statue-emerges-from-the-deep/29450820.html>. Access: 18 January 2021.

<sup>199</sup> The Moscow Times. 2020. *Russian Communist Unveils Stalin Statue on WWII Anniversary*. <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2020/06/25/russian-communist-unveils-stalin-statue-on-wwii-anniversary-a70698>. Access: 12 April 2021; E. Hartog. 2019. *Is Stalin Making a Comeback in Russia?*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/05/russia-stalin-statue/590140/>. Access: 17 February 2020.

<sup>200</sup> E. Hartog. 2019. *Is Stalin Making a Comeback in Russia?*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/05/russia-stalin-statue/590140/>. Access: 17 February 2020.

vandalised by protesters who threw red paint on the monument. According to Morton, red paint was used as to resemble blood, referring to the Great Purge, one of the dark events during the Stalinist era.<sup>201</sup> The monument was illegally installed by the local civic group who admired Stalin and raised about 150 000 rubles (2,300 dollars) to buy and install the statue. However, some residents questioned why the group decided to install the statue in the same city where Gulag labour camp prisoners constructed the Salekhard-Igarka railway during the Stalinist era.<sup>202</sup>

From the South African perspective, the monuments that are defaced, vandalised and removed, are associated with colonialism. In contrast to Russia, where most of the monuments are associated with a specific regime such as the Tsarist monarchy and the Soviet Union, in South Africa, these statues are broadly linked to colonialism in general, from which both segregationist and apartheid regimes developed before the democratic transition. These famous colonial monuments in South Africa, already mentioned, are those of Cecil John Rhodes and Paul Johannes Kruger. Other examples include Queen Victoria and Jan van Riebeeck, which were discussed earlier. The focus is on the leaders, as mentioned above, looking at contemporary public perception regarding the dismantling and vandalism of these monuments.

In 2015 the removal of Rhodes' statue from the University of Cape Town (UCT), after the well-known campaign, 'Rhodes Must Fall', initiated other attacks on monuments. The campaign resulted in several monuments being attacked nationwide, including monuments that could not be associated with colonialism, such as that of Chief Tshwane in Pretoria. The statue of Rhodes, which had stood on the premises of UCT since 1934, was removed in April 2015. One of the reasons for the statues' removal was that the monument stood in a public space and reinforced Rhodes' words that black Africans were a "subject race" and that white rule was the natural order.<sup>203</sup> The campaign to remove the statue of

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<sup>201</sup> E. Morton. 2016. *Blood red: Stalin statue lasts only a day before being vandalised.*

<https://www.calvertjournal.com/articles/show/6751/blood-red-stalin-statue-lasts-only-a-day-before-being-vandalised>. Access: 12 March 2021.

<sup>202</sup> Morton. <https://www.calvertjournal.com/articles/show/6751/blood-red-stalin-statue-lasts-only-a-day-before-being-vandalised>.

<sup>203</sup> T. Stiem. 2018. *The global protest movement to tear down urban memorials that reinforce racism is rewriting the very story of our cities. Should any monument be safe?.*

<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/sep/26/statue-wars-what-should-we-do-with-troublesome-monuments>. Access: 10 August 2020.

Rhodes from the UCT began when the activist Chumani Maxwele smeared excrement on the statue. When the crane later took down the statue of the British colonist, the students started cheering the victory of the removal of a colonial figure. According to the BBC News Services, the protesters included white academics and black and white students supporting its removal.<sup>204</sup> The protesters expressed their feelings by jumping on the monument, covering the face with plastic, and hitting the statue with wooden sticks. According to the students who were protesting, the statue had a great symbolic power of exploiting black labour and how the land was stolen from indigenous people. The statue was perceived from the dark historical context and was linked to the present need for tackling racial inequality, by pointing to the fact that the UCT had only five black South African professors.<sup>205</sup>

As noted, colonial monuments are also a form of psychological oppression and are perceived as symbols of imperialism and racism, which is still experienced worldwide. It is evident when the statue of Rhodes was defaced in July 2020 on the slopes of Table Mountain in Cape Town during a global anti-racism campaign Black Lives Matter. The statue was defaced with the removal of its head.<sup>206</sup> When the campaign of BLM began worldwide, this encouraged people to express their feelings about colonial monuments or dissonant heritage, as this dissertation has described it earlier on. Rhodes was thus a prime target as a colonist who was a white supremacist. In addition, the statue of Paul Kruger was also attacked in Pretoria. Most groups in South Africa perceive Kruger as an oppressor and a white supremacist. One of the most notable campaigns to remove the Paul Kruger statue from Pretoria central took place in 2015, which was believed to have been led by the EFF. It was controversial as the EFF gave the Tshwane Municipality seven days to remove the statue and offered manpower and transport if the municipality did not have the budget to do so. When the statue was vandalised with green paint, the EFF took responsibility for the malicious damage. When the city of Tshwane indicated it would open a criminal case, the EFF retracted this responsibility. According to Maromo, Cloete, one of the statue's defenders, called it a

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<sup>204</sup> BBC News Services. 2015. *Rhodes statue removed in Cape Town as crowd celebrates*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32236922>. Access: August 2020.

<sup>205</sup> BBC News Services. 2015. *Rhodes statue removed in Cape Town as crowd celebrates*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32236922>. Access: August 2020; Barnabas, "Engagement with Colonial and Apartheid Narratives in Contemporary South Africa: A Monumental Debate," pp. 109-128.

<sup>206</sup> Reuters, N. Shange & A. Makinana. 2020. *Cecil Rhodes 'beheaded' at Cape Town monument*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-07-14-cecil-rhodes-beheaded-at-cape-town-monument/>. Access: 17 July 2020.

cultural genocide because the statue was part of the Afrikaner tradition.<sup>207</sup> From a different perspective, the EFF chairperson Benjamin Disoloane stated that Kruger's statue symbolise white rule and frustrated people, especially those who relax by the park with no jobs.<sup>208</sup>

The controversy escalated to Twitter regarding removing the statue using hashtags such as *#statue* and *#paulkruger*. One of the tweets, by Michael Z. Zulu, argued that the country was now in a civil war over statues.<sup>209</sup> It was particularly evident when the prominent Afrikaner singer, Steve Hofmeyr, sang the apartheid national anthem *Die Stem van Suid- Afrika* (the Voice of South Africa) after addressing a large group of people, predominantly Afrikaners. The Africans who were listening to Steve Hofmeyr's speech then responded with "*Nkosi sikelel' Afrika*" (God Bless Africa), one of the popular struggle songs, which is now the national anthem initially written by Enoch Sontonga.<sup>210</sup> Moreover, there was also a call in 2015 that the statue should be replaced with a statue of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. As mentioned above, Kruger was seen to be a racist and an oppressor who was not worthy of commemoration.

Considering these dissonant heritage sites discussed above and reflecting on the dark heritage sites, one would hope that the burial sites of these leaders would be respected since they are more sensitive. For example, Lenin's Mausoleum built for the first Soviet leader in Red Square, Moscow in Russia, has no record of being vandalised. Nevertheless, the grave of Stalin was vandalised by a visitor who poured paint over Stalin's grave at the Kremlin wall.<sup>211</sup> Moreover, similar vandalism of graves took place at the Heroes' Acre Cemetery in Pretoria. Several tombstones were vandalised, leading the site to be locked, with the addition of security on the cemetery premises. One of the vandalised graves was that of Paul Kruger. According to Bornman, more steps are needed to protect the graves of other famous people in

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<sup>207</sup> J. Maromo. 2015. *Paul Kruger statue vandalised – again*. <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/paul-kruger-statue-vandalised-again-1925868>. Access: 17 June 2020.

<sup>208</sup> Maromo, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/paul-kruger-statue-vandalised-again-1925868>; SAHO, 2019. *Statue of President Paul Kruger, Pretoria*. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/statue-president-paul-kruger-pretoria>. Access: 7 June 2021.

