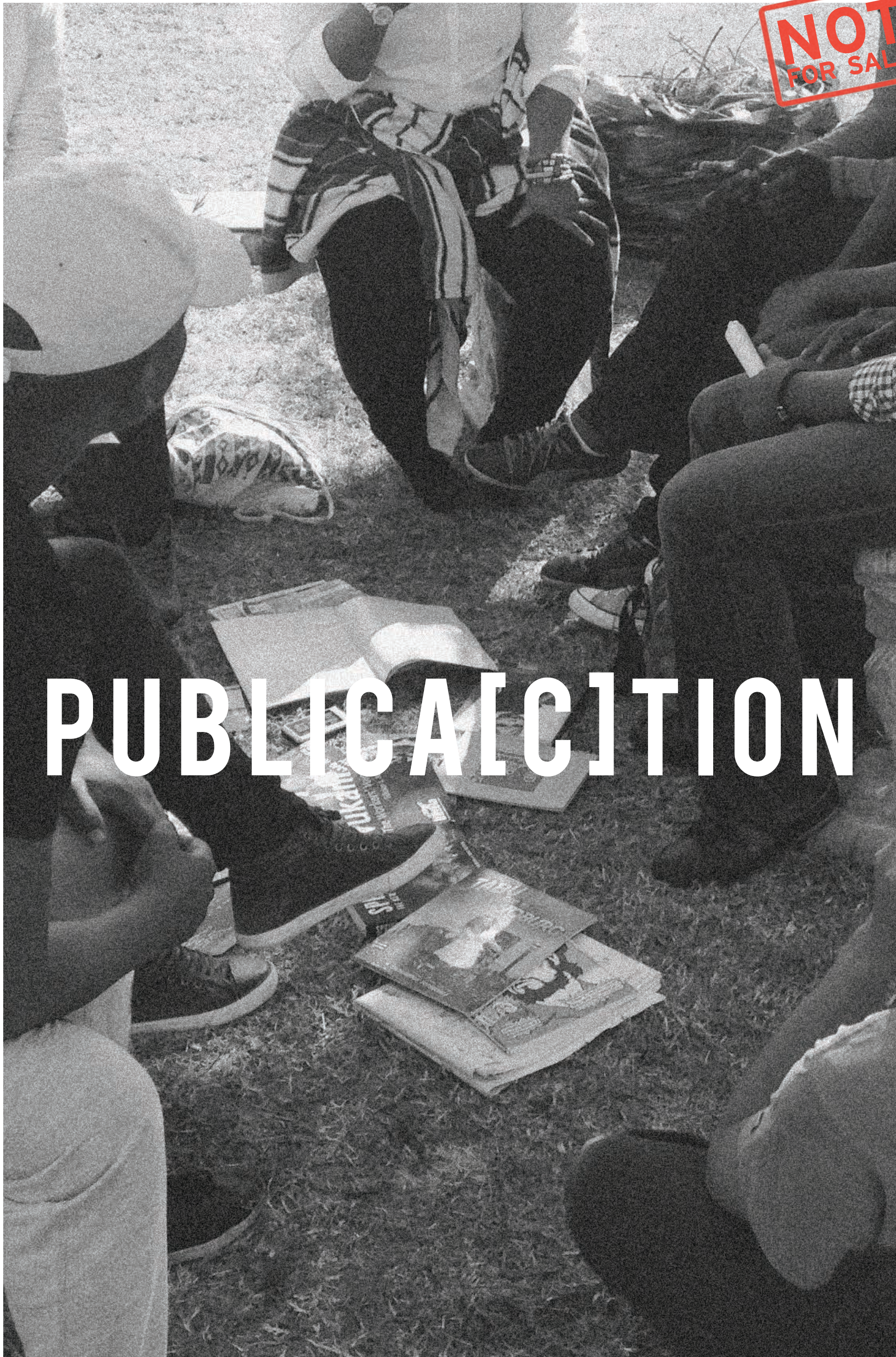


**NOT
FOR SALE**

PUBLIC ALLOCATION



(Former) Bantustans; also sometimes referred to as homelands of labour reserves. Through laws like the 1894 Glen Grey Act, the 1913 Land Act, the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, and the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act, and through centuries of violence and war, the settler colonial government dispossessed local people of the majority of their land, robbed them of South African citizenship, and forced those who were not working in the cities to live in 'homelands'. Each homeland was designated for a different 'ethnic' group as defined by the apartheid government. The land was overcrowded, overworked and could barely sustain Black lives as they had no real economic base and most people were forced to travel hundreds of kilometers to work in cities daily, weekly, monthly or yearly. Many people lost their lives in the Bantustans to poverty and malnutrition.

In 1959, the Extension of University Education Act was passed which established separate institutions (some in the Bantustans) for Black students along 'ethnic' lines: UWC for 'coloured' students, Fort Hare for Xhosa-speaking students, and Durban-Westville for students of Indian descent. While the white universities, such as Stellenbosch, UCT, Wits, Pukke, Tuks, and others, were heavily invested in by the government, the institutions for Black people were generally underfunded and under-resourced. These geographic, material and institutional inequities can still be seen and felt in many ways today, think for example about the different ways that the media respond to student struggles at (formerly) white and Black universities...

- Transkei KaNgwane KwaZulu KwaNdebele Gazankulu
- Ciskei Bophuthatswana Lebowa QwaQwa Venda

2016 PUBLICA[CT]ION JOURNEY

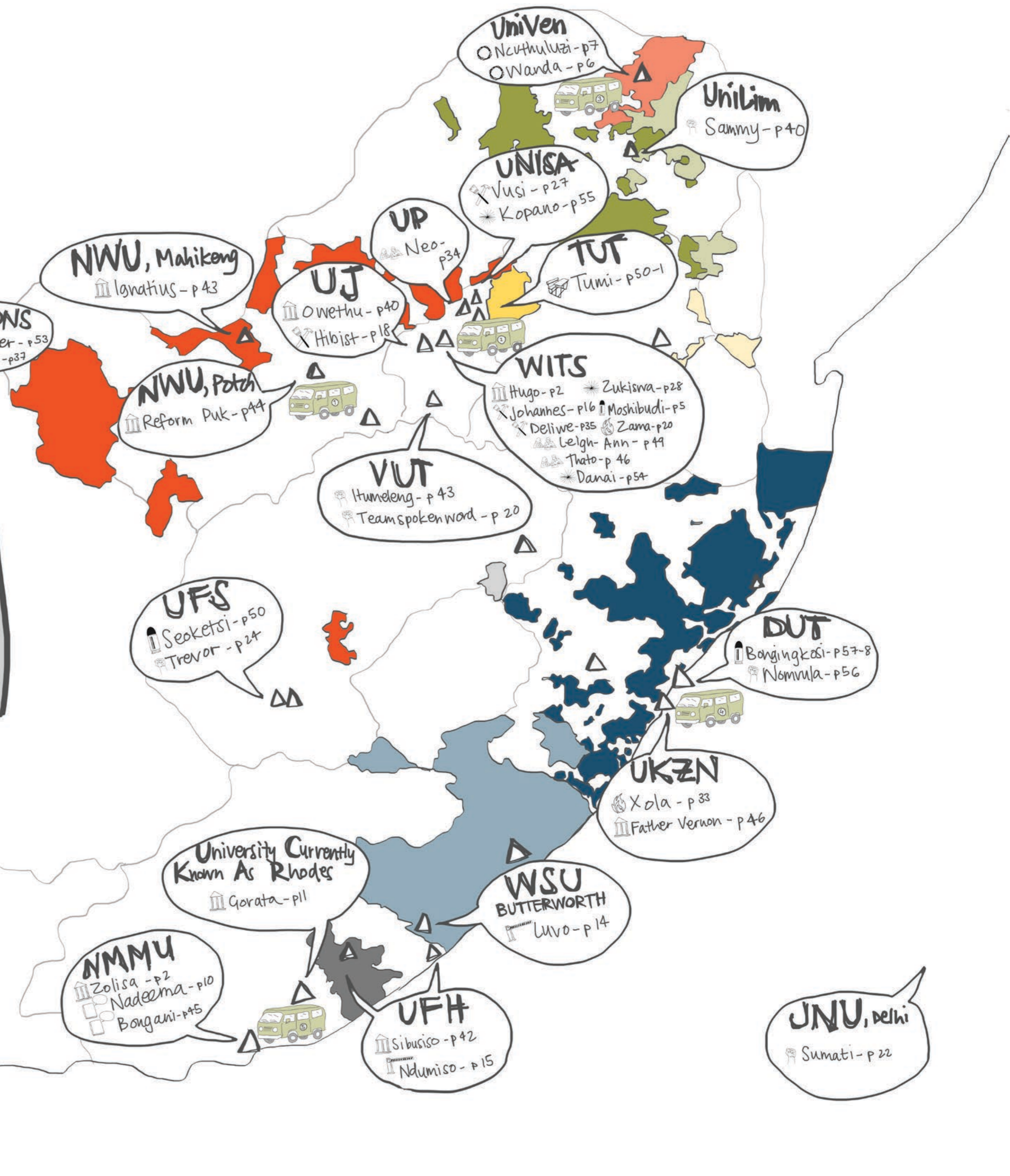
With over 3000 kilometers travelled in various boats, ranging a week long journey from Johannesburg to Limpopo, then Durban and Ginsberg, and several meetings in Cape Town and the Free State, as a team, the Publica[ct]ion collective engaged with fellow activist comrades on how we could imagine this collection of reflections on the past few years of intensified activism on our campuses of higher education. We held workshops where we held political communion, reading and thinking together about the significance of documenting and archiving, and why that was as important a political action as physical activism. In the front lines. This is a reflection on that journey, a kaleidoscope of our country, through the eyes of those who live its reality.



- 1 2 MAY - NWU Potch
- 2 3 MAY - TUT Shoshanguve
- 3 4 MAY - UniVen Thohoyandou
- 4 5 MAY - Durban
- 5 6 MAY - Ginsberg
- 6 26 MAY - UWC AND 6 APRIL - UFS (meeting)

REFLECTIONS

- Thato - p19
- Acher - p53
- Leigh-Ann - p37



NOT IN OUR NAME

ZOLISA MARAWU
NELSON MANDELA
METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY



We want to teach and do exams and send people off to jobs and then bring in others to teach and do exams and send them off to jobs.

This is very important. It has to happen now, not later. Its very important. You can't question that. That's our job. We know our job. We want to teach and do exams and send people off to jobs and then bring in others to teach and do exams and send them off to jobs.

That's our job.

We aren't here to think and attend to this social justice stuff directly, its not our job. We have an office for that, a chair for that and an award for that, thats all we can do. We want to teach and do exams and send people off to jobs and then bring in others to teach and do exams and send them off to jobs.

That's our job.

We aren't government. Listen to us. Challenge Government. Don't Challenge us. We want to teach and do exams and send people off to jobs and then bring in others to teach and do exams and send them off to jobs.

That's our job.

You students, yes you who must study and write exams, you, please study, write exams and attend to this social justice stuff we wont attend to ourselves because we want to teach and do exams and send people off to jobs and then bring in others to teach and do exams and send them off to jobs.

Not in our name.

THROUGH THE FIRE



HUGO CANHAM
UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Those of us who were trained in the colonial and apartheid tradition of South Africa are scared witless as we watch our memorialisations, pillars, totems and shrines to excellence shudder and threaten to topple over. Those of us trained later – the beautiful ones now born, exhausted with holding the cognitive dissonance of being educated as free people but within old modalities and frames of inequality in a changed world, are banging our heads with rocks – too tired of the madness of the science and silence of being unheard. And so, we tether on the brink; signing our names to different petitions and throwing rocks in different directions. Moralizing and screaming obscenities. Thrashing and trembling, bleeding and pushing in and out in a rainless summer shrouded in teargas, stun grenades and stink bombs.

Violence is the order of the day. Campuses have been surrendered to the control of police, intelligence operatives, riot gear, tankers, water cannons and endless emails from the Vice Chancellors Office. Instructions come from dizzying heights. The police commissioner controls his troops. Rubbish bins crushed for stones that sing in the air. Bullets riddle the backs of students and tare tendons from ankles. Though we proclaim a common goal, we cannot talk to each other beyond emails, police batons and rocks. The subject line is business as usual. The theatre of absurdity plays out on television news. Managers spend more time talking to the press than to students. Fighting to control the narrative. We grow accustomed to the violence of the presence of riot police walking among us. We dream of chants and Solomon Mahlangu and we are awoken by screams and curtains of smoke from smouldering fires. Free education now. We disagree on the now and the how – those of us who value the shrine and those of us who live with the dissonance and contradictions.

We refuse to see that we have run out of options. The tide is high. The fires say 'now'. History says 'now'. Free, decolonised education now. Business as usual – propped up by the ministries of police, intelligence and defence. Cars burn. Smoke billows. A new national anthem sprouts. We cry. Binding, defiant. Nguni. Arrests, hospitalisations, court appearances, music festivals, solidarities and rifts. Constant requests for bail money. Court interdicts. Colleagues stop talking to each other. Studious avoidance of the staffroom. Some teach. Others refuse. Social media meltdowns. Police on horseback, on foot, in tanks, in formation.

Some of us sign petitions and participate in on-line polls to prop up business as usual. Mimicking the university in Braamfontein, other universities opt to save the academic year by calling in the police. Busses burn. Trauma proliferates. Trauma transmitted through the South African DNA. A generation will graduate without knowing peace – through the fire and under police guard. The headlines are filled with smoke. Journalists choke. The language of hooligans and thugs mushrooms as sympathies sway. Asked to say something profound, the professor falls flat at "Boko Haram". Students dies. Classes cancelled. Maybe next year. Funding models. Prayer meetings. Priests in robes. Iconography abounds. Fires sprout under busses and libraries. Cartridges bloom alongside the spring flowers.

PRESIDENT – DOLOLO.

In all of this we lose sight of the possibility that we all love the university. We imagine it and its role in different ways. Some of our senior professors want to keep the university the same way that they found it. Their votes in Senate reinforce a unitary history supposedly founded on justice, excellence and standards. In other words; monuments to themselves and those before them. Knowledge and traditions, like wine acquire more prestige with age. Our senior professors aspire to hand down these monuments of excellence to the next generation intact and unchanged. Because they were formed in these structures, they pretend that colonialism, apartheid, and neo-liberal corporatization did not happen. They don't offer solutions and don't entertain any beyond their support of police to maintain business as usual. Even when business as usual brutalises us all.

Love blossoms on social media. Hospital visits. Race solidifies. Black self-love enfolded in rage. Wariness of the motives of the other. Dashiki emoticons sign off Whatapp messages. Biko and Malcolm X circulate. Love in pain. Love in rage.

Some of us, who have positioned ourselves as allies to the students, condemn both the police presence on our campuses and the fires and rocks. But we believe that the stone throwing and fires would not happen if we threw everything we have at transforming this historic dream to reality. We need each other for this to happen. We have to suffer short-term losses for the long-term realization of social justice. Digging trenches for prolonged warfare will batter us all, compromising the university as we know it and shattering the futures we want for a generation of students that does not have to worry about debt, hunger, exclusions and inequality in the classroom.

As black allies to the students, we know their pain in the body for we too lived with the precarity that characterises their lives. With this knowledge that resides inside, we cannot dither with our support. We can disagree but we must avoid zero-sum positions. But vague promises will not do. Urging us to teach in a war zone is against our code of an ethics of care. Under the leadership of (an absent) government, the higher education sector needs to craft a plan for free decolonized education now. After 22 years, the time has run out.

There is no doubt that university management; senators; non-protesting and protesting students, and allies all love the university. It belongs to us all. Policing some of us against each other suggests that some love the university in more legitimate ways than others. It suggests that some belong more than others. It is exactly this narrative that asks to be disrupted by rocks. Stop it! Let's talk about our love for education even through the fire.

THIS HERE COLLECTION IS INCOHERENT...

BY PUBLICA[C]TION COLLECTIVE

THERE IS SOMETHING ABOUT A DECOLONIAL MOMENT THAT REQUIRES
INCOHERENCE

OR JUST PERHAPS IS INCOHERENT

CONVERSELY THERE IS SOMETHING ABOUT AN INTELLECTUAL TENDENCY
OR PERHAPS JUST AN ACADEMIC ONE THAT SEEKS TO IMPOSE ORDER:
COHERENCE

BY MOST MEASURES THIS HERE COLLECTION IS INCOHERENT
IF WE THINK DECOLONIAALLY WE MIGHT SEE THIS AS A STRENGTH
IF WE THINK ACADEMICALLY WE MIGHT FAIL TO GRASP THIS
MOMENT AND THE THOUGHTS OF THOSE WRITING IT

...

IF YOU ASK PEOPLE TO WRITE ON WHATEVER THEY CHOOSE TO, WHATEVER THEY
THINK IS IMPORTANT, THEY MIGHT WRITE ABOUT THE REVOLUTIONARY CORE AT
UFS, THEY MIGHT WRITE ABOUT THE SERIAL KILLER AT UNIVEN, THEY MIGHT WRITE
ABOUT HOW FEESMUSTFALL RELATES TO THE STRUGGLE OF POOR BLACK FAMILIES
IN CAPE TOWN, THEY MIGHT WRITE A LETTER TO THE ACADEMY, THEY MIGHT WRITE
A HISTORY OF FORT HARE, A HISTORY OF OUTSOURCING STRUGGLES AT WITS, OR
THE GENESIS OF #OPENSTELLENBOSCH... THAT'S WHAT WE DID, THAT'S SOME WHAT
WE'VE GOT, AND IT WOULD BE IN SOME WAY INTELLECTUALLY DISHONEST TO TRY
FRAME THE UNFRAMEABLE, AND ATTEMPT TO COHERE THE INCOHERENT.

...

SO, IN THE INTERESTS OF UNVEILING THE THING, DE-FETISHISING THE COMMODITY,
WE THOUGHT AS AN INTRODUCTION, WE WOULD NOT TRY TO IMPOSE ORDER ON
A MOMENT OF CHAOS AND DISORDER, BUT RATHER REFLECT ON OUR PROCESS
SO YOU MIGHT COME TO APPRECIATE IT FOR WHAT IT IS - A PROCESS AND A
COLLECTIVE PROJECT RATHER THAN A THING ON ITS OWN.

...

WE SET OUT TO REIMAGINE PUBLICATION
WE COLLECTIVELY FUMBLED THROUGH CRITIQUES AND HAVE STUMBLLED TOWARD
THIS:

WELCOME TO PUBLICA[C]TION



LETTER TO THE ACADEMY

I could have returned at first, had human beings allowed it, through an archway as wide as the span of heaven over the earth, but as I spurred myself on in my forced career, the opening narrowed and shrank behind me; I felt more comfortable in the world of men and fitted it better; the strong wind that blew after me out of my past began to slacken; today it is only a gentle puff of air that plays around my heels; and the opening in the distance, through which it comes and through which I once came myself, has grown so small that, even if my strength and my willpower sufficed to get me back to it, I should have to scrape the very skin from my body to crawl through.
 – Franz Kafka “A Report to an Academy”

To the academy

I write to you, always to you, as a problem and a solution (an authority and an amateur) with news on your application to retain your value as a societal good. I have read your application closely.