<sup>209</sup> M. Z. Zulu. 2015. *Twitter*. <https://twitter.com/zulumz/status/585739356381573120>. Accessed 14 October 2020.

<sup>210</sup> O. De Villiers. 2015. *Steve Hofmeyr blames statue defacement on illiteracy*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-08-steve-hofmeyr-blames-statue-defacement-on-illiteracy/>. Accessed October 2020.

<sup>211</sup> Buffalonews. 1995. *BUST AT STALIN'S GRAVE VANDALIZED*. [https://buffalonews.com/news/bust-at-stalins-grave-vandalized/article\\_c00e9a8f-1907-547e-b747-713551dcea14.html](https://buffalonews.com/news/bust-at-stalins-grave-vandalized/article_c00e9a8f-1907-547e-b747-713551dcea14.html). Access: 27 March 2021.

this cemetery, such as Andries Pretorius, General Louis Botha and H.F Verwoerd.<sup>212</sup> It clearly shows that when people express their feelings, they aim to hurt the living people who honour and have respect for these leaders. Moreover, the attack on burial sites and graves is intended as a form of violent disrespect (desecration). Moreover, specific graves are erected or converted into monuments; hence some are considered national monuments. An example is the grave of Enoch Sontonga, also known as Memorial Park in Braamfontein, South Africa, and the grave was declared a national monument on heritage day and a national holiday on 24 September 1996.<sup>213</sup>

### 3.3. Psychological Oppression

Dissonant heritage monuments in public spaces are argued to psychologically oppress the groups or people who are historically associated with them or are descendants of those who suffered. Psychological oppression refers to the effects of social oppression, where people still feel oppressed by looking at the monuments that commemorate the political regimes or leaders who have oppressed the previous generations. It comes from what Stanley and Dampier call a ‘post-memory’, which is the cultural trauma experienced by the ‘generation after’ who know about the history of oppression experienced by the ‘generations before,’ from looking at photos and hearing stories and testimonies.<sup>214</sup> As a result, the current generation then tends to feel oppressed by the monuments in the public space commemorating the oppressors.

One of the reasons for the call to remove the oppressors’ monuments is that these monuments convey historical or political information. In South Africa, most of these monuments commemorate colonial regimes, and hence the removal of them is mainly considered a step towards decolonisation. The dissonant heritage is linked to past memories and the stories that are attached and impact the present generations. Most of these historical figures are linked to traumatic memories, hence they are predominantly perceived as symbols

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<sup>212</sup> J. Bormman. 2018. *PICS: Paul Kruger's grave vandalised in Pretoria*. <https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/pics-paul-krugers-grave-vandalised-in-pretoria-20180719>. Access: 13 April 2021.

<sup>213</sup> Government Gazette. 1996. National Heritage Resources Act, 1996. Volume 375.

<sup>214</sup> Stanley & Dampier, “Aftermaths: post/memory, commemoration and the concentration camps of the South African War 1899–1902”, p. 95.

of oppression.<sup>215</sup> Jegroo adds that even though people aim to tear down the history by removing monuments, they are not dealing with the real social issues because the legacy of colonialism and oppression is still alive and is visible with racism and inequalities around the world.<sup>216</sup> The reality is that, though people express their anger and feelings towards monuments, it does not bring a satisfactory solution. Removing statues can decolonise the public space, but if the struggle against social issues is not addressed, removing these monuments is not a solution.

To a certain extent colonial monuments in public spaces can lead to psychological oppression. However, this might differ from one person to another or from one generation to another. Older generations can feel oppressed by the monuments because they experienced the oppression directly and recall a dark history that is not easily reconciled. On the other hand, the younger generation only learnt about this history and have not personally experienced it. However, considering the post-memory mentioned earlier, they will then perceive these monuments as a reminder of the history of their forebears. Moreover, when younger generation experience similar social issues to those experienced by their grandparents, such as inequality and racism, they would not perceive these monuments only as history but as representative of present-day white supremacy.

Monuments, specifically oppressor monuments, are only a tangible heritage in the public space, which can be appreciated as a depiction of history. Nevertheless, the same monuments can also be problematic considering the intangible heritage, which is predominantly a dark history. However, what if the history that such monuments depict is still perceived as taking place? In that case, this heritage will be challenging to reconcile with groups historically oppressed by the heritage commemorated. For example, when racism and systemic injustice remain in place, these monuments will become a target because they are associated with this dark history, which is still happening in the present. If that were not the case, the monuments would be more readily accepted in public spaces. A possible solution that has been proposed is for more monuments to be erected, significantly closer to the

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<sup>215</sup> K. Landman & K. Makakavhule. "Decolonizing Public Space in South Africa: from conceptualization to actualization," *Journal of Urban Design*, (2021), p. 6.

<sup>216</sup> A. Jegroo. 2017. *Tearing Down Monuments of Oppression Is the First Step to Decolonization*. <https://truthout.org/articles/tearing-down-monuments-of-oppression-is-the-first-step-to-decolonization/>. Access: 27 May 2021.

dissonant heritage monuments, to attempt a more balanced heritage in the public space representing all different groups and their political ideologies in a country.

Considering the situation in Russia, the attacks on monuments and statues are highly motivated by historical ideologies and political interest. From the South African perspective, most of the monuments commemorate the colonisers, and these monuments in public spaces continues to evoke the dark and ugly history of the oppressors. Meanwhile, in Russia, the evolution of political ideologies is key. In South Africa, the monuments represent colonialism and imperialism, while in Russia, they represent an ongoing conflict regarding which historical regime deserves the public space and thus recognition of Russia. It is evident because both the statues of the Tsar Monarchy and the Soviet Union are continuously attacked. Since Russia seems to be divided into support for two historical regimes and their ideologies, the attack on monuments is a civil war because the Russian citizens suffered and experienced tragedies from both regimes, namely the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes.

In Russia, those in support of the Tsarist or Soviet monuments respectively state valid reasons to either honour a monument or to see it as dissonant heritage. Recent examples of the vandalism of monuments in Russia, include a defaced statue of Tsar Nicholas II in the Cathedral Grounds in the Urals and the bombing of a Lenin statue in a St Petersburg suburb. The attackers of the Tsar Nicholas II statue vandalised the monument with red paint, and they left the message “1903” recalling a dark event where workers were shot in Zlatoust.<sup>217</sup> On the other hand, the attackers of the Lenin statue justified their action by stating that Bolshevik symbols remain numerous in Russia even though it has been over twenty years since collapse of the Soviet Union.<sup>218</sup> From the Russian perspective, the defenders of either the Tsar or the Socialist regime ignore the dark actions the regime was responsible for and tend to focus on what they regard as the positive.

It is not always present social issues that result in attacks on statues, but rather the general mindset towards the monuments and the history they are associated with. These mindsets lead to questioning the value of having these monuments in public spaces,

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<sup>217</sup> OrthoChristian, 2020. *TSAR NICHOLAS II MONUMENT DEFACED ON CATHEDRAL GROUNDS IN URALS*. <https://orthochristian.com/131978.html>. Access: 8 July 2021.

<sup>218</sup> BBC News Services, 2010. *Bomb damages Lenin statue in St Petersburg suburb*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11937287>. Access: 8 July 2021.

especially as they can evoke dark memories of the past. Moreover, Landman and Makakavhule add that these statues possess inherent traumatic memory and act as symbols of oppression.<sup>219</sup> Even though statues may have inherent traumatic memory associated with them or can evoke dark memories, interpretation of these monuments is the key. If the monuments can be seen as part of history that needs preservation, people will have a different perception of these monuments, which would benefit the tourism industry.

Figure 11 is an example of how monuments can adequately be managed. The fourth category in Figure 11 shows that the monuments that are extremely dissonant should be removed from the public space and relocated before they are permanently damaged. The approach to remove these monuments and relocate them will be a solution to monuments that are being vandalised and provide a way to protect people who are psychologically oppressed by these monuments. According to Marschall, monuments that are ‘white heritage’ symbolise the colonial and apartheid-era and hence they are used as the stage for the performance of protest. It is the same reason why whenever there is a socio-political issue, these monuments are targeted. To properly curate this extreme dissonant heritage, the monuments need to be relocated away from the public space and be placed at sites such as the Russian solution of a ‘fallen park monument’ which is elaborated on later. As Marschall further argues, these types of heritage attract attention especially the ones erected in the urban environment.<sup>220</sup> It proves that their existence in the public space further oppresses the public. The heritage organisations and government perception in Russia and South Africa are to preserve historical monuments, but the reality is they are not properly managed. Hence, they are vandalised, proving that the heritage law is protecting this heritage but the reality is that they fail to properly manage these types of heritage.

### 3.4 Conclusion

The concepts of dark and dissonant heritage are interpreted and perceived differently in both nations, and this has been highly influenced by the political atmosphere and sometimes culture. Heritage, in general, is a controversial and problematic concept because it is hard to find a common heritage that fits the interests of everyone in society. It is

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<sup>219</sup> Landman & Makakavhule. “Decolonizing Public Space in South Africa”, p. 6.

<sup>220</sup> Marschall, S., 2017. Targeting Statues: Monument “Vandalism” as an Expression of Sociopolitical Protest in South Africa. *African Studies Review*, 60(3), p. 204.

evident from the discussion above that these monuments, and heritage in general, precisely fit specific agendas and interests, either political, social or economic. Again, regarding both dark and dissonant heritage sites, they always have two sides of the story to tell, depending on how they are interpreted. These interpretations are influenced mainly by politics or culture and, in some cases both. Some people still value the political regimes that ruled in Russia and South Africa in the past. It is either motivated by the fact that they served their own political interests in the past or that the present political system has failed to bring changes that they hoped for.

## CHAPTER 4:

### DARK TOURISM AS A MANAGEMENT TOOL

This chapter highlights some of the positive aspects of monuments and statues in the public space both in Russia and South Africa. Dark tourism is the primary tourism niche market that can help manage both dark and dissonant heritage and improve its perception by the public. The dark tourism niche can be utilized to manage dark and dissonant heritage, because the niche is not limited to death and tragedy. Kunwar and Karki argue that dark tourism is also the participation in shameful or socially condemned activities.<sup>221</sup> The tourism industry in both countries needs to implement strategies to utilise ‘extreme dissonant monuments’ since, as has been established, dark and moderately dissonant heritage monuments are generally not perceived and threatened by the site they are located in. Interpretation is an essential aspect because the intangible heritage associated with the monuments is being told to the visitors. To utilise and preserve extreme dissonant monuments, a ‘dissonant monument park’ could be established, which is further discussed in the recommendations. Another important aspect is the utilisation of heritage monuments for nation-building. Depending on how a monument is perceived, some can be used, but some cannot be used for nation-building. The establishment of ‘dissonant monument parks’ can benefit the economy and save the costs of cleaning extreme dissonant monuments when they are vandalised. The maximisation of extreme dissonant monuments can be helpful for, especially for dark tourism, increasing tourist attractions products that are unpleasant.

Interpretation is one of the important aspects where the storytellers, in this scenario, qualified tourist guides, can interpret moderately dissonant heritage positively and informally to visitors. Some heritage sites can be offensive even to the tourist guides themselves. However, as Van der Merwe says, “preservation of heritage is critical for nation building and for individuals to understand their place in society”.<sup>222</sup> It reflects an argument by Zazu stating that one person’s heritage will not always be the next person’s heritage.<sup>223</sup> Suppose people can have this perception towards heritage monuments, then most of the dark

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<sup>221</sup> R.R. Kunwar & N. Karki. “Dark Tourism: Understanding the Concept and Recognizing the Values,” *Journal of APF Command and Staff College*, 2(1) (2019), p. 53.

<sup>222</sup> van der Merwe, “Tourist guides’ perceptions of cultural heritage tourism in South Africa”, p. 121.

<sup>223</sup> Zazu. “Heritage – A Conceptually Evolving and Dissonant Phenomenon: Implications for Heritage Management and Education Practices in Post-colonial Southern Africa”, p. 136.

and moderate dissonant heritage will stand a chance to be left in the public space. Regarding extreme dissonant heritage monuments, as shown on Figure 11, these are the heritage monuments that should generally not be retained in the public space. Even though these are one's or particular group/s heritage, they should be removed from the public space because they are unpleasant heritage monuments.

Once the importance of moderately dissonant monuments is realised, it would enable everyone in the country to appreciate national heritage and see it preserved for future generations. Before the heritage Acts and laws can be emphasized, the public needs to be taught about the significance of national heritage and why it should be protected. People need to take a role in protecting moderately dissonant monuments even if the heritage they represent are not easy to reconcile with except for extreme dissonant heritage monuments. However, if heritage laws are used as a threat to the public claiming to protect national heritage, most will not realise the significance. The significance of a monument depends on whether it can be tolerated. Once it is interpreted, both domestic and international tourists will question why some monuments are still in the public space. The interpretation of dissonant monuments in isolated sites will make it possible for most visitors, especially international tourist to understand why they have been relocated from the public space.

If a monument is interpreted in a way that is not offensive to other groups, then possibly people will see the value in the monument being in the public space. Considering the dark history of Russia and South Africa, these monuments have a role in showing the new country, which is not defined by its past, and that helps strengthen reconciliation. The controversial fact is the 'theme park for dissonant monuments', considering how Russia built the 'fallen monument park' for dissonant monuments in 1992 which has resulted in monuments being hardly vandalised. In 2020 the Department of Arts and Culture in South Africa also proposed the same idea, to build a unique park to commemorate colonial and apartheid statues and to protect these monuments since they had been attacked in public spaces.<sup>224</sup> The Democratic Alliance (DA) condemned this proposal. The party argued that the ruling government intended to have "sanitised public spaces reflecting a government-

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<sup>224</sup> Q. Qukula. 2020. *The Department of Arts and Culture has proposed that special theme parks be built to commemorate colonial statues and other heritage symbols.* <https://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/396126/govt-to-create-theme-parks-for-statues-linked-to-apartheid-and-colonialism>. Access: 11 May 2021.

approved history that pays tribute to government-approved heroes.”<sup>225</sup> On the other hand, dark tourism is one of the fastest-growing areas internationally, and its massive growth directly contributes to the national and local economies. Russia and South Africa have several exciting tourists attractions, however, it is the very history of these nations, which visitors consume as heritage, and monuments are one of the tangible national heritage that act as tourists attractions.<sup>226</sup> Considering how the dark tourism niche can be used as a management tool, some of these tangible heritage monuments are extremely dissonant heritage. As a result, they act as dark tourist attractions, considering the darkest and unpleasant history they are associated with.

The tourism industry is one of the significant contributors to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It is mainly sustained by the tourist products and services it offers to the tourist. In 2019, before the outbreak of Covid-19, the tourism industry contributed 6.9 percent GDP in South Africa and 4.8 percent in the Russian Federation.<sup>227</sup> Heritage monuments and memorials are one of the products, along with tourist guides as service providers. The dismantling and vandalism of monuments negatively impact the tourism industry. Hence the industry must be called upon to act as a management tool to negotiate these challenges. The perceptions of heritage organisations and legislation feel it is appropriate to preserve these monuments. However, they are not fully involved in the politics of dissonant monuments and finding proper measures to manage this historical heritage.

#### 4.1 Interpretation

Interpretation, which is the act of explaining or showing an understanding of something, is critical specifically in dark tourism and is performed by the tourist guides and heritage specialists. Nevertheless, interpretation is not limited to tourist guides and heritage and cultural specialists; the public also has platforms to interpret heritage monuments,

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<sup>225</sup> V. Van Dyk. 2020. *DA condemns Cabinet's decision to remove statues to "theme parks"*. <https://www.da.org.za/2020/09/da-condemns-cabinets-decision-to-remove-statues-to-theme-parks>. Access: 27 May 2021.