Slowly.

Thoughtfully I have underlined words I do not understand and sought their definitions.

Curiously.

I regret to inform you however, that you have failed to meet the requirements for a common good. It is a pity. You have so much potential.

However, you have been rendered incompetent by your own arrogance. I have no doubt that with a balance of deliberate collapsing and uncurated rupture, you might find yourself in a position to resubmit this application. It would be remiss of me to stage this advice without sharing my prognosis on the profundity of your self-inflicted and methodical ignorance. You submitted an important albeit underdeveloped idea which I found myself enamoured with, common good. Words are curious, you see, because they expose us even when our intention is to hide behind them. So as I sip tea to Anderson Paak, reading again and again these two words: common good, I wonder to myself if you have failed to achieve it, or whether you have in fact achieved exactly what you had intended to and it is rather my naivety that has once again led me astray. What is your common? What is common to you? I circle this question my brow knitted in focus, a focus interrupted only by pangs of disappointment at just how often I take for granted your ideology.

Let me begin first with a story:

There was once a rat that went to squirrel school. The rat was encouraged to go to squirrel school because the school would grant the rat “endless opportunities”. The school was on the highest branch of a sturdy oak tree that had taken centuries to grow and a rat’s mere attendance connoted advancement. It was not cheap. But it was said that the sun touched the school first in the morning and last in the evening and though perched on the very edge of this branch, the school was only ever barely moved by the winds. So the rat worked hard; she scaled the thick, old, ridged trunk of the tree each day arriving exhausted but eager to learn on the top branch of this old oak tree. Each class was full of lessons on how to be the most successful squirrel. Lessons on squirrel diction, tree top politics and cuteness 101. I will not bore you with the details of the rat’s difficulties, rather, allow me to use a dialect you

are more likely to sympathise with; that of overcoming hardship, diligence, and dedication. For indeed, the rat pushed herself. She scurried up the oak tree daily without a squeak of complaint, she perfected her diction and she even passed for cute. She excelled. However, the unceasing lesson she learned, the teaching that she received that her squirrel colleagues did not, was that there was not, and would not ever be such a thing as an excellent rat, only an almost squirrel. The problem, you see, with the Squirrel Institution of Advancement, and I will ask that you continue to humour me in this analogy, is that it stubbornly clung to an ideology whose success was hinged on its student first and foremost, being a squirrel or at the very least holding a deep desire to become a squirrel. Even when it later changed its name to the Squirrel Institution of Rodent Advancement and allowed more rats to attend, its ideology remained the same. Its teachings remained the same. It stayed on the highest branch of the centuries old oak tree, and it continued to boast about being the first and last to see the sun. It continued to withstand the winds. I need not tell you what squirrels thought of rats, this is made clear by the squirrel’s concept of advancement. Similarly, I need not articulate what you, the academy, consider to be valuable because it is made clear by the limitations of your imagination. I believe a more valuable point of departure, would be a question “What is your value?”

I called you incompetent, a word I do not use often. However, I find it to be the most fitting. It would seem that this world, and this time are not your genre. Your definition of the ‘common’ has barely been moved by the winds, and what is good for your common is often devastating for the rest of us. You have struggled to keep up whilst insisting on your own importance. How curious that at a time when your imagination is needed the most; you are shrinking it. How poetic that, as the common that you do not see finds new ways to exist, you find new ways to charge us for it. It appears that you are not only falling behind, but you are slowing down. Menacingly, all of your innovations and advancements, your discussions and hesitant curriculum changes hold at their base, a similar question: “Why do you deserve to be here and why are your experiences relevant?”, but now I write to you from the unseen common and ask, “Why, academy, do you deserve to be here? And how is your existence more important than mine?”

I can imagine that this response both confuses and enrages you. “How?” you must be asking yourself. “How dare she? Where are her facts? Where are her quotes? When will she reference what we spent so much time teaching her?” Everything about my response to you, my doubt of you, and my rejection of you, you view, I am sure, with loose irritation. Our relationship has always been doomed, I guess, and this moment was inevitable and was never going to be romantic. It was never going to be the scene at the end of a sad movie where we part ways quietly

or I die and you weep and swear you will change. No, it was always going to be more sinister. The moment when the ventriloquist puts their doll carelessly in the suitcase across the room and as they walk away, the doll turns her head to look at them, and the ventriloquist smirks without looking back. The ventriloquist smirks for the same reason that you do. You have found a way to co-opt even my rebellion. You dismiss my voice and self-awareness as mere testimonies to your good teaching and I am no more than a doll that learned to speak.

I was never smart to you, only teachable. And now I stand, many many years later thinking mimicry can resemble freedom without being it. So I haunt you just as you haunt me. I do not believe you just as you have never believed me. In the equality of this chaos I stand. An encounter. A reoccurrence. A reminder. A memory and premonition telling you that you cannot buy that type of nuance, and I cannot afford to sell it to you.

Sincerely,
 Julie Nxadi



Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 11 Apr 2016 Our new piece in the Wits Tunnel #RememberingHani & #SolomonMahlangu on the anniversary of their martyrdoms

VIOLENCE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THROWING STONES ...

MOSHIBUDI MOTIMELE
UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND



The question of Fees Must Fall and violence elicits images of burning busses in Braamfontein, old library paintings being set alight at UCT and police and students facing off amidst a backdrop of teargas, stun grenades, rubber bullets and rocks on campuses all over the country. Debates on the place of violence in student protests mirror the prejudice towards the 'spectacle' of violence. University managements and the state justify the militarization of campuses and the use of force against students by claiming that students are violent and unhinged using examples of broken windows, burnt buildings and torched cars as evidence. The students too fell for the trap of 'spectacle' with the rhetoric around violence being dominated by the many instances of victimization and brutalization of students at the hands of the South African Police Service and private security organisations.

Two important questions beg to be asked. The first is, what is it about the spectacular moments of violence that makes them the most striking or preferred object of discussion? Subsequently, what does this narrow focus allow or prohibit in terms of the struggle for free, decolonized and quality education.

The answer to the first question I would suggest is that moments of spectacle can be perceived, interpreted and categorized without injunction to the systemic and institutional root causes. It is entirely possible to create a narrative around students throwing rocks at police and police responding with teargas without bringing into the conversation the fact that the university has become an institution of neoliberalism in which the balancing of books, the achievement of profits and the success in pseudo-markers of quality such as university rankings are prioritized within a framework in which students appear only as consumers.

Students demand that the university be decolonized. This calls for a university that is seen and utilized as a public good. A public good must not only be accessible to all but have to be socially responsive to the context and benefit the well being of society as a whole. This call by students essentially rips the university out from its abstract, capitalist, self-affirming structures of merit and value and grounds it in an empirical demand of utility based on social justice, equality, freedom and prosperity as captured in the call for

free, quality, decolonized education. This is the challenge the university cannot respond to and so a deflection to moments of 'spectacular' violence becomes preferable.

All doubt was erased this year, if any still persisted on the anti-black, anti-poor, anti-decolonial nature of the university. As students bled, both internally and externally, the university ignored their pleas to meet in a way that respected their critique of representative democracy, remove police and security who impeded their ability to learn and to suspend the academic program to allow for students to learn in a conducive environment for teaching and learning. At the peak of protests, the university sent out notices that interest had been added to the fees that were temporarily waived and that students should pay immediately to avoid legal consequences. Academics marched in favour of free education but refused to march for decolonized education, the only aspect of student protests that they have a direct hand in being able to change. In doing so they publicly showed their investment in representation, material and pedagogical techniques that exclude black students particularly those who carry the legacy of a poor primary and secondary education system.

It's imperative that we think 'violence' alongside 'power'. This helps us to understand why Adam Habib and Achille Mbembe can compare students to Adolf Hitler and Boko Haram respectively whilst simultaneously proactively shutting down the space for students to congregate, democratically organize and protest and be seen as advocates of change whilst students who meet in a group of fifteen or larger, sing and invoke their constitutional right to express dissent are legitimately labeled violent, militants, thugs and terrorists.

Power here is essentially the ability to act violently in good conscience. To control the resources. To control the narrative. To control the institutions of recourse. Power distinguishes the freedom fighter from the terrorist, the democrat from the fascist, the student from the thug, the activist from the third force. Power will never acknowledge the virtue of resistance because to do so would be to relinquish the hegemony that individuals and institutions have as well as to acknowledge that that hegemony is unjust. And unrelated to merit.

The status quo is violent. More violent than any brick or rubber bullet or canister of teargas. The commodification of education, the professionalization of management and the relegating of students to the class of consumers have serious consequences for what it means to come into the university space as an activist for free, decolonized and quality education.

The most violent moments of 2015 and 2016 went untelevised and unacknowledged. The pregnant student who almost miscarried when police through stun grenades into her residence. The Mens res students admitted to Helen Joseph because they suffered mental breakdowns. The first year students who avoided the piazza because they knew protesting or not they could end up suspended, at the back of a police van or suffocated by tear gas. The black academics who had to do the work of comforting and caring for students who were tormented by the extent to which the university made it blatantly clear they were not a priority.

Those who are its greatest perpetrators will never genuinely articulate the question of violence. The investment in maintaining the 'moral high ground' in the eyes of media, the general public and University management is a misplaced and naïve aspiration of student movements. If the rules of engagement discern that those in power can act in the most gratuitously violent way without it being seen as a violation, whilst those who speak back to or against such power are doomed to be labeled as violent, destabilizing and thuggish elements, then the student movement should disinvest itself in the debate on violence as it is currently framed in the mainstream.

UNIVEN CAUGHT IN THE HEAT OF THE DEVIL'S DILEMMA

WONDA "DE POET" LEHLOGONOLO

UNIVERSITY OF VENDA



With the University of Venda situated at the heart of Thohoyandou which also poses as the intermediary point of the Venda People of Limpopo one would purposely hope for just headlines made about the unusual heatwaves piercing through the air in Venda to Univen Students. However, Venda on its own is not innocent of any headlines surfacing around the media arena claiming 'she' houses the country's worst cases of ritual murders. With Univen being the academic home of students from all over South Africa and a community of diverse cultures it becomes clear why Enos Alunamutwe Rannditsheni, Doctor of Philosophy in African Studies and Dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa, Devhula Lebowa Circuit pursued an investigation in these bizarre practices fashioning in local communities of Venda in what is formally known as Vhembe District. Ritual murders once ruled the Venda homeland and it was a spate of the 2006 murders that raised eyebrows and sent shockwaves throughout South Africa when news of the grisly find of Nyelisani Sidimela made headlines and served as evidence of the satanic endeavors clouding the Vhembe District. Sidimela who is a survivor was found in the bushes of Makonde Village which is only 20 Km away from Univen with her lips cut off when local traditional healers tried to sacrifice her along with her then slain boyfriend and it was in the same year that their case served as a turning point for the Venda populace as it is still one of the prominent cases relating to ritual murders in Limpopo.

The University of Venda seems to be caught up in the mix with these issues affecting the rural communities as it is a rural based institution. Recently Ndivhuwo Godfrey Ntsieni the renowned Univen final year student in the Bachelor of Science in Agriculture Food Science and Technology and now convicted serial killer also went on a rampage and killing spree in the areas surrounding and including Univen.

On his stand he highlighted meeting an uncertain male figure by the name of "Rendani" early 2014 who offered him R100 to commit a stream of fatal crimes in response to the latter's financial neediness as he was undergoing phases of exclusion by his bursary that had dumped him due to underperformance. He further went to depth with his story when he detailed events in which "Rendani" met up with him in campus on his way to study with a female counterpart, and on the way "Rendani" struck the lady down with a brick from behind and proceeded to undress to rape her while Ntsieni was looking and on his sexual satisfaction he asked Ntsieni for help to dump the body as an initiation to him in the cult which he willingly did and after a while he had to come back to the crime scene to have his share of sexual gratification. Surprisingly when police made follow ups on this "Rendani" figure it appeared to be a dead end thus patching up holes of the clinical psychologist's report and stamping the fact that this is one of Ntsieni's manipulation tactics. In accordance to that, in April 2014 Ntsieni met up with an 8-year old Off-campus who was on her way from school and lured her to the nearest bushes and tied her up only to leave her at the bushes but when her screams didn't stop he

went to suffocate then rape her and ended up obeying his conscience which was panicking to leave the body where it could be found. He then waited a month wherein in May he was ready to feast on another female and this time it was a co-student on campus in the later hours of the evening and after he saw a phone he liked in the lady's possession he then glanced on her with a brick on the head before eloping to his room with her purse. In his last horrendous act, he met with a cleaner on his way back from studying at the dawning hours of the morning and his demon was awakening as he struck her in the same way he does with the others and after attempts of unlawful penetration escaped with her purse too.

Although these horrific acts by this individual are not directly pointing to some acts of ritual murder their characteristic law approach can link them up as one as



they may fall under inquest murders and the effects of the Univen serial killer could have easily lead to ritual murder crimes as they are grim practices influenced by cults. Legally an inquest on murder may be set up when more than one death has occurred in the same pattern to prove whether there is a connection between the murders. This approach is employed from the "Inquests Act 58 of 1959" that caters for cases of non-natural causes of deaths. Ntsieni having grown on the blood stained soils of Venda, taking into consideration his serial killing curse was a thought away from overloading ritual murders of Univen students since his brokenness lead him to disintegrate. The cultic phenomena of ritual murders around Venda is responsible for the causation of beliefs that it's a dark part of culture to perform sacrifices thus making it "normal". This could also be one of the voices that triggered Ntsieni's horror movie stunts.

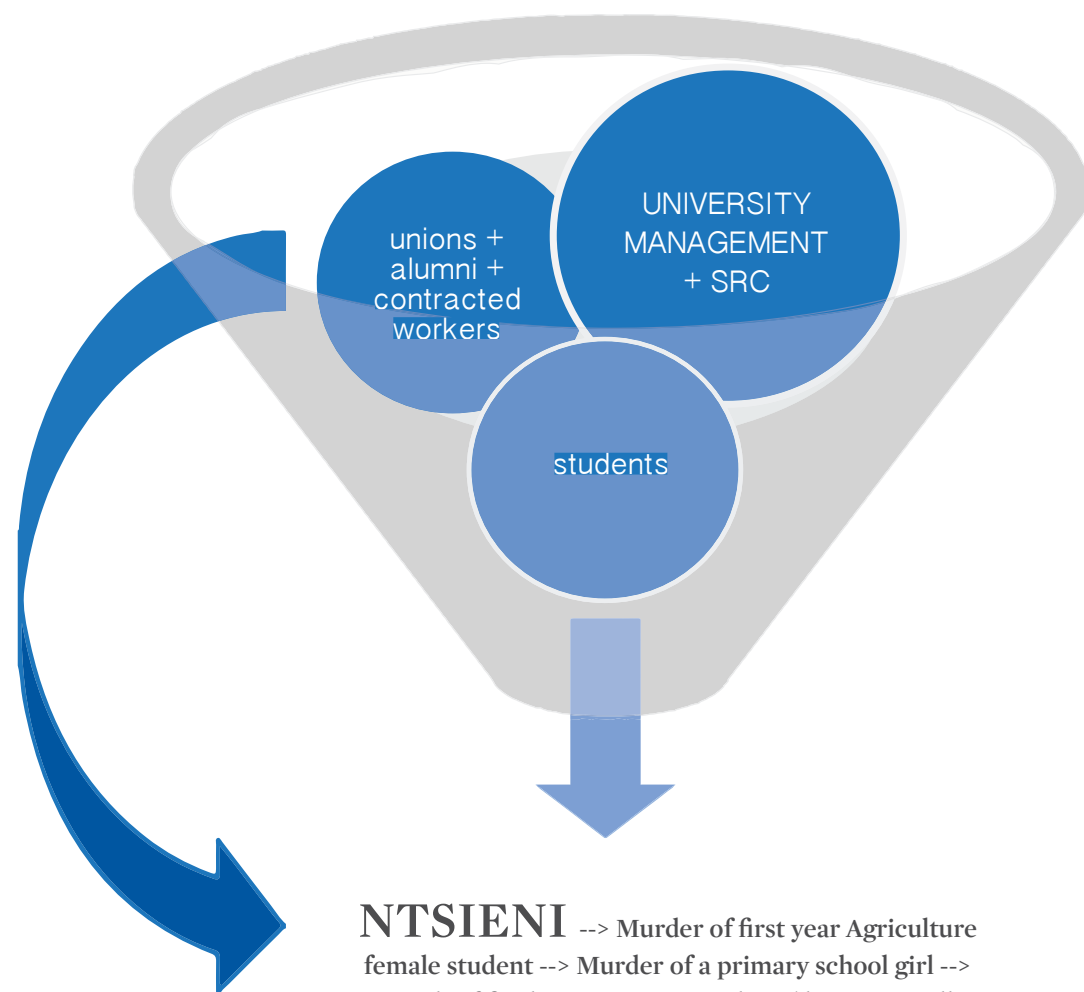
The jail sworn Univen Serial Killer is no stranger to some of the students at University of Venda and his gruesome operations will forever haunt Univen affiliates and mostly acquaintances of his slain victims. With South African Universities having been on protests specifically confronting Rape Culture, the Univen Serial Killer's acts where the worst the University of Venda could also produce although not much voices were raised by the students of Univen to reprimand the upshot of Rape Culture around the rural areas and nationally as an awareness. One would note the hurdles Univen experiences with its protests due to lack of media coverage as in most cases the struggles of the Univen students circulate around smaller parts of Limpopo which also contributes to meagerness of the student movement shortfalls. In July 2016 another University of Venda 2nd Year LLB student was arrested in possession of human body parts in what stirs the Univen hemisphere in another cup of the devil's tea.

The media-dubbed 'body parts vendor' Edward Ratjie was charged with murder and corpse violation as they were found with a female's head wrapped in a newspaper with other body parts in his car after being searched at by tipped police at a Polokwane taxi rank. Police were only answering to a call about a pair selling 'unusual products' around Polokwane when they made the shocking discovery. Ratjie a very vibrant 50-year-old and active student politics darling had already made a name for himself in campus due to his lavish and careless spending when spoiling his acquaintances and friends in politics. Students of the University of Venda were shocked when reports of his arrest made headlines but it also didn't take them any time to move on from the monstrosities connected to this man. With Ratjie's case Univen has another monster it was breeding in their yard as his offences have a direct linkage to similar cases of ritual murders in the Limpopo Province. Coincidence must have played a huge role in this matter but fortuity does desperately raise a need for a connection or relevance of some sort pertaining these actions.

Univen has adopted the feeling of poor safety spirits at its tail and its management are now on a wake-up conference call by introducing security interventions to chain up and level down any chances of the devil housing its angels. The approaches of Student movement fraternities always fall short due to distrust between management and SRC and always results in many voices and actions that raise awareness suppressed. Local stakeholders and other concerned parties about the matters in question always see no light at the end of the tunnel as they cannot directly be brought to the faces of the students since the SRC appears to see no importance of any interventions that can compress and dispatch the dark cloud hanging over Univen.



From left to right: - Ndivhuwo Ntsieni during his bail application at Thohoyandou Magistrate Court. Photo Cred: Limpopo Mirror - Edward Raatji and his co-accused Stanley Mohlake appearing at their bail application at the Polokwane Magistrate's Court. Photo Cred: African News Agency (ANA) - Retired DVC: Operation Dr.JJ Zaaiman responding to protesting students after another security failure demise at the University of Venda Main gate. Photo Cred: Neuthuluzi Z(2016)



NTSIENI --> Murder of first year Agriculture female student --> Murder of a primary school girl --> Assault of final year Nursing student (dies eventually from complication of the wounds) --> Murder of a contracted female cleaner

JUSTICE AT LAST?

NCUTHULUZI ZONDANI
UNIVERSITY OF VENDA



Having been sentenced 225 years in prison may have sounded to have served justice and served the thirst of vengeance for most victims and the Thohoyandou community including University of Venda, but for all role players in the trials and tribulations surrounding the incidences of the Univen serial killer no full responsibility has been taken. Other factors such as causal factors which have contributed in the perpetration of the deeds have been overlooked and enforcement of law overshadowed all other factors. The events didn't only expose the extreme students can go when exposed to high extremes of suppression of stress and life challenges, but also exposed the University's lack of involvement in student/staff wellbeing, safety and security. Negligence has been the most contributory factor in worsening what already was a bad situation.

A day after the murder of the Agriculture student, the University released a statement stating that no foul play was suspected and that the death was just coincidental. Furthermore, during that period, was when the University had just installed high quality CCTV all around campus, causing a marginal fee increment in the following year. The University ran away from the fact that its expensive CCTV system was unable to capture the events and episodes of killing of its own student by its own student right under the University watch.

The Involvement of SRC in the matter was minimal as only the school council of the student concerned addressed the matter and attended to the grieving family. While the matter was heavy and emotional for most of the students and family, it was swept under the carpet and forgotten.

A month later the Killer struck again, this time around his own off camp residential area where he murdered a young primary school girl and dumped her in the nearest river. She was later reported to be missing and found days later. Still no dots were connected as it was recorded as just another unfortunate incidence which could have happened to anyone.

The boiling blood and conscious of the striker force pushed him into attacking yet another student in the Nursing department.

According to sourced information, it is alleged that one of the security supervisors is keeping the status quo of the working conditions of the contracted officers for benefit to himself as he apparently is on the pipeline of being the next security outsourced contractor boss.

Towards the end of 2015, the contractor of security services by the name of Jackliffy, disappeared and officers were not paid for a period of three months. At the same time, the University informed officers that it has given NEHAWU the mandate of facilitating the process of their insourcing by drawing out their terms and conditions. Meanwhile all of them were placed on probation, which has lasted to date (July 2016), more than seven (7) months of probation and decreased salaries, all deductions inclusive. It is important

to note that while NEHAWU accepted the responsibility of facilitating the process of insourcing, to avoid clashes and strikes or any rough patches, they never had any meetings with officers and cleaners and all ground workers to hear their terms or demands as they are the primary subjects of the process.

One officer informed anonymously that once they organised themselves as a unified working force and approached management about their labour issues, a few of them were singled out of the whole group and called one by one in a building dubbed "Nkandla" (the new legal building offices) and interrogated in a setting of a hearing by university lawyers and security Bosses, accusing them of influencing other officers into a strike action. The factor that we deduce from all this security labour struggle is that they have been clustered into groups of factions and each promised different packages of benefits when either a new contract is appointed or they have been insourced. Some have eyed the positions of supervising while others will be rewarded with newly created posts. From the whole security force, while there have been divided into factions, there are a few who genuinely are fighting for their rights and others but they are just a drop in the ocean. It is difficult to lobby and mobilise the workers at this institution as they have instilled fear of losing their jobs and since these jobs are the primary providers of bread and butter for their families.

With the other working force, cleaning and gardening services/ground workers, the struggle are but similar to the security officers. Out of the blue, the cleaners were given new uniform printed a new name, signalling that they are under a new contract, only to realise that the cleaning tender has been awarded to the same owner of the previous company under a different name. The management and ownership of Tingo Tech is the same as the management and ownership of Prime Care Cleaning. Cleaners have been paying provident fund for more than three years but records show that it was deducted for the first time just this year from June 2016. Workers who try to resolve these issues are constructively dismissed and no worker is to question any decision of the management.

On the issue of student struggles, one would think that SRC must be in the centre of it all as it supposedly represents the aspirations and interests of students and pushes a mandate as directed by the students because those are their primary constituency, but surprisingly though, that is not the case, as SRC comes with many benefits. If being in SRC was not having any rewards, a few students and organisations would wish to be a part. Students of the University of Venda believe that their struggle and workers struggle cannot be intertwined and that they cannot be pushed with one agenda. This is the major reason why the UNIVERSITY management find more strength because they deal with them singularly instead of one unit.

When there is a national outcry for any issue which may also affect Univen, The University management together with its SRC, counter-acts that by organising a "show Play" where they will appear in support of the issue in order to avoid a

shutdown for example. I will give an example of the most recent FeesMustFall shutdown, the University arranged a peaceful march where all classes were suspended and the University management, all of them, paraded to the dirtiest residence, prefabs and drank the dirty water from the dirty sinks, allowed a few questions from the SRC for a few minutes then disappeared. After that it was a stroll and dance for the students as the aim of the march was just to support what is happening in other Universities.

Not that Univen had/have no issues just that in every corner there is someone on the payroll to keep everyone calm and relaxed about the status quo. The drop in the ocean that speak out or challenge them, is dealt with immediately and hushly so. In the 2014/2015 SRC, out of 98 SRC members, five (5) members were singled out and charged with bringing the good name of the University into disrepute and disturbing the university business. More than six charges were brought to paper and a hearing was constituted and lasted for more than a year. To this date, July 2016, the case is still ongoing and the future of the five students remain unknown. The students were charged based on a rumour that they allegedly addressed students in the library with the aim of mobilising them into a strike action. These five students, were part of the other majority SRC members who were fighting among other things, financial exclusion of students and corruption of some other SRC members of that time. They were immediately suspended from office pending their case, which last up-to date, implying that as long as they are students, they are not allowed to take part in any student related struggle. To be able to overpower the SRC members who were genuinely representing interests of the students, the whole SRC body was also clustered into groups of factions, and made to fight against each other instead of facing management head on as a single unit.

To sum up every cell of this brief bucket, University of Venda is an African dominated university, with a population of approximately 13800 students and between 800 to 1000 workers (Both contracted and insourced, ranging from lectures to general workers). Univen is not that much unique from other universities in terms of challenges faced by the populace, but the problems are actually at a higher level because its oppression of the same family unit, a brother exploits a brother to get ahead and a sister presses the other down to be part of the 40% of women in leadership roles. These are challenges and struggle that can be overcome, with unity but the problem with workers and students who are oppressed is that they are their own enemies, and this makes this bucket full of betrayal, not to anyone but one-self.

SECURITIZATION AND THE PUBLIC UNIVERSITY



BRIAN KAMANZI
UNIVERSITY OF
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WHERE I STAND

Located within and on the margins of Rhode's gifted ivory tower, the University of Cape Town, I found myself – an engineering student – embattled within a world of “comrades”, “post-colonies” and many complicatedly simple things that have helped me make sense of the confusing world around me that have also brought me in direct confrontation with a new era of “securitisation” at our public universities. The 2015/16 period was a very eventful one for us in our locale with the emergence of RhodesMustFall and the catalytic occupations we conducted and maintained for almost year. As our momentum evolved we pushed to connect with other spaces and campuses and were then ready to join other institutions in the age old fight against the commodification of education.

“We”, the groups that I have seen across the city of Cape Town, were not working through the structures that the universities and state had long since recognised and captured. This meant that their strategies for dealing with what appeared to them as a mass unintelligible mob was one of divide and conquer primarily through the use of their preferred media channels. As the movements struggled to contain their multiplicity and internal contradictions the surprising gains and force demonstrated by students and workers in the absence of tangible union support was crushed – temporarily – by various layers of securitisation. The most interesting of these layers, I would argue, involve the dynamics around “public” and “private” sanctioned violence by protestors, police and security.

STUDENTS AND WORKERS VS POLICE

“Bang, bang”

The sounds of stun grenades echo through the otherwise empty university campus streets and parking lots. Police

USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

Pedagogical derives from the word “pedagogy” and refers to the art and practice of teaching. This encompasses the relationships between so called “teachers” and “students” as well as those between groups of people engaged in dialogue.

Ideology is a set of ideas, principles and frameworks that form the foundation of a view on how society works and functions, this relates to social, political and economic activity. Ideology can also be considered as a set of political beliefs that describe the world as it exists and what needs to be done in relationship to that view of the world.

Securitisation, as I understand it, is the process through which security measures are amplified as a response to a threat from an external source. A simple analogy would be when petty crime is experienced in the suburbs we often see the rising of high walls, fences and advanced security systems. This process that is initiated as a response is called “securitisation”. It is used in this article in the negative sense because as in the analogy it is often easier for those with power and means to securitise themselves than to address the core aspects of the problem at hand.

Fascism is a term that has historical come to mark so called “right wing” authoritarian movements, people or positions. Fascism is characterised by its strongly nationalist world view that seeks to “protect” its own from the “other” who exists as an eternal threat to the values and “purity” of those included within its domain.



Image credit: Brian Kamanzi

armed in riot gear carrying tall clear shields and arriving in armoured trucks that arrive one after the other to corner the chorus of singing protestors.

“Bang, bang”

The sounds of rubber bullets pierce through the campus in the silence of the night, the darkness here defeats the glow of the camera flashes that once gleaned brightly – eye like – reminding the police that the world is watching.

How did we get here? – I heard many students ask in different ways from different spaces across our city, Cape Town. From the castle-like corridors of the ivory towers of the University of Cape Town, my temporary home, to the once acclaimed “University of the Left” – the University of Western Cape among others around us, we collectively ascended (if not descended) into a tremendous storm of political energy grinding our institutions to a halt. The students, staff and workers demanded, in essence, a commitment of a different kind of future, clumsy, clouded and spontaneous – yet powerful, clear and historic. Simply put, our society demands change.

Looking at my home institution, I recall clearly how the start of the #FeesMustFall negotiations and so called management “hostage” situations escalated to a point where protestors had been caught in a standoff with a shell-shocked management team who summoned the police and fled their then occupied administration building. Peaceful songs and seated students surrounded by excitable journalists chanted into the night as police vehicles surrounded the occupation. Without provocation the police continued to grow in numbers and prepared their batons and canisters of tear gas before our eyes. Students doused their scarves and shirts with water in anticipation of what was to come and in a matter of minutes that felt like hours the scene had shifted from song and solidarity to the smoke of stun grenades, the sounds of running feet on tarmac and the shouting of names of young people who had just been arrested.

This was just the beginning. This was only one campus.

STUDENTS VS PRIVATE SECURITY

In stark contrast to the debates surrounding the politics and understanding of the use of violence in student movements in 2015, as evidenced through the resurgence of popularity of the likes of scholar Frantz Fanon and the imagination of revolutions from the decolonisation-independence era, the RhodesMustFall, FeesMustFall and EndOutsourcing campaigns were largely constituted by physically nonviolent means of expression. The tide very clearly begins to turn in the wake of the encounters with state police and the university-sanctioned militarisation of their spaces through multimillion-rand security reinforcements.

The construction of the student “protester” became associated with criminality as the iconography of public order policing units and nameless and faceless private security militia descended on campuses in reactionary attempts to re-establish “order”. Vice-Chancellors Adam Habib and Max Price in particular took it upon themselves at different stages over the past few months to divorce and misconstrue the purpose of specific campus protests as they wrestled for control of public sympathy to justify their strategy of militarising campuses by capitalising on sporadic violent outbursts by students and quite possibly agent provocateurs so as to instrumentalise their imagery to separate the movement from the public and sympathisers on their respective campuses.

I recall a vivid memory of an encounter with private security at the University of the Western Cape during a supply support trip. It was clear that the levels of police and private security presence on campus grounds rose exponentially the further and further one retreated from the whiteness of the mountain that housed our own institution. Police dogs behind steel cages, handful tall white men in army gear with shot guns and rubber bullets strapped threatening across their chests which sat below the gleaming badges of the private security firms as commanders with foot soldiers.

After the gains of insourcing, particularly with security and the largely successful campaigns against police activity during the 2015 wave of student protests the insidious introduction of private security saw the deployment of largely black enforcers under the command of white commanders. The black enforcers themselves, many of which come from central Africa, are pitted against the largely black students in tragic political theatre in the name of the protection of private property and the preservation of capital accumulation, it is at this very axis where the Afrophobic tensions on the campus find their birth.

“Private Militia” I thought, looking at them in the eye as they scoped out the group I walked along with. These thugs marched through campuses more prepared for war than any of the police I had seen before. more threatening in their demeanour with capital and contract their only compass. “What does it mean for public institutions to use armed private security as a last line of defence?”

“Do the private securities supersede the public order police in the eyes of our leaders? “Law and Order for whom and for what”

POLITICAL THEATRE. SHACKVILLE AS A CASE STUDY

With widespread upheaval across the country, the Higher Education task team investigating the feasibility of free education came out strongly against the “violence” at UCT for the burning of paintings during the shack installation protest aptly called “Shackville”. Fires had raged on several

campuses not the least of which included the loss of an entire admin building at North West University that somehow did not manage to solicit a response.

What do these unbalanced reactions tell us about how ideology functions through the politicians and bureaucrats that ration and gamble with our rights in council meetings and Parliament buildings?

The political theatre that unfolded during the events of Shackville which, from my first-hand account, resulted from a slow devolution in communication channels between the protesters and the Vice Chancellor. The establishment of a buffering task team established to “deal with student matters” created a scenario where the student bloc, now separated from the workers through the insourcing victory, were faced with spiralling exhaustion, frustration and constant condescension from the authorities which ultimately proved to be an explosive combination.

I remember that evening clearly as the embers on the paintings began to cool and the student mass recollected in shock of what had happened, still raging from the earlier interaction. It was less than an hour under the watchful gaze of armed policemen that a horde of private security arrived and beat through our human shield assaulting students and physically demolishing the shack. This “private” violence somehow felt different. When faced with the police we had a language, a response – in a sense a pathway to engage in some pedagogical dialogue around

that kind of violence however, in this case, all that remained was silence..

VIOLENCE, DIALOGUE AND PREPARING FOR FASCIST REPRESSION.

The student protests, vast and varied as they have been, fall within the context of hundreds, if not thousands of service delivery strikes, miners’ protests and countless corruption scandals that have contributed colourfully to the complex mosaic of post-apartheid South Africa.

If we are serious in our accusations of the capture of the neoliberal universities then we must not be naïve going forward around the extent to which securitisation as an ideological response to conflict will be the expected knee jerk from the authorities.

What this also means is that we cannot be naïve about the role of the courts in South Africa in relation to the student protests has shed interesting light into the ways in which private property rights and the ability to control access to a property can be weaponised as a tool, with courts lenient enough to unquestioningly sign interdicts that limit the freedoms of students with little evidence. This same element of the neoliberal institution is shown through its use of private security forces and their relationship to violence.

The securitisation of university campuses is unwittingly forming the blueprint for tomorrow’s state-sanctioned fascism, I would argue, in similar ways to which the apartheid system evolved out of the hallowed halls of ivory towers. In fact, as numerous reactionary and disingenuous articles flood the public space, desperately attempting to draw links between the burning of ever-so-sacred art and primeval fascist movements, the real and tangible threat of authoritarianism is upon us and is openly being exerted from our public institutions downward, essentially unchallenged.

Dialogue and reflection have never been more important as the state and the university management corroborators begin to wage a battle to the death with the students they charge. Intergenerational conversations, painful and abrasive as they may be, are crucial at a time when the differences between “success” and “failure” become blurred and obfuscated by a refusal to learn from the mistakes of the past with the same vigour we push as we move forward.

AN AFRIKANER BEDTIME STORY: *dreams & open stellenbosch*

SIMONE CUPIDO

UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH



Stellenbosch University is known for its beautiful environment. I believe most dreams about being a student at my institution begin with walks through the oak-trimmed streets of Victoria and inhaling the fresh mountain air of the Helderberg. These dreams however take different conclusions according to one’s race and gender. For the white Afrikaans man, dreams of being a drunken aggressive ‘koshuis boytjie’ living in residence seems idyllic. For the white Afrikaans womxn it is not uncommon to hear about dreams and aspirations to find a husband, an engineer, a provider for a perfect Afrikaans family unit. This seems a harsh criticism but as a Biko black student entering into the space of Stellenbosch University these were my surrounding realities. I think to begin the story of activism in the space I will embark on telling you about my own personal experience of the space to expand upon how Open Stellenbosch came into being.

The Universiteit van Stellenbosch as it is preferably known began as a college in what is recognized by the colonizer as the Cape’s second colony and second oldest town. What began as the biggest hub for slave trade and export was transformed over the centuries into what is now seen as a student town developing minds to conquer the world. When one invests in this particular colonial narrative one could almost exclude the extreme settler-colonial importance of Stellenbosch the town and university. During the 1950s Stellenbosch University with its hyper-masculine residences formed part of the architecture for apartheid by not only developing its theory under the study of Volkskunde but also the personalities behind it. The passageways and facilities I use every day as a student at this university was frequented by Hendrick Verwoerd, Dannie F Malan and their comrades. At this point I would like to make known that in my second year at the institution I found this reality to be harrowing, that was the first forms of hatred I would proliferate for Stellenbosch University as a space. Later I found myself uncovering my ancestry, my father’s family originally from Stellenbosch, worked on the slave plantations of Simon Van De Stel the governor which gave rise to the name Stel-lenbosch. The slave lodging my ancestors were packed in was transformed into overpriced student accommodation. I later uncovered that my grandfather who had only mentioned a history of forced removal before had been forcefully evicted by the University of Stellenbosch out of an area known as Die Vlakte a coloured area at the centre of Stellenbosch the town which is now filled with the Bachelor of Arts building –Where I study—a BP petrol station and private student accommodation. Perhaps as a historian these particularities are more important than any of the other forms of oppression which exist in the space but as this is a testimony of a student of colour at Stellenbosch University I will elaborate on the rest.

As mentioned by Kylie Thomas in Aryan Kaganof’s somewhat problematic documentary Opening Stellenbosch the movement began one lunch hour as a public meeting. Students of colour were encouraged to express their feelings of racism in the space. The turnout both exceeded our expectations and cemented our suspicions. The meeting which began as a discussion quickly became a telling of stories; each of racism, each comparable and each of a shared oppression. Open Stellenbosch was born out of this experience and became a call to action and a community of shared oppressions and dreams.