<sup>226</sup> Van Dyk, <https://www.da.org.za/2020/09/da-condemns-cabinets-decision-to-remove-statues-to-theme-parks>.

<sup>227</sup> C. Smith. 2021. *Global report reveals the extent of the drop to travel and tourism's contribution to SA economy*. <https://www.news24.com/fin24/economy/global-report-reveals-the-extent-of-the-drop-in-travel-and-tourisms-contribution-to-sa-economy-20210512>. Access: 19 October 2021; Knoema. N.d. Russian Federation – Contribution of travel and tourism to GDP as a share of GDP. <https://knoema.com/atlas/Russian-Federation/topics/Tourism/Travel-and-Tourism-Total-Contribution-to-GDP/Contribution-of-travel-and-tourism-to-GDP-percent-of-GDP>. Access: 19 October 2021.

especially with the popularity of social media. It is essential to engage public perception surrounding the challenges of dismantling of monuments and statues to see the issues regarding monuments and how tourism can engage these opinions. Tourist guides are vital role players because what they say can build or destroy the perception of a monument. In most cases, they do as trained, and put their personal or political views aside and seek to interpret monuments with balanced information. Considering the role of social media compared to the role of tourist guides, it is not surprising when tourists can question tourist guides why a specific monument is attacked or vandalised after seeing it on social media. That is when a tourist guide will be able to provide a balanced interpretation. The roles of tourist guides are the perfect example that everyone needs to adapt to and have a positive perception of the monuments. It includes dissonant monuments, but not necessarily extreme dissonant monuments because they are not easy to reconcile with. Even though tourist guides play this role to sustain tourism this principle should apply to every citizen to preserve national heritage.<sup>228</sup>

One other alternative to dismantling monuments that has been proposed is to have another monument installed close to the old one. An example of this, is the statue of Chief Tshwane, which was erected close to the statue of Andries Pretorius at the Pretoria City Hall. Another example is how the statue of Louis Botha at the Union Buildings was replaced with a statue of Nelson Mandela, with the statue of Botha being re-located a few meters away. Looking at these examples, the interpretation is balanced because visitors can learn about their different roles in South Africa. For example, Louis Botha was the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa in 1910, while Nelson Mandela was the first democratic president in 1994. This is a method that Russia could utilise, especially with the statues of the Tsarist Monarchy and Soviet leaders. For example, a statue of Tsar Nicholas II could appear alongside a statue of Lenin. As a result, an interpretation of the previous two regimes/governments can be given in one space. Depending on the visitors, they will decide whether one or both are dissonant, because this would be politically balanced representation of the past.

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<sup>228</sup> van der Merwe, "Tourist guides' perceptions of cultural heritage tourism in South Africa", pp. 117-130; Ivanovici & Saayman, "Telling or selling? Experiencing South African cultural heritage tourism products", p. 179.

Seeing this kind of method or strategy of placing the monuments closer to each other is beneficial for dark tourism and accommodating both parties associated with the statues or monuments. Considering this method, the interpretation of divergent and unpleasant heritage can take place in one spot. If a particular group is not happy with one of the monuments or perceives it as dissonant, at least one could still claim to be accommodating of their social or political interests. Nevertheless, even when this strategy is applied, it is still a challenge because people tend to demand exclusivity for public spaces and still do not want to see one of the monuments. For example, in Pretoria with a statue of Pretorius and Chief Tshwane, both monuments were still vandalised by the respective oppositional groups.

Monuments, especially moderate dissonant monuments, are the most controversial heritage which some people or groups tend to not have respect for. Suppose the interpretation of monuments is made to show an understanding of how the history of a particular country was and what happened leading to the present. In that case, most people will have a different perspective because the monuments meant to honour, as shown in Figure 05, will become inappropriate as politics changes over time. The monuments will be interpreted according to their history. If it is associated with oppression, then interpretation itself will expose the reality of what is being commemorated on that monument. Most of these monuments are extreme dissonant heritage monuments. For example, in South Africa, most monuments that dominated the public space were or are of oppressors. It was also the same from the Russian Federation perspective, but they mostly fell along with the respective governments they represented. The best way to have a balanced interpretation in the public space is to preserve dark and moderately dissonant heritage and relocate extreme dissonant heritage monuments. These two countries will then interpret these types of heritage accordingly, referring to the ones in public as moderate and extreme heritage monuments isolated in places such as ‘fallen park monument’ in Russia or ‘Dissonant Theme Park proposed’ in this dissertation.

An alternative method to have a balanced interpretation is to install a plaque on the monuments with contextual information. Most of the monuments have plaques that are only written positively while hiding some historical facts. It is a more economical alternative to installing another statue closer to the older one, but it can be costly; hence ‘Dissonant Theme Park’ for extreme dissonant monuments, it is proposed, and should be relocated because some historical events will not link because of the historical context. An example of this is

the appeal once made by the EFF that Paul Kruger's statue in Pretoria Central should be replaced with one of Winnie Madikizela Mandela.<sup>229</sup> The statue of Kruger is connected to the surrounding heritage buildings, including his house (Kruger House Museum), which is a few minutes away. If the statue is one of the heritage not easy to reconcile with, it should be removed from the public space the same way as the statue of Cecil Rhodes was removed from the UCT premises. The statue of Winnie Mandela, however, does not have any historical links to the space. The best way is to have a plaque stating historical facts about the person commemorated. For example, it can be the statue of Joseph Stalin highlighting the facts of several dark events which occurred during his ruling instead of only stating he was born in 1878 and was the ruler of the Soviet Union from 1929 until he died in 1953. The same applies to the South African context, with a prominent person like Cecil Rhodes stating the facts of how he accumulated his wealth at the expense of Africans who were exploited through harsh labour. It will lessen the chances of a monument being vandalised because the reasons it is attacked would be stated on the monuments.

## 4.2 Preservation

The term preservation is defined as keeping something the same or preventing it from being damaged. Heritage legislation is implemented to protect and preserve the national heritage as discussed in Chapter 1. It also aims to accommodate different groups or societies in the process to protect what they consider as being their heritage. However, the laws related to heritage are not sufficient to prevent the monuments in the public space from being attacked and vandalised. According to Van Vollenhoven, in the case of South Africa, people who attack the monuments lack the knowledge and understanding of the National Heritage Resource Act.<sup>230</sup> He further argues that not all heritage specialists understand or are knowledgeable about the heritage acts because they do not engage with them every day, making it difficult for them to convey the message to the public about these heritage laws. To a certain extent, I agree with him. However, dissonant heritage will still be perceived as such, and what is perceived as irrelevant laws will be disregarded by a particular society or group

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<sup>229</sup> R. Moatshe. 2018. *Call by EFF to replace Paul Kruger statue with one of Winnie*. <https://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/call-by-eff-to-replace-paul-kruger-statue-with-one-of-winnie-14741502>. Access: 6 June 2021.

<sup>230</sup> A. C. Van Vollenhoven. "Dealing with statues, monuments and memorials in South Africa – A heritage based response to current controversies," *S.A. Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis*, 29(1) (2015), pp. 7-21.

of people. Thus, preserving monuments in South Africa and Russia needs more than just laws to realize the significance of having them in public space, whether dissonant or not. The first step is to link them with tourism broadly and dark tourism in particular.

In terms of preservation, tourism is another alternative that can help safeguard tangible heritage, specifically ‘moderate’ and ‘extreme’ dissonant heritage monuments. The real issue is to think critically before monuments are removed. As time evolves and regimes change, it will come at high expense to constantly reconstruct monuments. The argument by Dushkina discussing how heritage is at risk, with particular reference to modernist buildings in Russia, is relevant to any heritage around the world. Dushkina notes that Russia has fallen in line with the international heritage organisation after the International Scientific Conference on “Heritage at Risk: Preservation of Twentieth-Century Architecture and World Heritage” held in Moscow in April 2006. One year later, Russia adopted the ‘Moscow Declaration for the Protection of the Twentieth-Century Cultural Heritage’. It was emphasised that preserving this heritage is for the current generation and future generations internationally.<sup>231</sup> Most of the points made from the convention in Moscow mainly focused on tourism. The tangible Russian heritage is preserved for future generations worldwide and significantly contributes to the Russian tourism industry. This scenario regarding Russia applies to South Africa. South African history is one of the significant contributions to tourism as the rest of the world want to see the new South Africa, primarily with expectations of how colonial heritage is curated. It proves that heritage can be preserved for the nation, and the whole world to experience this tangible heritage.