I always say that what followed was months of learning and unlearning and self-mutilation. It was not anyone’s calling to carry the earth so resiliently; certainly not the work of the black student populous of Stellenbosch University. As students we began to ask what solidified the Afrikaner culture within the institution, logically, it seemed to be the language policy. The language policy which ensured classes would be taught in Afrikaans despite demands for English held a particular mechanism for exclusion. Applying at the

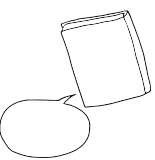
institution, many turn away once they interact with the idea of their tuition being offered in Afrikaans most of those who fear this outcome are people of colour whose first language might be isiXhosa or Sesotho and third language Afrikaans. Statistics proved this case. What also decreased the demographic of people of colour at the institution greatly was not only the oppressive cultures which would break black students sending them back home quickly but rather the failure rate associated with the language barrier. Being taught in Afrikaans was killing black academic careers. The technicalities of the issue was published on widely by Open Stellenbosch through blogs and on their Facebook page. Our “assault” on the language policy became a focal point for the movement. We felt that if we achieved an end to the language policy the “palace walls” would come tumbling down with it, and it did. Soon after we began protesting against the language policy by method of disruption we saw several personalities crawl out of the wood work. Individuals on council who were preservers of the Afrikaner culture at the institution began to attempt to remove Open Stellenbosch, a discrepancy to their institution. These included Piet Le Roux, a very vocal member of council and leader of Solidarity. He was not an enemy we could face easily and actively participated in trying to eliminate the movement.

One of our biggest moments became picketing at the new Vice-Rector, Wim de Villiers , inauguration. I personally held up a sign which said “WIM I FEEL LIKE I’M IN EUROPE”. We were attacked for the use of the new Vice-Rectors name; ‘Wim’ instead of his title and on many other points of respectability it seemed that we were changing cultures rapidly.

When #FeesMustFall arose throughout the country it was not a good moment for Open Stellenbosch the movement. Resources such as the energy of individuals and attention seemed divided at what was a crucial point for our fight against the language policy. One truth I recognized was that the issue of physical financial exclusion would always over power that of ideological and cultural exclusion. The battle, however, remains about those who are not with us at institutions of higher learning and their unfulfilled dreams.

Open Stellenbosch began to face intimidation on a personal scale as early as the beginning stages. Members such as Sikhulekile Duma and Monde Petje faced death threats. The most popular case against Duma where a professor Anton Stander went as far as personally messaging and threatening him. This was noted as an occupational hazard. White money knew how to buy away a problem and how to display anger. We realised this as media houses around us under the management of Naspers never seemed to tell the story properly, always painted us as radical, always misconstrued our motives. Shows on Kyknet would fly members down only to interrogate them on national television. We took every opportunity, we slammed the university on its own terms no matter how dangerous it seemed. At certain moment’s members of the movement faced threats of expulsion. To some in the student uprising expulsions should not be a deterring threat, I challenge those who believe this. The students I interacted with within Open Stellenbosch could simply not afford expulsion. The opportunity to study at institutions like Stellenbosch University was precious and rare for the communities’ members came from, although we were attempting to break those terms open, an expulsion would prove to cause more damage than good. The risks you take as an activist should not be weighted in extremes I am beginning to learn; self-care is important, the issues one deals with are important and one should be able to occupy these areas of self collectively.

CONTINUES ON PAGE 11 --->



I have occupied the space as an activist
A language activist
An educational activist
With a lens that saw how language excludes, diminishes, orders and
maintains
How talk about equality of opportunity,
when it was captioned in English,
when it refused to develop and use African languages beyond
greetings,
was simply part of the enormous energy used to keep things the
same.
I have occupied the space
I have seen and felt wave after wave of anti-intellectualism and
denialism has widened the gulf
between university staff and university student
between universities and their own words
between universities and the communities they
are meant to serve
Committees on committees on committees
Blind eyes and closed minds
Disconnected.
Violent.
As a woman, as a feminist, as a language activist, as an educator, as
a student, as a person
I am no longer able to simply occupy space
Standing still in these violent, toxic, anti-intellectual, elitist spaces
will kill me
And because the space inside mirrors the outside
and I occupy both
I need to be everything it isn't

**XOLISA GUZULA
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**



*** Translated from Nadeema Musthan's poem**

Ndikule ndawo ndikuyo
Njengomntu onelungelo elilodwa
Umama wam wabanakho ukufumana imali-mboleko, isiNgesi
saba sisithuko sam, andizange ndivakale 'njengomAfrika'
Ndandingaboni, ndingaqondi, ekuqaleni
Indlela iindawo ezingaphakathi kum ezikubonisa ngayo
okwenzeka ngaphandle
Indlela esihleli ngayo kwiindawo ezahlukeneyo
Indlela ekulindeleke ngayo ukuba
Sidlale indima yabadlali esingengabo.

Ndikule ndawo njengetsha-ntliziyo
Itsha-ntliziyo lolwimi
Itsha-ntliziyo lezemfundo
Elibona indlela ulwimi olubavalela ngayo abanye, oluphungula
ngayo, olunika imiyalelo ngayo neluyigcina ngayo le meko
Uthetha njani ngamathuba alinganayo,
Ngelixa yonke le meko ingesiNgesi,
Ngelixa ingavumiyo ukuphuhlisa nokusebenzisa iilwimi
zaseAfrika ngaphezu kokubulisa,
Ibe yinxalenye yamandla amakhulukazi asetyenziselwe ukugcina
imeko efanayo.

Ndikule ndawo
Ngengomnye wabasebenzi
Ndibonile yaye ndawuva umsinga wabantu abangazifuniyo
iingqondi nabawuphikayo umsantsa omkhulu ovulekileyo
Phakathi kwabasebenzi baseyunivesiti nabafundi
Phakathi kweyunivesiti neentetha zazo
Phakathi kweyunivesiti nabahlali ezifanele
ukunikeza iinkonzo kubo

likomiti ngeekomiti
Ezimfamekileyo neengqondo ezivalekileyo
Ezingadibaniyo.
Ezinodlame.

Njengenina, inina elilwela amalungelo amanina, itsha-ntliziyo
lolwimi, umfundisi-ntsapho, njengomfundi, nanjengomntu
Andisakwazi ukusuka ndibelapha kule ndawo
Ukuma bhuxe, kule ndawo enodlame, enetyhefu, engazifuniyo
iingqondi, kule ndawo yabacokovayo
Kuza kundibulala
Kwaye kuba indawo engaphakathi kum
ibonakalisa okungaphandle
yaye kuba ndikuzo zombini ezi ndawo
Kufuneka ndibe yiyo yonke into ezingeyiyo.

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Open Stellenbosch struggled to interact with the national narrative. This was evident primarily during the #FeesMustFall period but was due to the nature of our environment. Stellenbosch which is commonly known among black students as '1652', the time period, was oppressive and suffocating more so than universities that maintain a strong black student populous or occupy a metropolitan space. Far from reality, Stellenbosch is a haven for whiteness and white money. We always refer to the story where white students who have attended the university generationally (parents & grandparents) being promised an opportunity to walk the oak trimmed streets of Stellenbosch whilst for the black student, even those living less than 10km away, this is a far out dream.

The divide between being painfully black and being painfully black and a womxn was one that began to rip the movement apart at its core. Meetings no longer became about issues but rather personal politics. As I attended other campuses' meetings I however found this to be a cross campus phenomenon. The question of intersectional feminism could not be asked in the same sentence as racism or language barriers at the University of Stellenbosch this made little sense the two seemed to relate so strongly in the patriarchal culture perpetuated by Stellenbosch University, An institution where white men dominated in all ways. As we began to build structures such as #EndRapeCulture attention was diverted once again away from the language policy and rightfully so. #EndRapeCulture had not only white supporters but also great institutional assistance, this was however beneficial to creating tangible change on the matter. We faced 4 reported rape situations in the first 4 months of 2015, this did not even include those that do not get reported but rather shoved under the infrastructure of the University and centres such as the SSV0 -a centre for Rape crisis- known to discourage victims from going to the police.

The language policy however progressed to become a battle clad with legalities and technicalities. We moved into the process of negotiation by establishing a break apart structure known as the Language Coalition. This coalition consisted of many different bodies on campus which would work together to negotiate and deal with legal parameters. The coalition, with help from the Legal Resources Centre fought many interdicts and legal threats from Afriforum who used a lot of their financial resources to stunt the processes. We, however, had gained momentum and support from both the Rectors Management Team and the Senate to move forward with a new policy and in 2016 a new language policy was voted in which promised that all classes would be available in English, a demand Open Stellenbosch held on to tightly from the very beginning. This however came with repercussions, many members left council and we now face the threat of a predominantly Afriforum SRC, their attacks seem relentless.

The #EndOutsourcing campaign led by the staff of Stellenbosch University changed the temperature of activism on our campus greatly. There was an issue that was deep seated and benevolent. The staff who clean, cook and maintain the privilege of the institution faced maltreatment and less than minimum wage from their outsourcing companies. The key player here was that of Langverwacht contractors. Langverwacht contracted workers to build and maintain the landscapes at the university, these individuals made less than R2700 a month and worked on short contracts. The neighbouring community, Kayamandi, is known to be a migrant community as companies such as Langverwacht lure labourers to the area to work for short periods of time on the neighbouring farms, estates and university. The workers were angry they also used tactical methods of protest which did not hold back from force. The burning of university cars responded to by the shooting of rubber bullets became a regular scene that November of 2015. A focal moment was the burning of the J.H Marais statue, an erect 'phallus' at the centre of our institution. We as students committed to protection of workers by marching alongside them and respecting their decisions. This campaign ran resources dry until March of 2016 and although some victories were won the dismissal of 150 workers hangs heavy over the head of students who assisted in protest. What does it mean to have been a part of the loss of 150 livelihoods?

It is important to focus on the changes around us. Many of us learned this during our time at Open Stellenbosch. Black students were not able to go out at night in the popular party town of Stellenbosch due to the lack of black spaces. Night clubs such as Catwalk were known to throw students of colour out. Recently the Cubana has been reclaimed as a black space, the music is largely hip-hop, R&B and house and there is a lot of freedom for students to be themselves. This was not seen in my first year at Stellenbosch University. The creation of the safe space remains Open Stellenbosch's greatest achievement. The establishment of the Steve Biko centre in 2015 saw black students gaining a political education. Discussions on Fanon and Biko filled the room, education on activism enticed us to stay and make a change. The ability to make black friends seduced many to spend overnights in the English department where our talks were held. There's power in unity. Many still long for the re-establishment of spaces of education like the Steve Biko centre, we dreamt of expanding it to the local community of high schoolers. The problem became repression, the university has kept us busy with many disciplinary hearings prosecuting students for standing up for their rights. This proved once again that to be a student at the University of Stellenbosch and to be black, is not to dream.

A RECOLLECTION OF THE #RUREFERENCE LIST PROTESTS



GORATA CHENGETA
UNIVERSITY CURRENTLY KNOWN AS RHODES

In late March, Rochelle Jacobs, a student at Stellenbosch university shared an idea for an anti-rape campaign on Facebook group. The idea was to put up posters around our universities, to draw attention to how university staff was failing to help victims of rape. Jacobs called it the Chapter 2.12 campaign, which was a reference to the section of the Bill of Rights, which ensures the right to safety.

A few weeks later, several students at Rhodes University who had been in contact with Jacobs, met to discuss how to implement the Chapter 2.12 campaign on our campus. In that meeting, we shared experiences we had heard of or experienced ourselves, where the university had failed us as victims of sexual assault. We typed up some of the experiences we had talked about and printed out the quotes. On some posters, we typed the hashtag #Chapter2.12. We also included other messages we thought were missing in the conversation about rape: that a perpetrator of rape can be anyone, that a victim of rape can be anyone, and that our university needed to take rape more seriously.

We put up the Chapter 2.12 posters on the 10th of April overnight. Activists at Stellenbosch and UCT did the same at their campuses. When I got to my campus the next morning, the posters had all been taken down by the Campus Protection Unit. There is a rule that you can't put



Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 28 Apr 2016 Our interactive art installation @ Wits in solidarity with the womxn of RU & all victims of rape #RURereferenceList

up posters on the library wall, we were told; a rule that was never previously enforced. After speaking to several parties and gaining permission, we put the posters back up. The campaign went viral on social media.

Students reacted differently to the campaign. Many students supported it; even helping us put up the posters again. Over the next few days, a few of us would have discussions about rape culture with students who passed by and asked about the campaign. For other students, the campaign was too much. It brought back too many memories and pain, understandably.

Later in the week, we were informed that our posters had been taken down "for an investigation" by the university management. Although they released press statements about our campaign, the university did not ask to discuss the claims we made in the posters. Several staff members had seen it and many of them knew us by name, but we did not receive any response.

Because the campaign had upset many students who had experienced sexual assault, when the posters were removed, we chose a different message to replace them with: "We will not be silenced". By the end of the week, we were exhausted and emotionally drained. We regrouped and strategized: how could we support the other campuses' Chapter 2.12 campaigns and how could we push forward the second and third legs of the campaign? As had been proposed by our collaborators at Stellenbosch, the following leg of the campaign would include a march to the Administration building as well as producing

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USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

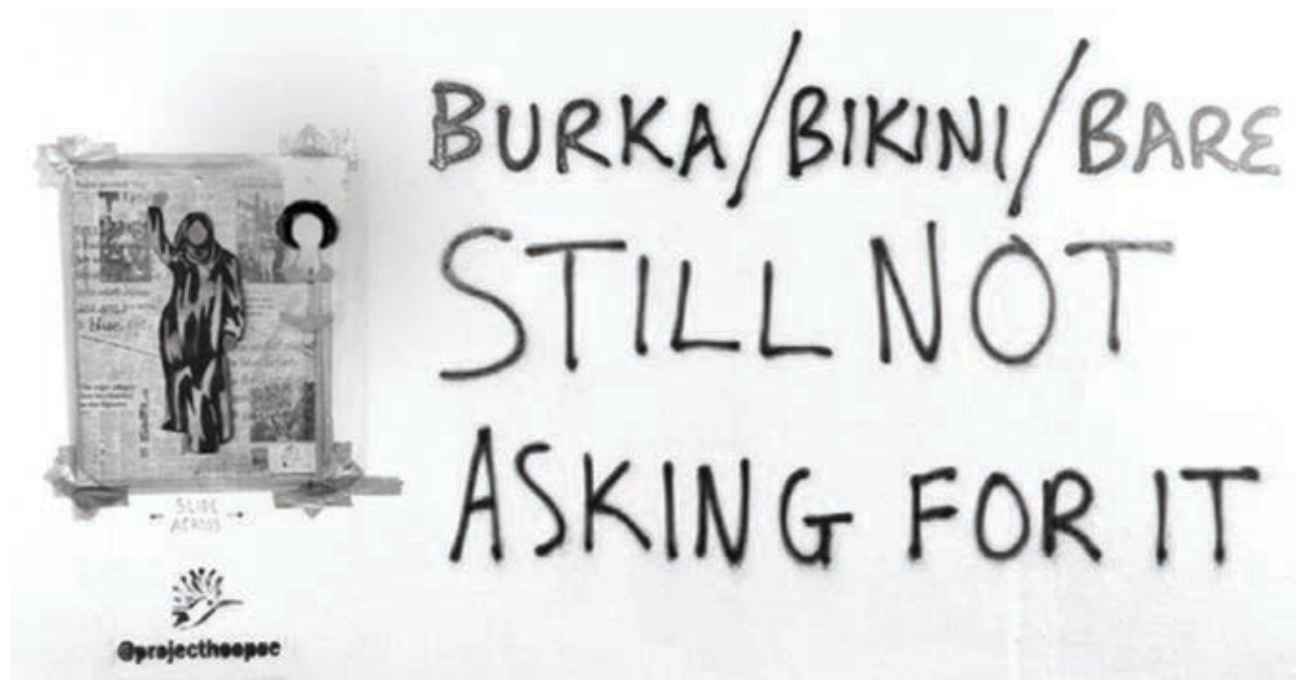
Rape culture: the set of widespread beliefs and behaviours which promote rape and sexual violence in society. For instance, the common belief that someone cannot be raped by their spouse is an example of rape culture

Consent: to consent is to give your permission for something to happen.

Sexual assault: a sexual act in which a person is forced to participate against their will. This includes rape, but can also include unwanted kissing or touching.

LGBTI: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual or intersex

Perpetrator: someone who commits an illegal or violent act



Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 28 Apr 2016 Our interactive art installation @ Wits in solidarity with the womxn of RU & all victims of rape #RUReferenceList

---> a documentary about rape culture. We planned to screen a documentary called *The Hunting Ground* the following week, which due to what followed, never happened.

On Sunday, the 17th of April, a screenshot of an anonymous post published on a Queer Crushes and Confessions Facebook page was posted to the Rhodes SRC Facebook Group. The anonymous post was titled "Reference List", listed the names of eleven men who were students (past and present) of Rhodes. As people discussed this list on the post, a sentiment emerged that the listed men were alleged perpetrators of sexual assault. I watched this conversation develop while at home, sitting on my bed; a quiet night otherwise. But Rhodes University was shaking. My Twitter timeline was bursting. This was the point from which we never returned. A collective body of students had decided to act upon a social knowledge and to break the silence which maintains rape culture. The moment reminded me of a quote by activist Pumla Gqola who in 2007 wrote, "From experiences lived, shared and related, we know how widespread — endemic — gender based violence is. We can undo it only by unmasking the collective denial, that lie that we tell about how we do not know who is abusing and raping up and down the length of South Africa."

Following the release of this list, students started to mobilize, organizing themselves through social media tracking, each other through the hashtag #RUReferenceList. According to *Activate*, a campus newspaper, "What followed was 5 hours of demonstration around campus, with those involved actively seeking out those listed in the #RUReferenceList and demanding of them explanation as to why their names were on the list in the first place. This took the demonstrating students from Union, through to Jan Smuts, Goldfields, Calata, Cullen Bowles and Graham residences respectively."

At the end of this, students drafted a list of demands which would redress rape culture: That the university prosecutors step down, that the Harassment Office which deals with sexual assault cases be provided with more resources, that the sexual assault policy should be revised to recognize different forms of sexual assault, that the SRC member whose name appeared on the Reference List be removed from his position.

The following day, when students felt that the management had not responded adequately to the demands made by students, they instituted an academic shutdown. They mobilized around campus, disrupting lectures in a bid to draw attention to the fact that rape culture permeated through all the fabric of social life.

During the mobilizations, the university management discouraged us from forming barricades, a different tune to the one they sang during the Fees Must Fall shutdown the previous year. On Tuesday the 19th of April, in resistance, students formed a human barricade at one of the university's entrances. When this happened, several students (but not all) – standing in the front – participated topless. As the group's voices bellowed, "Senzeni na?", pictures of this #NakedProtest flooded social media. A fleet of police vehicles lined Somerset Street next to the human barricade: a confusing response to a group of topless, vulnerable, singing young students protesting rape. It stung more given the fact that the police fail victims of sexual assault so often in South Africa but on this day, had come out in full force.

On Wednesday 20th April, while gathering for another day of protest, five students were arrested while others were tear-gassed and pepper sprayed by police. Classes

were officially suspended. The protests continued as the university refused to allow one of the revised demands of the student body: to suspend (pending investigation) the students listed on the Reference List. Rhodes University was granted an interdict against students: a court order barring students from interrupting classes as well as from "from intimidating, assaulting or threatening any member of the university community."

Given the restrictions placed by the interdict, it was suggested that the academic project be transformed into the form of protest, at a student body meeting. The following Monday, the 25th of April, the #RUReferenceList task team – a group of students coordinating protest activities – coordinated six student-led lectures, which tackled topics such as consent, the exclusion of LGBTI people from anti-rape campaigns and the university's sexual assault policies.

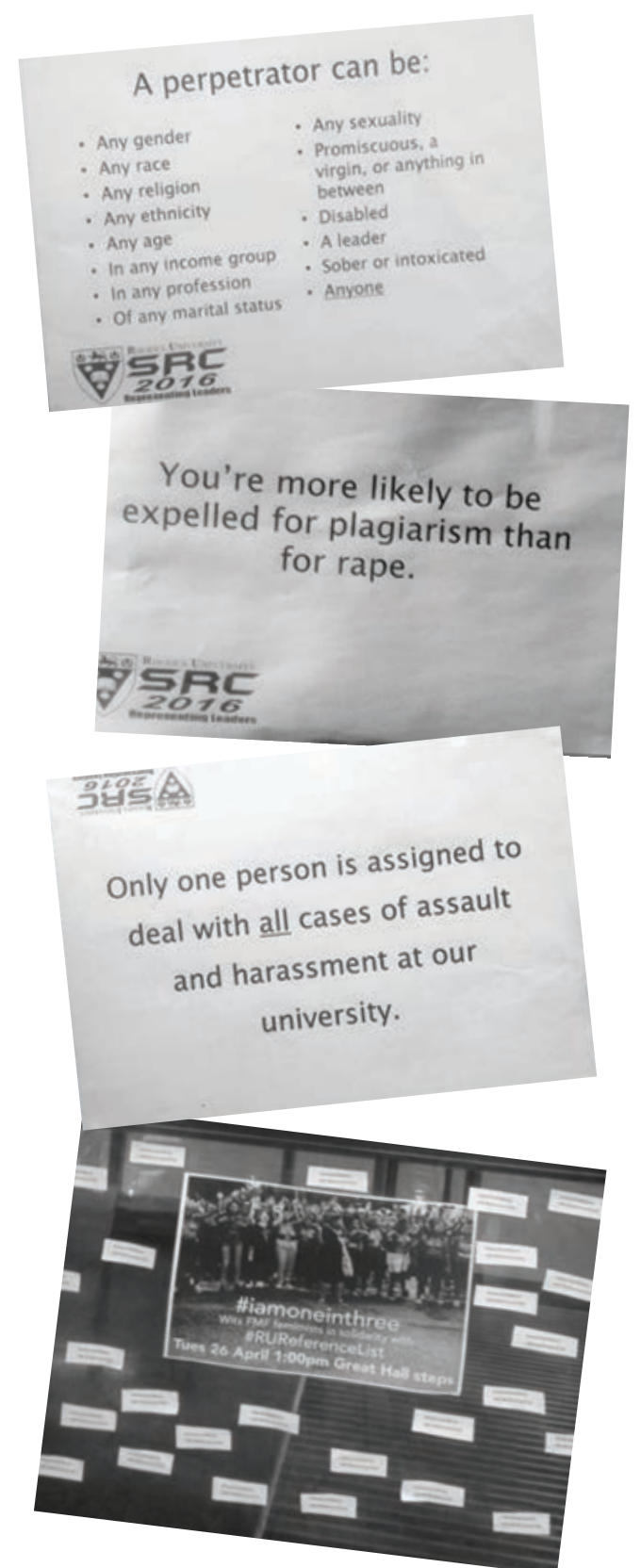
Fanon writes in *The Wretched of The Earth* that "Involvement in the organization of the struggle will introduce [the colonized] to a different vocabulary: Brother, sister, comrade". Campaigns such as #IAmOneInThree protest at the University of Witwatersrand, the #EndRapeCulture protest at Stellenbosch University and #UCTSpeaksBack – all of which mobilized in solidarity with #RUReferenceList – attest to Fanon's message. Several civil society organizations also added to the collective outcry against rape.

Over the next few weeks, protests continued in different forms. Smaller groups of students held a demonstration in the administration building, and later occupied the SRC offices, calling again for the SRC member who was named on the list to be removed. Later, students also disrupted a colloquium on gender-based violence, where the vice-chancellor was set to speak.

Ultimately, the university management remained resolute on the decision not to suspend the people on the Reference List. They reiterated in press statements that they could not do this as it was a violation of the alleged perpetrator's rights. Looking back, the impasse between the university management and students was based on a disagreement on the validity of the list. While students who mobilized on that April night came to a collective agreement about the validity of the list based on their lived experiences, the university management continued to promote the same policies, which Chapter 2.12 highlighted had failed, as a remedy to the problem.

In the opinion of many, the interdict held back a lot of the #RUReferenceList protests. Students were afraid that if they 'disrupted' classes, they would immediately be arrested or face legal consequences. Thus, the interdict was seen as a silencing tool. A group of Rhodes University staff members, in support of students and of #RUReferenceList, opposed the interdict, and appealed to the Higher Management to order remove the interdict. However, the management insisted that the interdict was necessary to prevent unlawful activities. Rather, the University set up a task-team: the task team's role would be to make recommendations to address the rape crisis.

During the #RUReferenceList protests, a legal rights organisation, Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI) met with students and decided to challenge the interdict. For months, they consulted with students and then, launched their case to get the interdict dismissed. In December 2016, after a High Court hearing, the judge presiding over the case ruled that the interdict had been too broad, and dismissed a majority of the demands made in it: a small victory for those who had protested.



From top to bottom: Gender Action Project Posters and #IAmOneInThree protest at Wits.

We are going to follow a group of students through an intense day of student activism paying particular attention to our friends:

BUSI KATLEGO DAVID LINDIWE



STORY BY:
ASHER GAMEDZE
KANYISA NTOMBINI
ILLUSTRATIONS BY
BONOLO KAVULA
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

PLENARY

THANK YOU ALL FOR ATTENDING THIS MEETING



WHAT'S WRONG KATLEGO? YOU SEEM UPSET!



IT'S TSHIPEO, THE CHAIR OF THE MEETING. HE IS SO HOMOPHOBIC. HE NEVER LETS GAY MEN TALK.



... OR WOMEN ACTUALLY.



SHHHH!

AMANDA COMRADES!!! LET'S GO PROTEST!



PROTEST

LINDIWE, ARE YOU JOINING US?



UHH... I WOULD LIKE TO...

BUT WHERE IS EVERYONE GOING?



I REALLY WANT TO BE HERE DAVID BUT THESE STAIRS ARE SUCH AN OBSTACLE TO JOINING THE PROTEST ACTION.



AAHH, POLICE ARE BEING SO AGGRESSIVE



OW, THERE ARE SO MANY PEOPLE HERE. I FEEL BENTLY ANXIOUS.



TO: LINDIWE WANT TO LEAVE? I DON'T KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON. THE SPEAKER JUST STARTED USING THE LOUDHAILER SO I CAN'T LIP-READ ANYMORE



PUB

KATLEGO, MAYBE WE SHOULD SLOW DOWN ON THE DRINKING. REMEMBER WE HAVE PLENARY TOMORROW AT TEN!



BUT BUSI! THAT PROTEST WAS SO HECTIC. I REALLY NEED A DRINK. PLUS, MAYBE, PLENARY WILL BE BETTER IF IM DRUNK.



PLENARY NEXT MORNING

WHERE IS EVERYONE???



YOU KNOW WHAT?! MAYBE IN PLENARY TODAY WE CAN DISCUSS AND REFLECT ON HOW DESTRUCTIVE AND EXCLUSIONARY OUR PROTEST CULTURE IS...



YA, NE

OUR STORY TO THE WORLD

LUVO JAZA

WALTER SISULU UNIVERSITY
BUTTERWORTH



We the students of Walter Sisulu University, come from the most undeveloped communities economically and educationally. Walter Sisulu is the only hope for the poor who seek for access to education. Our Beacon of hope to make a better life, better communities, better families.

In the beginning of the year, when we go to apply or register for the first time, and some of us coming to register as continuing students. At this time of the year the institution becomes a monster waiting to chop out as many students as possible. Numbers of students are being decreased deliberately by the university management. There are rules created by the institutional management and government that help legitimize this unjust treatment to the poor. There are things such as registration fees, tuition fees, residence fees, application fees, and academic exclusions. These mechanisms are made specifically to exclude us. This is the time when some go back home after staying in the institution for more than two months waiting to be admitted or registered. They spend a lot of time hoping and praying for the best, yet they go back home segregated in the land of their own fathers, go home to the unjust laws unleashed upon them by their own so called government in a democratic South Africa. Where most of us are rejected by NSFAS, left with no option but to quit, not because we want to but because we are not financially fit to sustain ourselves in the institution without funding.

But thanks to organizations and leaders who are conscious about the struggle of students, who sometimes fight for us till we access the system or leave us stranded with no one to help us. Every beginning of the year we beg for our right to education, or fight for it. Most of us come from the Eastern Cape, one

of the most underdeveloped provinces in SA. We come from poor backgrounds, our families can't afford to pay for our fees or to have drop outs. However this is what our government who promised us free education does to us on a semester basis.

The institution has a large shortage of residences, where in most of our campuses residences are outsourced. Students are charged exorbitant amounts of money for residences that do not even meet the requirements of DHET. Most students owe NSFAS large amounts of money and most of it goes to charges of residences. In other campuses we are forced to rent rooms in nearby communities, where we become victims of common criminals. Even inside our campuses we are victims because some of our campuses are not fenced, there are no official entrance and exit points. In most instances when students are robbed, stabbed, raped inside the institution no one cares. We have cases of students that have suffered greatly because of the carelessness of the institution. Our view is that to them our lives do not matter, whether we live or die no one cares. We have been reduced to sub humans by our government and institutions. For example in other campuses students live like pigs, not because they want but because of the conditions they are subjected to.

Students use the university residences, squatting is the order of every year because of lack of residences. Single rooms which are supposed to stay one person accommodate 4, double rooms accommodate 8. These residences are not maintained at all. We experience blockages and sewage leaks. Sewage water running between residences. The scent is unbearable and affects our health conditions. We are being dehumanized every day of our lives and we suffer in

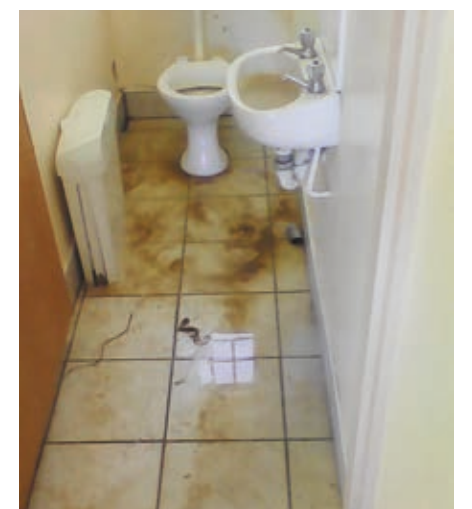
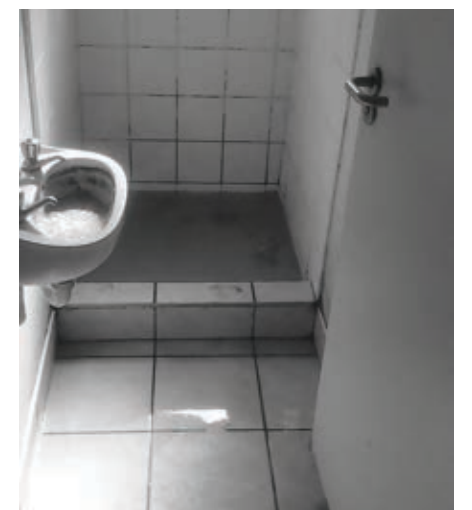
silence. More than two times a week criminals come inside residences and kick our doors and rob us, rape us.

Our education is not valued, we spend a lot of our time without lecturers, on major and minor subjects. The institutions refuses to employ academic staff and support staff. In some instances students are forced to write examinations without having had enough time for learning. The same students become victims of academic exclusions. Our library has always been a study Centre, not a place to find information. Most of the books we need to use our library does not have them. Prescribed books especially of challenging modules are on short loan or are not there. Most of our computers don't work, in most cases more than half of computers that are supposed to assist students are not working. And all these things are not taken into consideration when we are being academically excluded. It is like we are being set up for failure and get punished when we do. Sometimes, if not all the time we ask ourselves, is this the life a normal human being should accept.

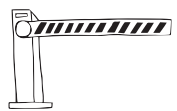
We are exploited and dehumanized, subjected to the most inhuman conditions. It is only because we are Afrikans, and we are poor that we are undermined and ignored by our Government. This is done through privatization and commodification of education. Automatically when a price is put next to any item, those with no financial muscle can't have the item. The poor Afrikan child is deliberately excluded from education to further perpetuate the underdevelopment of Afrikans. Education is a basic need for humans to progress, like water, shelter and food are basic needs. This therefore means all human beings, by virtue of being are entitled to a natural right to education. But because we are not free

we are still under the yoke of oppression we are subjects of white supremacy and capitalism – education is sold to us. Sobukwe once said "Education to an Afrikan child means service to Afrika". Access to education therefore is most important and the quality of that education. One of the most painful facts is that we are subjected to brain damaging education, which teaches us individualism and to respect the rule of oppressive law. At no given time we are taught to be independent in terms of thinking, but to rely on old information.

We are only taught to apply what we have been taught, never to transform that knowledge. But still it's the only formal education available, better it that no education at all for the Afrikan child. We understand now that poor people around the world are subjected to similar conditions to the ones we have narrated in this piece, and most poor people think this kind of treatment is natural, they think they are supposed to be dehumanized and marginalized because they are poor. No one deserves to be treated less than a human being, like some students of WSU have been reduced to pigs. All the poor people of the world should fight against classism. All our challenges are manifestations of existing class society called capitalism which subscribes to capitalism. Which survives by excluding the poor from basic programs funded by the state. Poor people of the world, no leader will come and free us, but only ourselves can break the chains of slavery and free our people.



RESIDENCES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE



NDUMISO KANISE

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE

The issue of residence pricing in the University of Fort Hare is paramount among many other issues, it always remains an unresolved issue throughout the years, and it has always been reflected through petitions drafted by the student populace and it is one of the issues which caused many strikes throughout the years but was and is never fully attended to. The issue students have with the university are primarily two-fold:

1. **The issue of exorbitant fees and;**
2. **The issue of sharing rooms or privacy thereof**

Currently the charges of residency is R26 000 per head both from Alice rural campus and East London urban campus, they would have been increased from this amount this year but because of the fees must fall campaign they remain the same price from last year. The student leadership is surprised by this arrangement and amount for it does not reflect the type of conditions you find these residences in. The justification averred by the management is always reliance on the inflation of the country but, nevertheless, the position of the student leadership is always the same that the price of these residencies do not meet the condition you find them.

In fact a popular belief among student leaders is that the management is benefitting through this entire process, a serious gamble is being played and it suppresses student to be indebted, but who can say for sure, assumptions are a lowest form of thinking.

And secondly, the mere fact that a rural and urban campus are charged on the same rate raises eyebrows to the student for obvious reason that it is just impossible. In some residencies particularly in East London you will find 4 or 3 or 2 students sharing one room and each is charged R26000 and the student leadership has always argued against this arrangement.

Through the fees must fall campaign at least we could say some light was shed because, among many other issues, residences was one of the items to be resolved. A detailed forensic report of the total breakdown of the 26000 that is being charged must be explained, the report must also respond to the question that student leadership has of why are student charged per head and not per room. The students are patiently waiting for the response from this forensic investigation.

Moreover, the fact that the nsfas policy makes reference to private accommodation was for very long time foreign in the University of Fort Hare, it is only this year that such privilege is being granted to student and in most instances it is cheaper than campus residence. It seems like the management makes it a point that students should rather be in residencies rather than being in private accommodation, because it's always the case that there will be students left without residences, rather for those students to be allowed to look for private accommodation some means will be employed for those student to be in residencies. The SRC and the management would rather opt to find a new res.

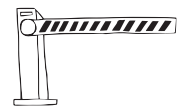
On that note there is also a flood of students left without residence spaces each and every year those student will almost stay without residence for half of the year. The assumption is that the university injects too many people without keeping a proper look out about their wellbeing, after they have access to university, and that alone is the cause of January strike, Fort Hare strikes are so obvious and periodic, there is one for accommodation in January, one for finances in march, for fee increment on the upcoming year.

Lastly the residence issue tallies with everything that relates to the financial status of students, the overall debt of a student is gravely influenced by the pricing of residences, thus it determines how much that student will get for meal allowances, how much for book allowances. The greater the debt is, the lesser the basic needs of a student. If this is the case the residence issue removes the basic inequities that would allow a student to pass.

THE EFFECTS OF UNIVERSITY FEES AND DEBT ON STUDENTS FROM DISADVANTAGED BACKGROUNDS

YONELA NGWENDU

**CAPE PENINSULA
UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY**



In this piece I will share what I understand about the student's protest that took place around the mid-last semester of most universities in South Africa in 2015. The protests were the cause of student debts that has led so many students to be suspended from the university until their debts are paid off. My focus will be amongst the youth mostly within the disadvantaged background: Some are students and some are not students but wish to be university students in future while others have experienced the challenge of being a student in debt leading you to be suspended and finding a job in order to pay off.

During the student protest of #FeesMustFall campaign, students voiced out about the effects of fees as student debt were climbing. So much happened as students even vandalized university properties, police and security guards had to maintain the situation so that it didn't get any worse but with the numbers of students that were involved, students had most powers. In any case demolishing school properties while you wanted free tertiary education was totally wrong, others never even understood the concept of #FeesMustFall and where it was coming from and why. Students were first fighting for 0% fees increase but led to free tertiary education for all.

Students promised that they will protest for the youth of South Africa to have access to tertiary education as many matriculates become unemployed after they are not accepted even if they qualify for that particular course, this then adds up to the rate of crime, unemployment and poverty in our societies. Let us not forget the importance of education government should focus more on improving.

Parents always prayed for their children during the campaign just like back in 1976.