Heritage, either tangible or intangible, is mainly in the hands of the national government, and these political powers do shift and affect heritage resources. As the state primarily preserves heritage, it will differ from one government to another depending on how they value heritage resources. Apleni and Henama argue that heritage reflects state power at a particular time and suggest that heritage preservation should be undertaken inclusively.<sup>232</sup> Inclusiveness would mean that heritage is sustained over time. The best way is to link it with tourism. Tourism prioritises sustainability because it relies on resources such as heritage as tourist products that must be preserved for present and future tourists. Dark and dissonant

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<sup>231</sup> Dushkina, “Heritage at Risk The Fate of Modernist Buildings in Russia,” pp. 1-14.

<sup>232</sup> L. Apleni & U.S. Henama. “Heritage Preservation for Tourism Consumption in The Global South: The Case of South Africa and St. Helena in The Atlantic Ocean,” *Culture, People and Technology: The Driving Forces for Tourism Cities Proceedings of 8th ITSA Biennial Conference 2020*, (2020), p. 306.

heritage is one of the tourism products which is unique from one country to another. Hence Apleni and Henama further stated that “Heritage sites can be effective sites for tourism consumption as they become attractions, as tourist have increasingly embraced heritage consumption.”<sup>233</sup> Nevertheless, it is not everyone who has respect towards dissonant heritage and its history associated with it. Hence, Mdayi argues that “it is a painful reality that history requires armed personnel to preserve it”<sup>234</sup>. It is a sad reality considering how the statue of Kruger had to be protected with a security fence and barbed wire in 2015.

The Paul Kruger statue in Church Square, Pretoria, is an example of a unique and extreme dissonant heritage that needs armed personnel, as shown in Figure 07, surrounded by a fence to protect it from vandalism. Fencing is also a psychological barrier mainly used in fragile, sensitive, or dangerous areas that tourist should not get closer to, in this case, protesters. Nevertheless, this measure also reflects heritage laws which intend to protect this kind of heritage. However, fencing the statue of Kruger is not sufficient to preserve it from being damaged. In June 2020, neither the fence nor the heritage laws stopped protesters from accessing the statue and damaging it. Figure 12 below displays the statue of Kruger in Pretoria central after it was vandalised with paint and sprayed with the word ‘killer’ in red paint. It took place during the global protest of ‘Black Lives Matter’, and in the case of South Africa, the statue was made a target and painted with red, the colour symbolising the bloodshed. Considering how Kruger is perceived as a killer by a particular group/s of South Africans, the monument is regarded as an extreme dissonant heritage. In the photo below (Figure 12), heritage specialists and Voortrekker monument security can be seen attending to the monument preventing it from being permanently damaged. As shown in the photo, they had to remove the paint from the monuments to bring it back to its original state. Tshwane Metro spokesperson Lindela Mashigo estimated that the cost to clean the statue was approximately R200 000 (\$13 101).<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Apleni & Henama. “Heritage Preservation for Tourism Consumption in The Global South”, p. 306.

<sup>234</sup> N. Mdayi, N. 2015. *War on colonial statues spreads*. <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/the-citizen-gauteng/20150416/281715498146546>. Access: 18 May 2021.

<sup>235</sup> R. Mahope. 2020. *Paul Kruger statue vandalized again*. <https://rekord.co.za/341452/paul-kruger-statue-vandalised-again/>. Access: 23 August 2021.



Figure 12: Cleaning red paint from the Paul Kruger statue  
Photo: M.S. Motena, 2020

Attacks on dissonant heritage monuments, especially statues, are a nightmare for most countries to preserve this type of heritage. The tourism industry can play a vital role in protecting and preserving dissonant heritage. Considering how the statues of the past government icons in Russia and South Africa are damaged, security personnel can be explicitly employed at moderate dissonant monuments. As for extreme dissonant monuments, the evidence here suggests that the best option is to remove them to areas such as Dissonant Theme Parks. The heritage laws or governmental policies will only be effective to protect these types of heritage if these kinds of measures are taken. Another example in South Africa are the dissonant monuments which are found in the garden of the Union Buildings in Pretoria. The monuments on the ground were covered with black cloth in 1999 during the inauguration of former president Thabo Mbeki.<sup>236</sup> These monuments are protected because the park has security intended to safeguard the garden, but the monuments are in a safe space from being vandalised. Losing this kind of heritage in the public space leads to several

<sup>236</sup> Marschall. "Making Money with Memories: The Fusion of Heritage, Tourism and Identity formation in South Africa," p. 106.

adverse social and economic effects. In most cases, where a specific monument is a tourist attraction, it benefits the touring companies and several established businesses, including street vendors, to provide services to the visitors.

### 4.3 Nation Building

Nation-building is the development of a nation to create an inclusive identity that represents and defines the whole nation, despite diversity. According to the Department of Art and Culture.

Nation-building is the process whereby a society of people with diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions come together within the boundaries of a sovereign state with a unified constitutional and legal dispensation, a national public education system, an integrated national economy, shared symbols and values, as equals, to work towards eradicating the divisions and injustices of the past; to foster unity; and promote a countrywide conscious sense of being proudly South African, committed to the country and open to the continent and the world.<sup>237</sup>

As a multi-disciplinary industry, tourism can utilize dark tourism niche to contribute to nation-building positively. Tourism is one of the largest industries in the world and is increasingly important for national economies and social development. Tourism in every country is tasked with constructing a national identity as a tourist destination for the world to see, selling products such as nature, culture and history. All these tourist products require deliberate choices as they represent the country. Hence, as discussed earlier, tourism has been politically controlled by the previous regimes in Russia and South Africa. As newly independent states, Russia and South Africa also utilise tourism as a political tool because tourism lets the world experience these nations. Hence South African President, Cyril Ramaphosa, stated that the erection of the statue of O.R Tambo at O.R Tambo International Airport would serve as a gateway to the continent and the world.<sup>238</sup> Monuments, memorials

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<sup>237</sup> Department of Art and Culture. 2021. *What is Social Cohesion and Nation-Building?*. [http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/WHAT%20IS%20SOCIAL%20COHESION%20AND%20NATION%20\(3\).pdf](http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/WHAT%20IS%20SOCIAL%20COHESION%20AND%20NATION%20(3).pdf). Access: 8 June 2021.

<sup>238</sup> Bhengu, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-10-28-south-africans-react-to-or-tambo-statue-can-we-build-houses-healthcare-and-schools/>.

and statues in the public space are unavoidable to the tourist and local citizens, hence wherever they are erected, they serve a purpose in that specific location. For example, the statues of Paul Kruger are dominant in the former territory of the Boer Republic. In contrast, the statues of Cecil Rhodes or Queen Victoria are dominant at the former territory of English territory. However, from the side of Russia, monuments dominated every corner of the country because monuments play a vital role to mark the existence of a government or a specific individual phenomenal person.