The government is clearly not doing enough for the youth of South Africa because the #FeesMustFall campaign was a wake-up call from those students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds as they were the more affected people with the student debts. In our country we are facing a large number of youth who are involved in doing crime, gangster, school dropouts and drug and alcohol abuse because there's lack of jobs for the youth and lack of after school programs or programs for those who wish to improve their matric certificate.

An increase in crime is resulted due to those circumstances that the youth is facing. Now with those that had a chance of changing their lives studying for what they've wanted to become in life and getting the opportunity to better the circumstances of their homes, get suspended because of their student debts leading to adding the number of unemployed youth because finding a job takes some time. Some have to find jobs to pay for their student debts as their parents are unable to pay off the debts because they still have other responsibilities as parents needing money to put food on the table so that children don't go to bed starving.

Once you find a job many responsibilities come along, rent, electricity and water bills have to be on the budget including food groceries. You have to have money for transport to work now how long will it take to pay off your student from a salary of about R2 500.00 to R4 000.00 on a debt of about R30 000.

Government should create after school programs and matric rewrite programs. All students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds must get NSAFAS. Tertiary education should be free only to those students that come from a disadvantaged background. Education is an important role to our country, the government must focus on improving education for all in South Africa.



#October6 Protest against Outsourcing at Wits, 2015.

HISTORICAL INSTITUTE OF HIGH EDUCATION UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND



JOHANNES DHLAMINI

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

1

Historical Institute of high Education
University of Witwatersrand.

On the 05 May 2012 was my first day at this world wide known University of Wits. Luckily enough there was space for me to temporarily work at. As most workers were taking their leaves at SuperCare Cleaning.

My first day was as good as always, except that I was in a new environment where little of the personnel was known to me. My only problem started the following day when I was able to go to the loo (toilet), when one of my new colleagues asked me where I was rushing to. "E Ntwana uyawar noli" He asked me while I was rushing passing him standing da. "Ngisafuna kuswaya kancane (want to pee fast). Answering without looking back. When I return back he was so straight with me. "Ntwana lelatoilet elabo elaboprof/Staff Only (Bra that toilet is for the staff only). Akumelanga ulisebenzise (U Cant use it)" before he even finish. "Mava yini Ocleaner da Ntwana mos Ots me Cleaning dat toilet bra)". Asking him with my eyes both showing the shock of my life. Here I am in a province and city that I have thought of people living smart and free, there is still that discrimination. He added after I have sighed with anger shown on my face. "N Ntwana itea time or khulach uyodlala eChange room not everywhere". Which is that km away from Chamber of Mine as I was working there.

2

It where I have realised that South Africa hasn't got anything from freedom Charter to be proud of. Because here I am, I still seeing the discrimination given to black labour.

In about between September and October 2012 there plenty rumours that SuperCare contract won't be renewed. And the Commission of Letsema and Tokollo Report were also realised. Most concerns of workers were up and been proven truthfully. This is when I joined the Solidarity Community of Students, Academics and Workers at Wits. We hold several meeting and protests with no luck we were kept freezing.

In 2013 February the rumours of SuperCare going were now coming to be truth and workers were more worried to lose their jobs. Again it was the Solidarity of workers, students and Academics stood against all odds to force Wits to either insource workers or use the 197 act that will give workers a chance to keep their jobs no matter the new company. The act was successfully implemented and the workers were kept.

Just a few weeks after new company has taken over a Summit of leadership was elected to go and persuade Professor Adam Habib the V.C. of Wits to reconsider insourcing the workers.

3

Or Atleast Top up them with some amount of money that will bring better life to workers

The was mostly builded by 2 people from each Co Company in Cleaning & Gardening. Dose Negotiations were stalled over by an idea that Wits dont have enough Money to Insource nor to Top up workers. But were promised that workers will be given a chance start their own Company to work at Wits.

In 2015 October 6 All Change as all workers started standing in all forms and say tools down and go deliver their memorandum of grievens to Wits that include workers be Insourced immediately and a Living wage of R12,500,000 oPM.

As workers were still waiting to be ^{Answer} ~~Answer~~ from the memo they deliver there was something big coming. I remember immediately after 6 October ~~at~~ Rally I rushed straight to ~~free~~ freestate where my family is based as I was on leave. It was on Sunday the 11 October that I learn through WhatsApp that group that something is been planned for ~~Week~~ Wednesday the 11 October by Students Movement, but there is a meeting to take place on the Monday lunch time. That will include Students Movement, SRC and Solidarity Community (Student, Academic and workers Solidarity Community). I couldnt bear the heat I was feeling inside.

On Monday morn I packed my bags from Namahadi in freestate to Orange farm Jozi Gp.

4

With no time I dropped my bags at my room and Rush straight to Wits. I remember the meeting was at ~~John~~ Moffat Room. When I entered that door one of the leaders Sesi Delive Maobe Shouted "Comrade from Impact welcome". I was amazed and home feeling by those words.

Come Tuesday 13 October as small protest was organised as if it was going nowhere this time. It was #FeesMustFall and #OutsourcingMustFall. Everyone took it lightly until Wednesday morn when All break lose as all entrance's at Wits were blocked and Studies had to be Cancelled Altogether. In All this protest were done my outstanding one was At Pretoria Letwiti House where student showed more determination to show what they mean when the say fees must fall. The Struggle Anthem of Wits movement was Solomon Mahlangu..

After the big much of Friday things were in a really bad bad space. As the Students Movement get divided into two parts. As there were others saying they want to go back to class. and other students were saying what about our workers lives. Remember the chaos on the ~~Chamber~~ Chamber Council Room lead to the election of Dr Lwazi as a Chair. And the meeting was moved to Goffo Corncourse stage at Struggle Solomon Mahlangu House (Senate House). On Wednesday I was on class when I ~~hear~~ got a message from Sesi Delive that workers were be shot where I am.

5

"My Com Jo, where are you? Workers at Empire Road are been teargased." listening to this voice clip on my WhatsApp I can hear and feel this woman has been running. My Respond was so short "I'm in class but I'll be there now". When I gone back to class I explain the situation to the facilitator who never at all had a problem to let me go. When I get at Wits things were hence full of Police Cars, Personals and Private Securities. By now Sesi Delive was barely moving been footed and ~~is~~ tired. While Comrad Matthews was busy running around and make sure all is good for workers side. Thembi, Anele and Nantoko 20 Students were there with workers at Origin Entrance waiting for me. ~~as~~ there was some job to be done at SABU. to go there and defend the workers. At the other side of the Entrance a group of Students, Academic and workers were questioning Professor Adam Habib to Act Insourcing. By the time we left for SABU, the agreement was reached that there are negotiations should start about Insourcing. The negotiations were held by Thursday, Friday and the. On Sunday Management signed an agreement to Insource ~~immediate~~. Workers were all happy and the Task Team was formed from there on to find a better way to Insource workers that will never Surprise or ruin any Chances of the University Stability.

6

Since the first meeting of the IIT There were agreement and Implimentation to be made. A R12500 Minimum Wage was Implimented, and although there are still stumbling blocks in the way. There are still Retailers and Maintenance workers are not satisfied as they think Insourcing is only for Cleaners or Gardeners only. Dan again on June 2016 the minimum Wage was Toped up to R16000. Still there are worker who are still unsatisfied.

On The finishing of the document we were shocked by heavily news from heavenly father. One of our Comrades lost his wife. In the deepest heartfelt pain and Condolence to professor Itorn. We pray the almighty lord to protect him and heal him in the name of his son Jesus Christ Amen.

Completed but not Summure, Can The Author of the book please minimise my number of words.

A REFLECTION ON THE STUDENT–WORKER ALLIANCE



HIBIST KASSA

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

INTRODUCTION

The #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall movement emerged in a direct confrontation with a post-apartheid regime and neoliberal education system, which still retained a colonial character. The rage against the continued dehumanisation of black bodies in all our diversity flowed to disrupt and reject the status quo.

The point of convergence with workers ensured that this was largely grounded in an understanding of exploitation as a central dynamic binding the experiences of the vast majority of South Africans. Therefore, the neoliberal architecture of higher education and flexibilisation of the workforce came into question simultaneously.

With multiple global crises (food, climate, economic, financial, energy), political struggles across the world are intensifying and the search for alternatives have become even more urgent. In these circumstances, we are also faced with more hostile conditions with shrinking political space for major concessions.

This article seeks to reflect on this moment by looking again at the alliance between students and workers. I take this up by also reflecting on liberation struggles in two other African cases which show how the students played particularly pivotal and problematic roles. In conditions where the working class had not asserted itself to act on its own behalf, students – as part of the petty bourgeoisie – filled a vacuum and ultimately laid the basis for compromise while securing their own material interests as part of a bureaucratic elite and nascent local capital. This relation had early on been identified as problematic by Amílcar Cabral who famously challenged the petty bourgeoisie to commit ‘class suicide’ as the only way to avoid betraying working people. The events at the University of Johannesburg illustrate this.

THE UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG MOMENT

In October 2015, UJ workers, then employed by the outsourced company Elite which had been bought by Servest, launched a strike to lay claim to their provident fund. What began as a dispute between workers and one private company, soon drew workers and students in a long drawn out strike.

At the end of this wave, the worker front was completely transformed. An independent worker forum which had been in existence for many years, and been through many strikes, was quickly swept aside along with trade union representatives. In this struggle, workers and students at UJ stood alongside each other in an alliance which notably achieved the end of outsourcing. A political victory which trade unions had long failed to do and largely were complicit in propping up. Workers organised in alliance with students, and even articulated the demands of students alongside their own in a closed door session with the Vice Chancellor, Ihron Rensburg. It was one of the most poignant moments in the #FeesMustFall struggle at the UJ.

It appeared at the time that the politicisation of a layer of students who had either previously not been in active politics or had not operated outside mainstream political parties would redefine themselves and create a space for alternative forms of politics to flourish. We also believed or hoped (or at least some of us did) that this alliance would enable the emergence of a layer of cadres amongst workers who would be able to act without depending on students/academics. In many ways, this did begin to coalesce but not as strongly as had been hoped. Not surprisingly, at every point, it seems workers kept looking for a saviour outside of their ranks. With trade unions being largely discredited, there was a vacuum to be filled. The figure of the student now took up this space, and sometimes in very problematic ways. Largely unaccountable and without a stable relation with workers, the alliance was far from a perfect relation.

Nowadays, the movement as a whole has lost its momentum and fragmented very rapidly leaving behind very little to build on. In fact, in UJ nothing stable was built. The mainstream political structures whose legitimacy were being questioned, have now largely reasserted themselves on both the student and worker front. This presents a moment to think critically about the position of the student, here understood as part of the petty bourgeoisie. Below is a reflection on experiences elsewhere.

THE THORNY AFRICAN PETTY BOURGEOISIE

Ghana’s Nkrumah and the Conventions Peoples Party (CPP) for all its dynamism as the party formed by militant women and the youth in the independence struggle, still fell very quickly into a centralised form of organisation which contained independent mobilisation on the ground. It was a party built on the backs of the petty bourgeoisie and did closely relate with the nascent trade union movement. However, even before independence in 1957, there was already a witch hunt of communists and militant trade unionists fully underway. The foundations for the compromise was already being secured.

A more contemporary example is of an uprising which has emerged in Ethiopia. Dubbed #OromoProtests (and alongside this Konso and Amhara protests among others), an uprising continuing for almost a year came to a climax on October 2nd 2016 when 250 people were killed in a massacre at a thanks giving festival by the military and the police. A state of emergency was imposed soon after, ensuring that a military high command led a wave of arrests of tens of thousands of civilians.

These protests were triggered by a plan for the capital city that sought to consolidate gentrification which has witnessed the displacement of the urban poor and dispossession of farmers. The roots of this struggle can be traced to the often forgotten 1974 Ethiopian Revolution by students in Universities, high school and even pupils, many of who also became martyrs in a struggle that ended a monarchy that had been in existence for almost a thousand years. In that particular phase of the struggle, the vacuum was filled decisively by a military regime, similar to the events in the Egyptian revolution in 2011.

The Empire was based on the oppression and exploitation of the peasantry and oppressed nationalities, especially in the southern parts of the country. The first step that the regime took was to expropriate land from the feudal lords and place all land under the control of the state. Land to the tiller, was the slogan. Even as feudalism was decisively uprooted, and land placed under control of the state, it still did not place political power in the hands of working people. Instead, a top down structure, with the military hand in hand with a technocratic/bureaucratic elite took over.

In the meantime a campaign in the country side was in full swing. Students worked alongside peasants, teaching shepherds to read, building canals and distributing grain among other things. Markakis and Ayele (1986: 9) in *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia* describe their situation.

“Most evenings, after a meagre supper, the campaigners gathered around a fire. Gaunt bearded figures and pigtailed girls in khaki uniforms, in their teens, talked of the day’s events...Their relationship with the peasants was their main concern. How could the gap be bridged? How could they identify with the peasant and his problems? How could they help him assert himself in a world which lay beyond his understanding? Invariably, the talk turned to the political situation and the military regime. Voices turned hoarse with emotion...How could they hope to persuade the peasant to seize the initiative when men with uniforms and guns were enforcing the orders of a distant government. Had anything changed in that respect? Weren’t they, themselves acting as agents of that government? (emphasis added)”

By the early 1990s, like many dictatorships in Africa at the time, not only was this military regime overthrown after an armed struggle, but once again imposed a tiny elite which has maintained an authoritarian and bureaucratic system under a guise of constitutional rule. This political framework promising respect for all nationalities was itself unable to cover up the contradictions inherent in a system which continued to dispossess and exploit. The current wave of protests have continued to expose this failing.

In the most recent wave of protests, students were playing a leading role in solidarity with farmers who were most harmed by gentrification in the capital city. Universities came under direct attack from the military. The protests went beyond the Oromo when other major ethno-national groups including long running struggles of indigenous peoples who have also resisted land grabbing facilitated by the state to take over fertile lands and natural resources in the southern parts of Ethiopia. These deals favoured

USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

Post-apartheid regime: This refers to the period after the transition to liberal democracy in 1994.

Neoliberal: This is market driven education which assumes education is a commodity instead of a public good. This undermines the right to education, worker rights, academic freedom among other rights which ought to be protected in a democracy.

Colonial: An oppressive system in which political, economic, and cultural tools are used to dominate over the territory of one country by another. This has occurred at many points in human history but the most recent experiences were in the global South, including the African continent, with dominant European countries forcibly taking territories in the late 1800s.

Dehumanisation: Depriving the oppressed of humanity which is an act of violence which also undermines the humanity of the one who inflicts this violence.

Status quo: The ways of doing things which tend to be assumed to be normal part of social, political and cultural life.

Exploitation: Labour does not own the means of production, but offers its labour power in the production process to create value. The surplus or profit created by labour is taken by those who control and own the means of production which is understood as exploitation.

Neoliberal architecture of higher education: The institutional arrangements which have enabled the commodification of higher education.

Flexibilisation of the workforce: Creating conditions which do not ensure job security and social benefits at the work place. Contract work and introduction of private companies to perform management roles enable this.

Alliance: An informal association formed to unite group which were previously acting separately or autonomously.

Working class: This is the class in society which produces value largely for the benefit of dominant classes.

Petty bourgeoisie: A layer of students, intellectuals and petty traders who are neither part of the elite or owners and managers of production, but who are also not completely in the similar position politically, socially and culturally as the working class.

Bureaucratic elite: A class which controls and manages resources in the interests of the state and corporations and on its own behalf.

‘Class suicide’: This is a call by Cabral to the revolutionary petty-bourgeois leadership to be directed by its own consciousness and the culture of revolution instead of its own interests as a class.

Independence struggle: These are the anti-colonial struggles.

Provident fund: An investment fund employees contribute to over their working lives to ensure a retirement package.

Outsourcing: transfer of aspects of an organisations work to external private actors. In this case, cleaning services were outsourced to a private company that took over the management function of the University and control of cleaning workers was taken over by the private company.

Politicisation: Raising of consciousness on issues and the understanding of the power relations underlying them.

Trade union movement: These are associations formed by workers to represent their interests in relation to employers and the state.

Gentrification: Redevelopment process by which working class neighbourhoods, including informal settlements, are replaced by the construction of new neighbourhoods. This is undertaken by middle class homebuyers, private developers with support from the state.

USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

Urban poor: Populations in urban areas who do not have access to good sanitation, adequate shelter, healthy and balanced nutrition, education among others. They often reside in informal settlements and make a living in casual work on the margins of the city.

1974 Ethiopian Revolution: This marked the popular overthrow of the then Monarchy.

Military regime: This is a state within which civilian institutions have been taken control over or are dominated by the military.

Peasantry: A class which has access to the means of production, primarily in agriculture. They rely on cultural practices which determines how much produce they owe the feudal classes and the terms under which they have access to land.

Feudalism: This is a mode of production in which the peasantry produce mainly for a ruling feudal class, while also providing for the needs of their families and communities.

Technocratic/bureaucratic: This is a class which has control over the state machinery and dominates over other classes.

Dictatorships: This is undemocratic rule by either a civilian or military government, which may also hold regular elections.

Armed struggle: This refers to the period of the liberation struggle against apartheid and colonialism at a time when the resistance also took up the use of arms against oppressive regimes.

Constitutional rule: Rule with the use of institutions values and norms embodied in laws as defined in the period of democracy.

'Working class consciousness': This is an understanding by the working class of itself and its role in society beyond economic demands to wider vision that focuses on transforming society as a whole.

Political education: Learning spaces to lift the consciousness of revolutionaries among students and the working class. This is to begin to map an alternative to be advanced in different aspects of social, cultural, economic and political life.

commercial interests in which bureaucratic elite, aid agencies and foreign corporation's interests were served.

Currently, tens of thousands are languishing in prisons, while many have disappeared or have been killed. The student once again has become a figure of resistance in playing a leading role in the protests. Nonetheless, their politicisation, and lessons learned from past experiences can arm us to critically engage within our ranks for a different way of understanding our role in the campaigns we lead.

CONCLUSION

Our shared experiences in Africa points to how we still face the threat of repeating past mistakes and even worse, betrayals. Therefore, how do we build political structures that really create the space for workers to be able to take the reins of power independently? How do you really build 'working class consciousness' where the working class itself is not the dominant force? What form of political education can lay the foundation for this?

REFLECTION NOTE

THATO MAGANO UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Reflections

Shame

Joy

I feel incredible shame and undeserved joy at every instance I think of this Publica[c]tion publication process.

Shame because of the many, many things and experiences that this publication will never house for the many silent voices. The shame that this can never be enough.

But also joy. The joy of knowing that it exists. That it is an attempt at something.

For all the voices that could not live within these pages.

For all the black and brown feelings that went into making this

Publica[c]action.

CHECK THIS OTHER SHIT OUT!