*A tourist destination* is a location that is marketed as a place of interest where tourists visit. The marketing of destinations ranges from a town to a country, and the dark and dissonant tourist attractions shown in chapter two can be found in a specific town or city. Russia and South Africa are also marketed as tourist destination because people are interested in visiting and learn more about these two nations. These two nations have become global brands that need to be maintained with a view to how the world perceives them, and this perception plays a vital role in nation-buildings. Tourism destination brands also facilitate nation-building, and hence most countries around the world have a tourism logo and slogan. These brands are broad and not limited to tourism only but also attract investors worldwide. The primary purpose of these brands is to market the country's identity and what it offers to the potential visitors. In South Africa, the logo is designed with the national flag with the slogan 'Inspiring New Ways'. South Africa is mainly advertised as a rainbow nation where visitors are offered a unique opportunity to explore and experience a multi-cultural country where different people came together that were racially segregated in the past. The nation- building with compromise and reconciliation of the repressive past is visible on the dissonant heritage monuments. The practical example is the statue of Paul Kruger and Joseph Stalin demonstrated on page 73.<sup>239</sup> From the side of Russia, the logo approved in 2015 is designed with a symbol of the Russian map with the slogan 'The Whole World Within Russia'.<sup>240</sup>

In producing tourist products and building destination brands, the tourism industry in every country is also conscious of how it interprets the tourist attractions products.

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<sup>239</sup> Durbach, "Cultural Heritage as Transformation: A Study of Four Sites from Post-Apartheid South Africa", pp. 205-226.

<sup>240</sup> Branding News. 2018. *Russia's New Visual Identity Is as Diverse as Is Its Culture*. <https://www.branding.news/2018/02/02/russias-new-visual-identity-is-as-diverse-as-is-its-culture/>. Access: 27 June 2021.

According to Nichols, tourism planners must be strategic with the unique product they create as a tourist destination.<sup>241</sup> The tourist destinations and products they make positively contribute towards nation-building. People visits these countries with expectations and curiosity about how the dark history is represented in the new Russian Federation and a democratic South Africa. A practical example of such tourist destination is Robben Island in South Africa. It has been turned into a museum and showcases the darkest history of the apartheid regime and was declared by UNESCO to be an Outstanding Universal Value. The statues and monuments in the public space contribute to nation-building because the world can witness how the public space is not programmed to fit new political narrative. The new political narrative are equally represented in Russia and South Africa. It is up to individuals' perception of how they interpret a statue or monument as extreme or moderate dissonant heritage. For example, some visitors might interpret statues of Joseph Stalin or Paul Kruger with questions such as what kind of society would celebrate such oppressors and killers?<sup>242</sup> Nevertheless, considering a quote by Emmanuel Acho, arguing that "history is meant to be remembered, but not all history is meant to be celebrated",<sup>243</sup> will make everyone realise the significance of moderate over extreme dissonant monuments in the public space.

Statues and monuments represent the national history in public spaces where most people can experience the historical events presented in public as tangible heritage. Monuments in public space make visitors curious to know about the story behind the tangible heritage monument or comment, and can result in either hate, honour or criticism of the person or event commemorated. It is a controversial approach intended by the South African government when there was another war on statues during the global protest of Black Lives Matter. As already noted, the government proposed building parks where colonial monuments will be placed, intending to ensure these monuments are not destroyed. Considering the statement above regarding nation-building, shared symbols and values that foster unity and making every citizen a proudly South African lead to successful nation- building. Again, as discussed, the DA decided to differ on this proposal and condemned the

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<sup>241</sup> K. Nichols. "Tourism as a nation-building tool in the Baltic Republics", *Middle States Geographer*, Volume 34, (2001), pp. 1-9.

<sup>242</sup> The Daily Vox Team. 2020. *What's In A Name? Reflecting On Statues And Streets*. <https://www.thedailyvox.co.za/whats-in-a-name-reflecting-on-statues-and-streets/>. Access: 25 January 2021.

<sup>243</sup> D. Crowley. 2021. "History is meant to be remembered, but not all history is meant to be celebrated." — Emmanuel Acho (Bachelor host). *Say what you want about the show, but it's a pretty strong interview*. <https://twitter.com/dens/status/1371654024794140674>. Accessed 9 June 2021.

proposal of a park with colonial monuments. They felt this approach did not contribute to nation-building because it would silence the voices of people who value these statues and deny them public space. However, the ruling government proposed to preserve these colonial monuments with good intentions since they embrace valuable national heritage. The DA further questioned the ANC government regarding its nation-building intentions and stated that South Africa does not belong to all who live in it, according to the ANC government.<sup>244</sup> The proposal made by the South African government, specifically the ruling party, can approach this sensitive topic of extremely dissonant tangible heritage by considering the ‘Heritage Monuments Scale’ proposed on Figure 11, where monuments can be evaluated and extreme dissonant heritage monuments relocated.

Moderate dissonant monuments can be crucial to nation-building, especially by showing reconciliation through accepting heritage that is difficult to reconcile with. Singh argues that the apartheid experience is centrally important because it enhances nation-building. The author argues from a general perspective of all tourist attractions labelling them as atrocity heritage and argues that it does benefit the South African economy with the industry earning foreign exchange.<sup>245</sup> Singh is also supported by Flynn and King, who notes that public history plays a huge role in nation-building, specifically historical education.<sup>246</sup> Singh’s arguments prove that dissonant heritage is a valuable tourist product for Russia and South Africa, and any nation worldwide. In contrast, the extreme dissonant tangible heritage can benefit dark tourism. The dissonant monuments, dark heritage monuments and any other form of heritage are essential because their existence proves to the world that as much as some heritage is dissonant, compromises are being made to show reconciliation in the country. It is evident in the earlier-mentioned example of how Russia handled the controversial centenary commemoration in 2017. The controversy surrounding the commemoration, either as tangible or intangible heritage, are the aspects that contribute to nation-building. Compromises have been made for reconciliation to be possible in both nations. The celebration of heritage, in general, is sensitive. If it is not approached correctly, it can lead to conflict because all extreme dissonant heritage monuments highlighted in this thesis have that potential to be a point of contention. Some people who value these types of

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<sup>244</sup> Van Dyk, <https://www.da.org.za/2020/09/da-condemns-cabinets-decision-to-remove-statues-to-theme-parks>.

<sup>245</sup> Singh, *New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices*.

<sup>246</sup> Flynn, & King, “Symbolic Reparation, Heritage and Political Transition in South Africa’s Eastern Cape,” p. 465.

heritage want to see them preserved in the public space. In addition to nation-building and reconciliation, another benefit of preserving these monuments is the national economy elevation that the tourism industry can provide.

#### 4.4 Potential Economic Benefits

Tourism is one of the industries that many countries rely on to uplift their local economy, especially in developing countries such as South Africa. The industry also contributes to the employment of many in almost every country around the world. According to Dan Peltier, the industry employs one in eleven people contributing to approximately ten percent of world's jobs,<sup>247</sup> but this has obviously been negatively affected by the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. The tourism industry relies heavily on tourist products as attractions, which is the central core of the industry. In addition, it then offers services to the local and international visitors at the tourist destination. Considering this controversy on these types of tourist products, all monuments or statues in the public space are also products but specifically for tourism. As shown in Figures 05 and 11, heritage monuments can never be appreciated by everyone especially tangible dissonant heritage. Statues are, in fact, historical figures and are mostly referred to as heritage products from a tourism perspective, but they do evolve. They can move from honour to dissonant status and possibly fall into the category of extreme dissonant heritage. As much as statues or monuments teach history or storytelling to the visitors, the problematic issue about statues and some monuments is that they convey fixed historical ideas from a specific group of society or community depending on the country's history.<sup>248</sup> For example, in Russia, some monuments have fixed ideas relating either to the Tsar or Soviet Union (Leninism or Stalinism). While in the case of South Africa, the historical fixed ideas relate to the British settlers, Dutch settlers and recently to anti- colonialism and anti-apartheid revolutionaries. These statues and monuments have and will always convey a perception of unchanging truth from the past, and hence some are referred to as dissonant heritage.

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<sup>247</sup> D. Peltier. 2016. *The Travel Industry Now Supports Nearly 10 Percent of World's Jobs*. <https://skift.com/2016/03/27/the-travel-industry-now-supports-nearly-10-percent-of-worlds-jobs/>. Access: 26 October 2021.

<sup>248</sup> S. John. 2019. *Statues, Politics and The Past*. <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/behind-times/statues-politics-and-past>. Access: 3 July 2021.

Despite the historical controversy surrounding these types of tourist products, there are potential and benefits that some people do not realise. Statues and monuments, dissonant or not dissonant as defined by certain groups of societies, still form part of tourism products. Despite the Covid-19 pandemic, statues and monuments remained tourist products with an easy access without any complication to the pandemic protocols such as social distancing as compared to other tourist attractions which were closed because of Covid-19 restrictions. The Hector Peterson memorial is one example. When I was on the site, the museum was closed because it does not have adequate ventilation. Even though the memorial does not have a record of being vandalised, falling under dark heritage as shown in Figure 11 on the ‘Heritage Monuments Scale’, it still shows the significance of sustaining monuments and statues in public spaces because the site which has always been visited since its opening in 1992 now had the memorial to meet the satisfaction of visitors to the site.

Historical monuments are the face of any region or city where they are erected. Some tourists travel specifically with the motivation to experience a specific place, looking at how it has changed with time with evidence of historical figures in public spaces. To meet the satisfaction of these tourists, that is when the dark tourism is involved, and because of tourism, tours are offered in those specific places tourist are attracted to. Keeping and preserving this type of heritage, either dissonant or not, creates jobs for locals, such as offering tours. Dark tourism is the best management tool that everyone needs to utilise and see as an ‘excuse’ to put their own personal political interest aside. As they are tourist products, they are not limited to only tours, but as people visit these place they need service and products for the duration of their visits such as hotels and restaurants. As much as these services and products are not situated close to the statues, they make an itinerary look more attractive and satisfying and dismantling monuments results in a decline of tourist attractions.

It is not surprising that Latvia, a country formerly under the control of the Soviet Union, decided to put their personal political beliefs aside and focused on maximising tourism profits with the production of Lenin monuments. As the result of the production of more monuments, the country also prioritised the preservation of the monuments that the Soviet Union had already erected. According to Kruk, this project of producing monuments in Māksla factory has helped the country economically by creating more jobs and increasing

their tourist attractions.<sup>249</sup> The mass erection of monuments also took place in South Africa, where monuments, memorials and statues were erected post-apartheid to promote cultural tourism, especially in townships with the aim of poverty alleviation.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

The discussion above, which has been structured around the themes of interpretation, preservation, nation-building and economic elevation, is where tourism needs to focus. The industry needs to realise that as much as these monuments are protected based on these aspects above, they are not considering that this is the heritage that can possibly be lost if is not properly curated. When Nelson Mandela said “Our rich and varied cultural heritage has a profound power to help build our nation”<sup>250</sup> on heritage day in 1996, this will be possible if proper measures are taken. The industry needs to find measures such as relocating the monuments and considering evaluation of monuments that are not appropriate to be in the public space. For example, the table in Figure 11 can be a start where extreme dissonant heritage can be collected and be isolated from the public space while creating a theme park (dissonant monument park) that will act as a tourist destination.

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<sup>249</sup> Kruk. “Profit rather than politics: the production of lenin monuments in Soviet Latvia,” pp. 247-276.

<sup>250</sup> NEPAD. 2020. <https://www.nepad.org/news/heritage-day-message-dr-ibrahim-mayaki-auda-nepad-ceo>. Access: 03 December 2021.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Dark tourism is a niche that involves travel to places associated with death, tragedy and suffering. Dark tourism has sub-categories and, in this case, ‘Dark’ and ‘Dissonant’ heritage sites that can also include shameful or socially condemned activities. The thesis investigated whether the law protects both dark and dissonant heritage sites and how dark tourism can be used as a management tool to tackle the challenges of dismantling of monuments in Russia and South Africa. The investigation showed that heritage law protects tangible heritage sites and also highlighted that from the South African perspective, heritage law in South Africa existed significantly before it existed in Russia. Political regime change, which often impacts monuments, negatively affected Russia significantly more compared to South Africa. The Russian Federation and South African heritage laws are now more aligned with the global legislation on heritage monuments and memorials. The research has further shown that dark heritage sites are not threatened or in danger compared to dissonant heritage, especially extreme dissonant sites because of the public perception. The heritage legislation protects heritage monuments and memorials but seems to have failed to provide guidelines to curate extreme dissonant monuments.

As demonstrated, the Russian Federation and South African heritage laws protect all heritage monuments, including dark and dissonant heritage, with the primary justification to preserve them for future generations. Looking at the world convention of 1972, for each nation to ensure the national cultural and natural heritage, they need to ensure effective measures. These measures are to adopt the general policy, set up territories with appropriate staff, develop research and scientific studies to counteract the dangers facing natural and cultural heritage. The states must take appropriate scientific, financial and legal measures to protect their heritage and establish national centres for training to protect and conserve their national heritage.<sup>251</sup> Considering these UNESCO guidelines, Russia and South Africa are in line with these measures to protect heritage. However, the problem in these two countries is that specific and appropriate measures have not always been taken towards dissonant heritage, especially extreme dissonant heritage monuments. The UNESCO Guidelines, as the universal measures, provide a directional measure that these two countries need to consider for dissonant, especially extreme dissonant heritage.

<sup>251</sup> UNESCO. 1972. <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>. Access: 28 October 2021.

In these two countries, heritage legislation plays a central role in safeguarding any heritage, including extreme dissonant monuments. The main challenge facing dissonant heritage monuments is public perception, explained by the concept of psychological oppression. In this respect, both countries are failing to tackle these challenges strategically. As highlighted in this research, the main recommendation is to establish a ‘Dissonant Theme Park’ for extreme dissonant heritage monuments by consulting the public and heritage experts to determine which monument is extremely dissonant. In most cases, people are restricted by the heritage laws because it clearly shows people are sometimes simply afraid of the law rather than supportive of the monuments, thus impacting the protection of these monuments. Suppose an extreme dissonant monument would remain standing at the expense of the majority who are against it? In that case, it shows that the law fails its nation by justifying the preservation of heritage for future generations by force. The Russian approach to establishing a fallen monument park appears to be a solution to extreme dissonant heritage monuments.

One can look at all aspects such as tourism, the economy, societal reconciliation, nation-building and heritage preservation, however, the reality is, how long will people be compromising and hurt to see public space filled with oppressors who oppressed their fore-grandparents, psychologically oppressing the present generation? Moreover, these monuments are preserved to further oppress future generations claiming they are being preserved. The reality is, what is the content of nation-building if these monuments are questioned by one generation after another? The preservation of heritage is justifiable, but how it is preserved and where are the crucial questions. An evaluation of dissonant monuments needs to be seriously considered to relocate extreme dissonant heritage monuments from public spaces. It can never be a problem to face the reality that some monuments do not deserve daily access by the public. Again, the fallen monuments park pioneered in Russia can be established in several countries and be marketed as a ‘Dissonant Theme Park.’ It will serve as a new dark tourism niche worldwide, especially in Africa, presenting tangible colonial heritage to the world.

A Dissonant Theme Park will be a perfect place to teach the history that these monuments represent. Monuments can be arranged according to regimes or years that they were erected. These theme parks will indeed contribute to the economy because tourist services such as transportation, guides and food will be provided at the site. It will be a

perfect site to preserve these monuments for future generation to learn about the nation's history. This approach of a Dissonant Theme Park needs to involve heritage experts and researchers without being biased and seek to evaluate or weigh every monument according to the history associated with it, and then see if it deserves to be in a public space or Dissonant Theme Park. It would not be at the expense of individuals' emotions. It is only a matter of time before we lose these types of heritage, considering how they are consistently vandalised. The dissonant monuments are scattered, and most are not easily accessible to tourists or visitors. Having them in one place (at a Dissonant Theme Park) will increase their exposure and form part of dark tourist attractions. As Singh stated, that apartheid is used for entertainment and extends heritage tourism products, his argument supports the recommendation for a Dissonant Theme Parks.<sup>252</sup> The establishment of dissonant theme parks of colonial and dictators monuments in South Africa and Russia will also serve as educational and entertainment destinations while extending dissonant heritage tourism products.