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CONTINUES ON PAGE 53 ---->

NSFAS



TEAM SPOKEN WORD*

VAAL UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

Intro

Dreams crushed broken promises
I thought I was walking down this road to find a better me
But you took my dreams away
So I say Bhadal' imali NSFAS

Pre-chorus

My mama raised me it was hard with tears falling down
My papa raised to have a better future in this world
But NSFAS took it away

Chorus

Bhadal' imali, Bhadal' imali NSFAS

Verse 1

Born free, you and me
Coming from different places
Having the same dream
The rich and the poor, the poor and the rich
However you put it, it's still the same
Divided we'll fall, united we'll stand
From the lowest pit
Against politicians on their high seats
With a voice they cannot ignore
Together we'll roar

Chorus

Bhadal' imali, Bhadal' imali NSFAS

Verse 2

Ndifun' Ikamva eligqamileyo
Kweli limiweyo but that's impossible
Coz this system ain't the same anymore
Nsfas killed my dreams that ain't fair
Didn't pay for all my fees its over
Now I'm heading back home with nothing on my hands
So much for working hard
Is this what I get for my sleepless nights?
What I get for working so hard?
U make promises you cannot keep
Now we suffer the consequences
Uba bendazile I wouldn't have made an agreement
Now I already have a bill to pay before getting my diploma

Bridge

Stop hey bheka ngiphuma khuphi
Ekhaya life is hard
Stop hey bheka ngiphuma khuphi
Ekhaya life is hard

I have only one dream

To make myself a better person in this world
One dream ukuceda inhlupheko back at home
One dream one dream

Bridge

Stop hey bheka ngiphuma khuphi
Ekhaya life is hard
Stop hey bheka ngiphuma khuphi
Ekhaya life is hard

Pre-chorus

My mama raised me it was hard with tears falling down
My papa raised to have a better future in this world
But NSFAS took it away
So bhadal' imali NSFAS

*TeamSpokenWord is a group that performs music and poetry and they describe themselves as "the voice for those who can't speak for themselves". The group consists of 5 people 2 vocalists, a guitarist, a drummer and poet. Mukhethwa Madzhe, Nkosenhle Gumedze, Nomxolisi Sfama and Karabelo Tauyatswala. Their music is generally influenced by their environment which is how the song initially came about. They came at a time when the university was closed for some time and students were told to vacate their residences, others had to suspend their studies because NSFAS had not paid their fees and they had been blocked by the university. So the song was dedicated to the government as the NSFAS stakeholder to ensure that adequate funds are given so that the students can be able to study.

FUCK WHITE PEOPLE T-SHIRT



ZAMA MTHUNZI

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND



Image credit: Zimasa Mpemnyane, Wits Vuvuzela

I meant what I said because at that time, there was no vocabulary for me to express how I feel about waking up black every morning. I had no political language to express the centuries of suffering and pain that we have experienced as black people at the hands of white people. Our speech as black people is always tempered with. Black speech is never voluntary speech. Whiteness makes us, black people; think twice before we speak and after we have spoken. You always have to ask yourself whether you should speak and what will happen should you decide to speak. Fuck White People. I have nothing else to say. The harsh reality of offending white People in South Africa is too severe. I was reported to the human rights commission for hate speech and kicked out of Wits. Which continues to show the great protection of white power and its privileges in South Africa.

I remember exactly how things occurred. It was a day were the White Wits art students proposed a protest demonstration that depicts students with fake blood lying down the floor to present "death" due to not affording fees. The demonstration was named "die in". At first as comrades who were part of the plenary where the idea was introduced, we stepped up and explained why we were against the demonstration and why it must not be done. Due to white ignorance and white entitlement the white art students forced the demonstration to happen.

Early in the morning we went to art school and decided to protest for the cause and also protest against the protest at the same time. Its 2016 and still there is no respect for a black body and the normalization of dead black bodies lying down as dogs is still propagated by the media, white liberals and the ruling class. Many cases in South Africa and Africa at large have shown images and videos of dead and dying back bodies. We had the Marikana massacre where police shot and killed 34 miners and dragged them like dogs in front of cameras and also in Kenya 147 students were killed in one of the universities the images of the black students were all over. The indignity seems not to be understood. Recently in France there was a terrorist attack, the only images showed where people changing their profile pictures, display pictures and emojis that had a France flag as a background as an act of solidarity, absolutely no images of dead white bodies on the floor, dragged like dogs. absolutely nothing!!

The behaviour seems to be continuing as recently a student died at The University of Johannesburg and his identity was paraded all over social media without respecting that the person has relationships, he is a brother, a son and his family deserves respect of not finding out about the tragic incident on social media. This stems from how as black people we are still alienated and that our traditions, culture and aspirations do not matter in this anti-black world.

Recently a white liberal has done a gallery exhibition on "Fuck white people" and goes around wearing a "Fuck white people" jumpsuit. This also continues to show that white people and their existence is to disrespect, misappropriate and steal from black people.

So yeah, Fuck White People.

CONCERNING SHUTDOWNS

gamEdze: We can talk about being socially dead. We can be soldiers, we can be bodies. In fact, as Black people, we are these things in many senses, and many pockets of the national student movement has taken on this Afropessimistic approach to protest with quite dire consequences. What we do not consider often enough is that we are in a constant process of being been made and remade into these things, and this is perhaps what I am interested in.

Gamedze: There is an urgent need to think, imagine and practice a politics beyond shutting down the university. As dispossessed, indebted and righteously enraged Black students, the shutdown has been, and is currently, a key tactic. Vitally important. But I think we should be wary of it becoming a strategy in the long term. We need to move toward forms of political practices oriented toward opening rather than closing imaginative space and possibilities and I think shutdown as a mode of practice – both practically and metaphorically – often misses out on that.

gamEdze: In thinking through the contemporary #mustfall historical moment, I think it is important to recognise the way that South African protest process, has been manipulated and steered in such a way that the inherent imagination and creativity of protest becomes erased, and our enraged voices begin to form and remake the margins of what we already understand to be the South African status quo.

Gamedze: Regarding shutdowns, implicit in the tactic of shutdown is a centering of the university as the key site of struggle. I am concerned about how that might limit our conceptualisation of the struggle because more and more we seem to be getting locked into an oppositional struggle that is dangerous but is more dangerous for certain people than others.

gamEdze: We are pushed into a corner where, to attempt to claim our humanity, or assert that, in fact, we would rather not die fighting for free education at this historical moment, in this particular way, is seen as a sign of weakness or disloyalty. This dangerous space, which breeds a national mental health crisis, is the space where we are taught through violence that our bodies are not worth anything, or worthy of anything good, and so our initial pursuit of humanity is lost, and replaced by the repetition of a violent history.

Gamedze: And here, as we continue to get shot, stungrenaded and arrested, we might see a lurking, unsettling complicity of Afropessimist protest with the status quo. We put ourselves into these spaces where this can happen to us and we help to make and remake the conditions of black hopelessness and non-existence that white supremacy forces on us.

gamEdze: If one thing has been made incredibly clear in the last couple of years, it is that there has never been a moment that the state has not been prepared to meet true disruption and protest with a very particular kind of physicalised brutality. No matter the style of protest, whether music, art intervention, blockading, shit-pouring, or political education, the violence that meets Black protestors is always the same – a hyper-masculine, physical brutality whose focus meets the viscerality of bodies with undue force.

Gamedze: Hence we have the re-emergence of a hyper-masculine campus politics as response to the violence. Resultantly, we are losing cadres to jails, denied bail. We are losing cadres to bullets. To anxiety. To alcohol. We are losing cadres and we will lose many more the longer we persist on this path.

gamEdze: We are not safe. Having seen a number of different protest vibrations across universities, the only kind of equality that exists in this nation seems to be that whether you are sitting, standing, singing, or just trying to get into a lecture: if you are Black you are in grave danger of being physically assaulted by those who 'protect the law' in our country.

Within #FeesMustFall, as well as #RhodesMustFall, there seems to be a very particular trajectory that unfolds

gamEdze and Gamedze UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



repeatedly in an eerily similar way. One thing that we might agree on is that the objective of protest action in general (at least when it opposes the status quo – i.e. #OpenUCT or #KeepWitsOpen might be seen as the opposite of protest action) is to change structural issues so that oppressed people are treated as humans in reality, as well as having this humanity protected under the law. We might all agree that free education alone will not solve the many issues of South African universities.

Gamedze: Of course. At the same time, Black people have full legitimate claim to the university and all its resources and we know that we will not get to access that claim without a fight. And fighting for the things that white people have means injuries. The fight for the university is of central importance, and so maybe this particular phase of struggle needs to run its historical course?

gamEdze: The fight for free education fits into the larger struggle for structural change that includes basic human rights like land, healthcare, food, electricity, safety, and sanitation, and feeds directly into structural issues of ownership and epistemology that have been formed through hundreds of years of hyper-patriarchal, hyper-ableist, hyper-racist, hyper-binary and uncreative colonialist strategy. This strategy has historically met all kinds of opposition with force – the antithesis of imagination – and I would suggest that this usage of force is a way to narrow the available modes in which oppressed people might respond.

Gamedze: David Harvey proposed the following question: "What if every dominant mode of production, with its particular political configuration, creates a mode of opposition as a mirror image to itself?" (<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/07/david-harvey-neoliberalism-capitalism-labor-crisis-resistance/>) In thinking about the relationship between forms of protest we have alluded to and the violence of colonial capitalism (the momentary symptomatic, like Marikana, and the structural, like low-wage alienating work), we might see a deadended-ness in our current tactics. The system seems to be dictating the form of our resistance to it: We organise in a particular way because we will be met with force in a particular way. And we know how that ends. Apartheid policing doesn't play.

gamEdze: What might begin as a space whose protest action aims to form humanising culture where Black disabled, trans, queer, and womxn bodies are safe and heard, is very quickly appropriated by the anti-blackness of up high – a force that polarises the complexity of oppression and attempts to direct and contain action into the physically violent (inherently colonialist) form that it understands best. In this sense, the state functions to direct the protest politik into the Afropessimistic voice, one that we know disinherits those who do not immediately come to mind when we say the word 'black' (ie: Black disabled, trans, queer, and womxn bodies) and one that abandons the pursuit of humanity, in favour of unhealthy martyrdom, and recklessness.

So apart from the predictability of state-sanctioned physical violence in the form of stun grenades, teargas, rubber bullets, arrest and jail time, it is so important to understand this state provocation as incredibly strategic in the way it seeks to awaken retaliation in the same form. It begs us for physical retaliation – the kind that re-confirms Black people as bodies, the kind that forces the you can't kill us all mantra – basically the kind of protest that Black able-bodied cisheterosexual men happen to be good at leading and controlling, the kind that does not challenge structural power, but fulfils the fantasy of Fanon's 'black man' in replacing his white master. In no way does this text either oppose or propose violent protest or damage to property. Instead, it tries to understand and unpack these occurrences as themes

inherently interwoven into the repeated narrative of contemporary colonialism that is not controlled by students. In fact, we need to be very suspicious of this naturalised voice from on high that apparently 'values' university property, for it is directly through state brutality that this damage ends up occurring. And it also happens to be through this damage that the media narrative directs all its attention to Black masculinity, to the 'leaders', who are framed as fundamentally enraged and violent. It might as well be the police burning the buildings that reproduce violent epistemology, for it is only the historically colonialist voice that is strengthened by these happenings.

Perhaps what this text is trying to do is examine how it is that protest action is always steered in the same direction, why it is that imagery of 1976 and 2016 look eerily similar, and perhaps suggest that if our protest is consistently this vulnerable to re-direction into battles with private security, police, and university management systems, then they will always win. The truth is that they have been preparing for this since 1652, and likely with more vigour since 1994 because of course, it has always only been a matter of time that the violence of the rainbows would stay silent.

Gamedze: It is in the dead-end of the dialectic of resistance and repression that our imagination finds itself shutdown. In the struggle for the university and the focus on shutting it down, there is a danger in forgetting that we are not fighting for a claim to the university in its current form.

gamEdze: What the forces of repression never accounted for is the radical nature of Black feminism, a voice that speaks for inclusive protest, for more creative forms of protest, more humanising forms of protest, more protective forms of protest, and more healing forms of protest.

Gamedze: This is the voice that says: "We are fighting for a different type of relationship between education, knowledge and society. Between the university and the people." In this movement toward a different university we need to start asking: in the future and in the present, where might this different university be located both geographically and intellectually? What might the role of the bourgeois universities be in the revolutionary movement toward a people's education (if indeed they even have a role)?

So as we continue to shut down the university, let us continue to question and imagine beyond it and also remember that our fight is not merely for it but for a radically different society and a fundamentally different type of education.

gamEdze: For when we look at the current modes of protest, it is necessary to recognise that colonialists have long been playing with Black masculinity, with 'leadership', and they know very well how to beat these men, especially when they have had no sleep, when they are prepared to die each day, and devastatingly they do, but while continuing to abuse 'their womxn'. The state has created these 'soldiers' because they know how to put them in a corner, and they know how to traumatise them. They know how to lead them. They have more guns, they own the prisons, they do not have to adhere to the law – they do not have to be creative in order to win.

Gamedze: In the current moment where the status quo is armed and on the offensive, where, our task is seemingly insurmountable and equally urgent, are there ways we can protest where we both take care of ourselves and deny the status quo the conditions where we can be remade as black the negative?

PS – The future of the university is not (at) the university...

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STUDENT MOVEMENT/S IN INDIA IN THE ERA OF FASCISM



SUMATI

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY (INDIA)

The past year has seen a positive upsurge among students in India. Springing from largely tragic and disturbing developments, students have fought with great energy and motivation against a vicious crackdown. It was after the gap of at least four decades that university students had seen the semblance of a national-level movement of sorts, and the students' movement/s had been placed at the centre of mainstream discourse as a danger to the established order, by those who run the mainstream in the country. In the late 1960s and 1970s, after the myth of freedom from colonial rule was gradually broken, students joined the revolutionary left movement in large numbers, leaving the comforts of the universities to stand with the peasantry in the countryside against feudal and imperialist oppression. The rulers marked the students out and killed them brutally. Now, after the tumultuous years of 1970s, students are being marked out again for the radical political beliefs and actions and branded as 'anti-national', threats to public order and to the nation.

The crackdown on students has been constant and unrelenting, ever since the government under Narendra Modi led Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) as formed by May 2014. This does not imply that previous regimes never attacked students. Far from it. It only means that there is a sharp difference in the nature of these attacks—they are now very planned and orchestrated, intended to implement a vision of fascistic cultural nationalism and targeted towards specific political ideologies which challenge that vision. The force behind the present government is the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), which is a hindu right-wing organization, openly taking inspiration from Nazis and Fascists on Europe.

The organization claims to be the largest voluntary organization in the world, imparts quasi-military training to its volunteers to develop discipline and physical strength—all for the creation of a Hindu Rashtra, a Hindu Nation. They are filled with poisonous and violent hatred for Indian Muslims and Christians, who their founding ideologues referred to as foreigners who must either adopt, revere and glorify 'Hindu culture, religion and race' or stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation. This Hindu Rashtra is based entirely on the cultural notions of the upper caste brahmins who founded and continue to dominate the Sangh. Muslims, Christians and Communists were termed as the enemies of this nation. The RSS has asserted influence on most of the ruling parties in India since 1947, but this has been their biggest opportunity so far for exerting direct political control, and to practically run the country's administration, change its education policies (manipulating text books being their favoured method of cultural propaganda) and influence every policy and step by the government. The RSS and its ideological brothers have been responsible since their founding in 1925 for large-scale communal violence in India against Muslims, Christians, Adivasi (indigenous peoples) and Dalits, notably Gujarat pogroms of 2002, the agitation leading to demolition of the Babri masjid and ensuing Hindu-Muslim violence in 1992, and thus the murder of many thousands of people belonging to culturally oppressed communities.

That agenda continues now openly through the ban on beef, imposition of hindu fascist slogans on minorities and leftists, the massive repression of the people's movement in Kashmir for self-determination and many other methods. The agenda of annihilating religious and cultural minorities; of appropriating within the 'Hindu' fold the anti-brahmanical/anti-hindutva agenda of the dalit groups, and an overall targeting of communists—has been woven into a discourse on national/anti-national. Today it works as their easiest and most effective tool as they have been able to successfully take this agenda to the grassroots and incite violent emotions among the masses towards the 'anti-nationals'.

The current ruling party in India has openly stated that it opposes students' politics. It has made statements to the effect that "students must stick to studying, and stay away from politics". No matter that the ruling party has its own students' political organization,

called ABVP, which indulges in its brand of violent, goon-ish, repressive politics across several universities with full impunity from the police and government. This opposition to students' politics didn't come up suddenly with the BJP-RSS alone. It has been there even with the supposedly liberal Congress party which ruled India for several decades. The truth is that any ruling dispensation, in possibly every country, is not opposed to students' politics per se, but only that kind of students' politics which challenges the status quo of exploitation, casteist oppression, and surrender to imperialist and corporate control of our resources, including education. Indeed, the main reason behind previous governments' trying to surreptitiously ban politics in universities is to be able to carry forward the agenda of privatization of higher education in India without any opposition.

The two major nerve-centers for large-scale student mobilizations over the past year have been Hyderabad Central University and Jawaharlal Nehru University. In Hyderabad Central University, 5 Dalit students were punished in December 2015 for their political activities, which included opposing the anti-Dalit and anti-minority policies and opposing capital punishment. BJP leaders, ministers and RSS put pressure on the university administration to punish what they called 'anti-national activities'. As the university got together to agitate against this move, one of the Dalit students, Rohith Vemula, committed suicide. All of us regard it as a murder by the casteist and brahmanical structure which alienates and oppresses students from already oppressed and marginalized communities. Several Dalit students have been forced to commit suicide in the same university over the years, and in many other elite educational institutions across India. The brahmanical structures kept the oppressed communities out of the education system for centuries, and now when they enter it, they continue to face discrimination at many levels, even if in subtle ways.

The death of Rohith Vemula triggered emotions and anger at an unprecedented level among students and other sections, and galvanized protests all over India, from the big universities to colleges and neighbourhoods in small-towns. It was a disturbing period – one which forced many of us to question our own relative privileges and positions within the system which we seek to oppose. Students were brutally caned, water-cannoned by the shameless police and administration, for asking for justice for Rohith and an end of the brahmanical system. But the movement was gaining more and more strength in the face repression and it continued to spread. The BJP government's anti-Dalit and anti-democratic core had been thoroughly exposed at the national level, and as they got cornered from all sides, they planned an attack on JNU to divert attention from its crimes. In February 2016, a small programme in JNU opposing the unfair hanging Afzal Guru was branded as an 'anti-national activity'. Afzal Guru was a Kashmiri man who had been convicted for his alleged role in the attack on Indian parliament, and hanged on February 9, 2013. The trial was largely perceived to be unfair, and many people had been vocally and continuously opposing the injustice. But this year, the protest was used by the ruling party to further its agenda. A pack of lies was manufactured to whip up emotions among people, and the facts were distorted to portray the students involved in the programmes as well as of the entire university as "enemies of the nation", out to destroy and break down the country with support from the eternal enemy nation of Pakistan.