The different perspectives from groups, such as the DA's perception discussed earlier, will lead to a waste of resources if the statue/s are consistently vandalised. The money spent cleaning vandalised statues and monuments could have already been used to establish one or two Dissonant Theme Parks. It is not too late for South Africa and other countries to learn about this initiative launched in Russia. The criticism of this idea and protecting extreme dissonant heritage monuments could lead to the permanent loss of these types of heritage. Reflecting on the heritage monument scale in figure 11, the monuments that fall under extreme dissonant heritage used in this thesis are some of the examples that could be chosen to establish a Dissonant Theme Park. A memorable statement of the ANC in the early 1990s was that 'we should forgive each other, but never forget'. As much as it states we should never forget, it does not mean citizens should be reminded on a daily basis of past injustices by passing by extreme dissonant monuments.<sup>253</sup>

The monuments that are not easy to reconcile with are dealt with differently from one country to another. Sparrow argues that in dealing with these types of dissonant statues,

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<sup>252</sup> T. vir Singh, *New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices* (CABI Publishers, 2004).

<sup>253</sup> A. Sampson. 1994. *The evil must be forgiven, not forgotten*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/1994/may/01/nelsonmandela.southafrica>. Access: 11 October 2021.

“we shouldn’t look to Russia how to treat problematic history and its statues.”<sup>254</sup> Sparrow and most of the authors that were referenced in this thesis look at Russia from a historical perspective and not necessarily the present regime. Russia is one of the nation’s worldwide that is an inspiring contemporary example of dealing with the dark past.

Another initiative for dissonant monuments that has been suggested in this research and elsewhere is to implement a strategy of erecting alternative statues or monuments closer to the ones perceived as dissonant. However, this strategy cannot be applied to all dissonant monuments. The strategy depends on the monuments. For example, the monuments commemorating the Tsar or the Soviet Union can be placed in one place at no cost of erecting a new monument from scratch. In the context of South Africa, it is quite different because most of these monuments date to before the apartheid regime. Placing the heroines or heroes who fought against apartheid alongside colonial monuments would therefore appear as anachronistic. However, the main struggle that South African often encounters with Afrikaner society, are monuments erected to commemorate their struggle for independence from Great Britain. The collection of all dissonant monuments placed on one site will help end the war on monuments. The narrative of dissonant monuments will be better interpreted in one place and, in the process, preserve them by also having security personnel on one of the sites, which can be a dissonant monument park.

History is history and will remain in the past. The controversy is how we utilise this history, such as in the monuments and memorials. The reality is that if a monument (tangible heritage) is extremely dissonant and associated with a dark past, it needs to be used as a dark tourism product because it is unpleasant to be in the public space. If it is intangible heritage, it needs to be interpreted with sensitivity. The preservation of extreme dissonant heritage in public spaces with a justification that it represents certain groups is flawed and thus the war on monuments will consistently occur. Monuments that lead to psychological oppression need to be relocated because history cannot be changed but can be dealt with appropriately. Considering aspects discussed from Russia and South Africa, groups of people who support monuments that are extremely dissonant prove that they are not willing to

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254 J. Sparrow. 2017. *We shouldn't look to Russia for how to treat problematic history and its statues.* <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/13/we-shouldnt-look-to-russia-for-how-to-treat-problematic-history-and-its-statues>. Access: 20 July 2021

compromise for nation-building, because they support and celebrate monuments commemorating oppressors and allowing oppression even in memory to take place. This further justifies Marschall's argument that memorials are not meant for the dead but the living.<sup>255</sup> Individuals, groups or governments that turn a blind eye to monuments oppressing the society with the justification that *history is history*, are simply allowing a continuation of oppression. Monuments are meant to commemorate, and, sadly, public spaces are occupied with the remembrance of oppressors who made it a norm to oppress other people in the past. Furthermore, the existence of these monuments and statues in the public space protected by law further divides the society instead of contributing to nation-building. Extreme dissonant monuments do not deserve to occupy public space, historical figures can still be preserved in isolated places and be recognised.

The monuments that governments and legislation laws should protect in their original sites and public spaces have generally been shown to be dark and moderate dissonant monuments. These monuments can justify that history is history, commemorating or honouring certain events and individual heroines and heroes in public areas. Considering dark heritage sites, these monuments and memorials significantly contribute to nation-building. Dark heritage sites act as sites of remembrance of the darkest past that we need to take a lesson from such inhuman actions. The only challenge to resolve in dark heritage sites is interpreting the historical context. An example is the Irene contraction camp that has been considered, where the context has only been about the Boer women and children, thus silencing the memory of the black people who suffered in the camps. Moreover, the political narrative that used dark heritage sites to fit their narrative needs to be changed. For example, in Russia, the USSR claimed the Bloody Sunday event organised by priest Gapon and the ANC in South Africa has claimed the Sharpeville Massacre event that the PAC organised to fit their political narrative.

While the law protects both dissonant and dark heritage monuments, it does not always account for the evolution of regimes and the impact of changing political narratives on the public space. Throughout this research, it has been shown that dark heritage is not at risk and that dissonant heritage depends on how the public perceives them; hence, the heritage monument scale in Figure 11 was necessary to discuss this in detail. The heritage

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<sup>255</sup>Marschall. "Pointing to the dead: victims, Martyrs and Public Memory in South Africa," pp. 103-123.

monuments scale can be used as a basis to determine which monuments should be kept or relocated.

Dark tourism can be utilised as a management tool only if it pays attention to the issue of dismantling monuments and not just a one-sided justification (*including extreme dissonant monuments*) that heritage needs to be preserved even in the public space. Again, looking at Figure 11, the scale shows an example of heritage monuments that can be lost due to vandalism and they are highlighted as ‘extreme dissonant heritage’. Dark tourism can be a beneficial tool to this issue by erecting the proposed ‘Dissonant Theme Park’ to manage extreme dissonant monuments. South Africa and any other nations struggling to deal with tangible dissonant heritage can learn from Russia because of their experience a reversal from destroying to preserve and appreciating these dissonant heritage.

Tourism development is an important aspect even with the use of dissonant heritage, and the importance of this heritage is not only to these two nations but to the world as a whole. It is the reason Singh argues that the use of such heritage poses distinctive issues and requires careful management. Singh’s recommendation is supported by Dominy and Callinicos when they also suggest principles such as ‘balance,’ specifically balancing the perspective of the site or event, and ‘reinterpretation’, where the view of one side needs to change, such as the changes made in the curation of the Anglo-Boer War where black people were previously side-lined in this historical event.<sup>256</sup> Other principles are education and reconciliation, where young and old will gain new insights and better ways to deal with the dark past. While the authors focus on the South African context, these suggestions also apply to Russia, to balance the historical context of the Tsar and the Soviet Union on the commodified commemoration sites. Moreover, the extreme dissonant heritage monuments should be perceived as dark tourism products hence Kruk argues for a ‘profit rather than politics’ approach, emphasizing using dissonant heritage to benefit the economy.<sup>257</sup>

The Dissonant Theme Park is one of the aspects that the tourism industry should consider as a solution to extreme dissonant heritage monuments. In these parks, the information will be able to educate visitors in a manner of serious entertainment. The extreme tangible

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<sup>256</sup> Singh, *New Horizons in Tourism: Strange Experiences and Stranger Practices*, p. 95; Dominy, & Callinicos, “Is There Anything to Celebrate? Paradoxes of Policy”, pp. 393-395.

<sup>257</sup> Kruk. “Profit rather than politics: the production of lenin monuments in Soviet Latvia,” pp. 247-276.

dissonant heritage is of special interest as a tourist attraction, which is not new because they are sites recalling the unpleasant or traumatic past, as are the sites described as dark heritage. When it comes to extreme dissonant heritage monuments, these sites can be managed by being isolated from the public space because they are traumatic and results in psychological oppression. Every monument and statue is unique and has its own story. While the story is about oppression, dictatorship or segregation, its uniqueness suits the dark tourism niche and extends existing dark tourism attractions.

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