Charges of sedition were put on the students. Sedition is a colonial-era law that seeks to punish any act, word, or thought that is against the government. The distinction between anti-government and anti-nation/country/people was lost in the loud and mad din of bloodthirsty patriotism. The students were hounded, put behind bars amidst calls for their public hanging and deportation to Pakistan.

Both these struggles continue. The last few months of unprecedented crackdown have seen an unprecedented

level of churning among the students and youth, a coming together of various struggles and beliefs, an attempt to forge a united fight against a fascistic regime in an increasingly polarized society. Many of our weaknesses have also been exposed. The crackdown in JNU started because of the assertion of the Kashmir issue by students, an opposition to the illegal occupation of Kashmir by India. But most students, including the more mainstream and populist left groups, chose to maintain a calculated silence on Kashmir. While the past 2 months have seen immense brutality in Kashmir with the state killing at least a 100 civilians and injuring and blinding many thousands with their weapons, Indian liberals and many leftists have chosen to keep quiet. The silence is deafening and exposes the limits of their politics which sits within the terms set by the fascist Hindu state.

Secondly, the limits of student politics itself have come to the fore. The movement in JNU was centred around slogans of 'save JNU, save democracy', about protecting the democratic ethos of JNU. That raises very disconcerting questions about what exactly we are trying to save. A democratic island of a university in an undemocratic society? Can a university stay isolated when the society is under attack from and being overtaken by fascist forces? Should not the role of a progressive and revolutionary student's movement be to spread out to the larger society with its democratic ethos (which it claims to uphold)? We also need to challenge the comfortable notion that universities are by default spaces of freedom and equality. That simply cannot be, except in a relative sense, in a society marked by deep and historical inequalities, patriarchal, casteist, class-based and communal oppression and exploitation.

USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

Caste refers to the form of social stratification among Hindus, where the society was divided into different groups/castes (broadly four). Each caste maintains its position through intermarriage and occupations that are passed on generationally. The caste system is a hierarchy. Castes at the top are given status, power and respect, while castes at the bottom are generally powerless and oppressed.

Casteist is a term for those who discriminate against people on the basis of their caste position, and also hold a belief in the caste hierarchy as the natural way to organize society; see also Brahmanical.

Brahmins are the caste that were kept at the top of the hierarchy within Hinduism. They were traditionally the priestly class, who didn't have to do any manual labour because of their 'purity' and ritual status. Brahmanical/Brahmanism is the belief that the rest of society should continue to be dominated by the upper castes; see also casteist.

Dalit literally means 'broken people' and it refers, today, to the community that used to be called the 'untouchable caste'. People in this caste do forms of labour that was considered to be 'impure' and 'menial' such as tanning, scavenging, cleaning of human waste and animal carcasses. Dalits were outside the caste system and they form the most oppressed community in India. Dalit is a political term the community uses to name itself, as opposed to 'untouchable'.

Hindutva literally means 'Hinduness' but it is a fascist ideology drawing from Nazism, which attempts to make Hinduism and Hindus dominate in India. It believes in suppressing the culture, existence and rights of the other religions and cultural systems. It has aggressive, masculinist ideas about nation and Hindu religion. The current ruling party in India, the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP), draws from this ideology.

STUDENT PROTESTS IN A U.S. COLONY:

The case of the University of Puerto Rico



From top to bottom: Moments from the "Stand with JNU" Movement. Image Credit: Sumati

The universities are bound to reflect those structures and ideologies, and in many ways are spaces of privilege. Students who believe in radical politics need to go out of relative comfort of the university spaces and become part of organizing and struggles of the larger section masses, who live in less than a human wage, under the daily terror of imperialism, capitalist loot, fascistic cultural intimidation, casteist indignation and patriarchy.

The student's movement in India has achieved a positive impetus in the last year. But in order to be truly transformatory, it must push its boundaries and break the walls of the university.



ABNER YARIB
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

To understand the students' protests at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) one must understand the longstanding colonial condition of this Caribbean society. Like the rest of the Antilles, Puerto Rico's history is marked by a colonial struggle where the world powers used the land and the people to advance their geopolitical dominance. Puerto Rico has been a colony since the Spanish Empire invaded the Caribbean and destroyed the Taino societies. For 400 years it was a colony of Spain who used it as a military platform to expand and defend its richer colonial possessions. When the Taino population decreased abysmally the Spanish brought thousands of black slaves from West Africa. Thus, Puerto Rico has a deep African heritage that is often neglected because of racist prejudices.

In 1898 the United States, then a young republic rising as a new imperialist power, took the archipelago as a spoil of the Spanish-American War. From that moment to the present Puerto Rico has been defined as a subordinate for US expansion, first in agriculture, later in industry and commerce. Since 1952, the US Congress gave the country more autonomy under the so called *Estado Libre Asociado* (ELA, usually mistranslated Commonwealth, literally Associated Free State). 500 years of colonialism, 100 years under Washington's yoke. We must start from that premise; the Puerto Rican archipelago is a capitalist colony at the service of US interests.

The UPR is a public university system with eleven campuses around the country. It has transformed in the course of a century, often in direct relationship to the changing colonial condition outlined above. First, it was a center to train teachers. Then, it expanded massively to educate the workers and the administrators of an industrial society. Finally, it has change to fulfill the requirements of a neoliberal order. The once agrarian society based on single crop farming (sugar, coffee, tobacco) became an urban and industrial society in just two decades. Industrialization and the expansion of commerce meant that the system needed qualified workers for a market dominated by US corporations. New campuses kept opening to meet this demand. However, the introduction of neoliberal policies in the last decades slowed the university expansion even reversed it. The more the public university system shrinks, the more private institutions grow.

Neoliberalism has brought to the forefront the problems of privatizations and accessibility. These policies aim to reduce the size of the government and cut social benefits to maximize private profits. Under neoliberalism, even education needs to fit within the logics of the market. Like all public institutions, programs and whole faculties of the UPR have been slowly abandoned or directly attacked for the benefit of private profit. Neoliberalism has also raised the enrollment costs since 1981, when a tuition hike sparked one of the longest and most violent strikes in the university history.

With the new cycle of world capitalism that started with the Wall Street crisis of 2007-2008, Puerto Rico found itself facing an economic recession, a highly corrupted dominant class and a continuously narrowing of alternatives to get out of the crisis because of its colonial status. Law 7, an aggressive act approved in 2009, declared a fiscal emergency, marking the prelude of a new neoliberal offensive. It initiated the firing of thousands of public employees and the long conflict in the UPR, supposedly to safe Puerto Rico's credit. The state's aim was clear from the beginning, reduce the size of the university and confront the militant opposition of the students.

The social anger that existed against the government and the relentless attack on the public sector led to the rise and explosion of the movement. Students occupied ten of the eleven campuses for almost two months in the summer of 2010. Their second strike months later prompted police intervention and militarization of the Rio

Piedras campus in the winter following. In the first case, the sparked was the university administration's attempt to eliminate double-eligibility tuition exemptions for honor students and athletes. In the second case, they imposed a significant tuition hike by brute force. All these attacks responded to the same neoliberal philosophy, cut students benefits, reduce the size of the UPR.

As the student movement developed its demands and political positions, it grew. It went from the defense of tuition exemptions to the defense of public education. That was a significant discursive breakthrough because hundreds of students started to question not just some small policy decision by the institutional bureaucracy, but the whole university model. In the end, it was a battle between two conceptions of higher education: one hierarchical and highly centralized organization that views education as a commodity subordinated to the market, and another who thinks decisions should be made in a democratically way with the participation of students, professors and workers and views education as a right.

The protests of 2010-2011 gave birth to a new generation of student activists that has kept organizing both inside and outside of the university. Outside of UPR, lots of students who participated in the strikes -or were influenced by it- are now community organizers, social workers, teachers, agroecological farmers, lawyers, artists, etc. with a radical social and political interpretations of their country's contemporary situation. For them, the question is how to construct a popular movement that confronts the austerity measures that are bringing suffering to the people.

With the deepening of the crisis, the quality of life of the vast majority of Puerto Ricans continues to deteriorate. Recently, the focus on Puerto Rico's debt has raised again Puerto Rico's colonial relationship with Washington. The state's debt has been used as a justification to cut social services, fire public workers, close schools, raise taxes and freeze collective agreements with unions. UPR hasn't escaped the onslaught. It has become clear that for the dominant class paying the debt is more important than the well-being of the people. In particular, our colonial status has been reinforced with the approbation of PROMESA (Puerto Rico Oversight, Management and Economic Stability Act) by the US Congress. It's a Fiscal Board selected by the US government with dictatorial powers that practically nullifies the constitution of ELA, the constitutional order that has reigned in the last sixty years. Its objective is to make sure the country pays its debt whatever the social costs.

It is in this context of unpayable debt and Fiscal Board that the student movement persevere. With its ups and downs students continue to denounce all attempts by the state to cut the financial resources of the public university system and to raise the costs of enrollment. The accessibility problem keeps resounding. The context of austerity has emboldened the movement. Nearly every semester there has been manifestations or even one or two day strikes. In 2016, the movement reach its highest peak since the strikes of 2010-2011. Thousands gathered in general assembly to discuss the political situation and take action. The students questioned the legitimacy of the constitution, particularly Article X that states that in times of crisis Puerto Rico's government must first pay its debts and only then secure social services. In five years, the movement went from confronting the intentions of the UPR administration to criticizing the constitution.

Social and political crisis demand radical answers. With an openly racist Trump presidency and a Fiscal Board set to impose more austerity measures, the future looks bleak. But the student movement is reorganizing itself. UPR is going to be sacked again and students will have to defend the valuable high education public system that the country has. For the sake of the continuity and empowerment of the movement some questions must be answered. What kind of university we want? How can the public university contribute more to construct a just Puerto Rican society? How can we make UPR more accessible? How the student movement can ally with other movements to resist the policies of the dominant class and to create real social and political alternatives? To construct a radical political alternative we must answer those questions and build a solid coalition between movements, especially with the militant student movement of the UPR.

THE “REVOLUTIONARY CORE”

and the revival of radical student activism on the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein Campus: An histo-political analysis



TREVOR SHAKU

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE

INTRODUCTION

The University of the Free State saw a wave of protest during the #FeesMustFall (FMF) National Shutdown Campaign in October 2015. Since that protest, the institution experienced four protest actions on the Bloemfontein Campus, and one wave on the Qwaqwa campus. This caused many observers to attribute the vibrant political space entirely to the FMF. Whilst FMF contributed to the rejuvenation of the student activism, it was not the only factor. The FMF was not an isolated event that revived the political vibrancy and student activism on the UFS Bloemfontein campus. It was preceded by several events; including a protest and the role of the activists. This essay aims to narrate the revival of the radical student activism at the UFS prior the FMF and highlight the role players in this period.

BACKGROUND

Since the South African Student Congress (SASCO) and the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) led protest to remove the vice-chancellor of the UFS, Prof Jonathan Jansen, in August 2011, the institution experienced relative calm onwards. This period extended from the last term of 2011 until the second term of 2015.

This relatively calm period was characterised by the student organizations and activists attempting to fight for the changing of the SRC election procedures, which were affected by the ultra-liberal measures brought by the institution's management in 2010–2011 on the Bloemfontein campus. The university management had introduced a new SRC constitution in June 2011, which subjected candidates for the SRC portfolios to a selection process of the institution's IEB (Independent Electoral Board) not the student organizations the candidates were belonging to. The new SRC constitution on the Bloemfontein campus had further excluded student political structures from contesting the elections. This became a focal point as student activists attempted to rejuvenate the political space.

The attempt amongst student activists to reorganize themselves never died amidst the ultra-liberal attempts which had aimed at extinguishing radical and militant student activism. In March 2012, the Young Communist League (YCL) organized a protest to “fight against deregistration of provisionally registered students”; “for the council of the university to be dissolved”; “the rector to resign” and the “SRC to be dissolved”. This march was attended by an extreme margin of our student population. The low attendance of the protest could be attributed to leadership factions which resulted in other student leaders deliberately de-campaigning the protest.

In January–February 2013, the Concerned Student Committee (CSC), comprised of members from Pan Africanist Movement of Azania (PASMA), YCL and other non-aligned students was formed to organize and agitate students towards fighting academic and financial exclusions. There was no protest that happened during this period; the committee only arranged meetings with the UFS administration and management in resolving the issue. Like any issue-based initiative, the committee lapsed into the ashes of history when the registration and de-registration process ended.

In February 2014, Muzi Gwebu was run over with vehicle driven by two white students. Understood as racism, the incident not only outraged the student community, but the nation as well. The response from students was a “Silent March” organised by the SRC on the Bloemfontein campus. The silent march was a waste of a favourable moment — a moment that could have been seized and utilized to politically activate the Bloemfontein campus and rescue it from the deepening student political apathy, a phenomenon which was becoming very much a reality then.

REVOLUTIONARY CORE

The rigid political partisanship had fragmented the student movement and consequently that had stifled political collaboration amongst student organizations. The need to overcome this barrier saw the Socialist Student Front (SSF) formed during the first semester of 2015. It was formed as a centre and backbone of radical and militant student politics. Hence its reference as a “Revolutionary Core”. It comprised of the Socialist Youth Movement (SYM), PASMA and Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC). The front was conceived purely for revolutionary intentions — both in relation to organizational, and political activities.

Organizationally, the three organizations had weak quantitative muscle. They had a small membership. Beyond this fact, the active members in these organizations were even a handful. Therefore collaboration of these organizations and particularly their active members was of utmost importance to not only augment their confidence, but widen their political impact than they would when they were fragmented.

Political factors varied. Firstly, SASCO was unlike its former. Its unbroken election victory in Qwaqwa Campus and the election victory it secured from 2013/2014 onwards on the Bloemfontein Campus made it less useful in the struggle to rejuvenate the student politics. Filled with careerist opportunists, it concerned itself and prioritised populistically the appointments of administration and management staff, rather than educating the student mass and activating the politically apathetic spaces we had. This reduced it to a centre of rumour-mongers engaged in the activity of slandering UFS staff that its leaders disliked. The front therefore came into being to fill this political vacuum on the Bloemfontein Campus — to educate and agitate the student mass and lead them into a protracted confrontation with the government and university structures.

The second major political factor was lack of content in the limited student spaces we had. This had been caused by mediocre of supposedly “radical” leaderships which succeeded one after the other in the SASCO. The rumour-mongering and slandering had not become their only trait, but a reduction of the structural questions to universities — reducing the wider societal problems to the microcosm, blaming the problems of funding on the vice-chancellors, etc. This narrowness and shallowness vulgarized the already apathetic spaces; with anyone gaining radical label by shouting “Jansen is dangerous” or “UFS is an apartheid institution”, despite little content that followed this rhetoric. This vacuum created by lack of militant content-filled cadreship on the Bloemfontein Campus contributed to the situation that saw the birth of the SSF. The intention was to create a cadre who beyond confidence, was armed with superior logic, not just empty populist rhetoric.

The creation of a “content-filled” and “confident” comrade was not enough for the SSF. The revolutionary factor was highly significant. The confidence and content are supposed to be complemented by revolutionary tools of analysis i.e. to understand the student struggles as not isolated university events, but part of the broader

historical struggle. This revolutionary understanding would assist students to harness tides of struggle and be combative armed with a wider view and a higher synthesis. Such lessons were coming from the “Silent March”, that, revolutionaries must prepare for moments of struggle which are inevitable in the course of history due to unceasing socio-economic and political contradictions. When those moments arise they must be harnessed and utilized in the best possible ways.

‘STEVE HOFMEYER PICKET’

To attract students broadly, the “revolutionary core” changed its name to the Progressive Student Collective (PSC). From then henceforth it was referred to as the PSC. Understanding that rejuvenating the student political spaces will not be confined to meetings, no matter how progressive they may be, the PSC seized the first opportunity of protest that came its way. Steve Hofmeyer, a self-pronounced white-supremacist, was coming to perform at the Dutch Reformed Church located in the same yard with the Bloemfontein Campus of UFS on the 18th of September 2016. The PSC held a picket at the south gate of the church. All students were invited, including SASCO.

Though the picket was attended by a small proportion of students, it had two profound effects. The first was to boost the confidence and morale of those in attendance, to understand that no matter how tiny the group is, the struggle goes on. The second was to raise a public profile of the PSC, and make it known to students broadly. This protest was a start of reorganization on a campus-wide scale and the start of a militant program that continues hitherto. It can be strongly argued this is the protest that saw the revival of the militant student activism.

FMF AND THAKANENG FOOD PRICE BOYCOTT

Immediately after the Steve Hofmeyer Picket, the PSC went to the drawing board and planned further confrontations. The confrontation identified was to fight against expensive food and book prices on the Thakaneng Bridge, targeting the two weeks that followed the protest. The exorbitant prices on food and books had made this campus retail sector as a potential site of struggle.

During the same period, the October 6th Movement campaign was developing in Wits University. The development of the October 6th Movement indirectly prompted us to discuss the plight of the outsourced workers at UFS, though on a limited scale. However limited, this was to set tones for future struggle for insourcing struggle at the UFS.

After the spring recess, the rise of the FMF coincided with the plans of PSC and caused for postponement of the Food Price Boycott campaign. The mighty FMF, carried by our PSC and other interest groups such as SASCO on the Bloemfontein Campus, began on the 20th of October 2016. The masses of students joined until the 23rd of October when Jacob Zuma announced that there would not be any increase for 2016. Students, led by SASCO resorted to host a party at Rag Farm UFS in celebration of the achievement. The leaders of the PSC warned in their writings that the 0% was just a condition in our favour, and that the real struggle that awaits us is towards free education.

Two weeks after the government's concession on the zero per cent increment, the revolutionary core took on the task of organizing the outsourced workers and leading them to fight chiefly for insourcing and a decent wage. On the 10th November 2015, under the name Workers and Students Forum (WSF), the revolutionary core led the march which won a commitment to insourcing and R5 000 minimum wage for outsourced workers. On the last week of November 2015, the WSF forced the Fidelity Group to pay the money it had deducted from its security workers on the Bloemfontein Campus through a mixture of sit-in and stay away protest that lasted for two days.

CONCLUSION

The contribution of the revolutionary core continued into 2016 when it led a historic protest of students and workers on the Bloemfontein Campus. Its contribution should not be dashed in the rubbish bins of history in favour of pop-stars who parrot as student activists and populist adventurists. Indeed, the role of the revolutionary core cannot go through the annals of history unnoticed. Long Live WSF! Long Live Revolutionary Core!



USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

Histo-political: A historical narration that is not aloof of political analysis; detailing the motives, plans and influences of the historical players and historical events.

SASCO: SASCO is a political student organization that organizes students in all sectors of higher education and is politically aligned to the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA), a youth alliance aligned to the political ruling alliance in South Africa – Tripartite Alliance.

ANCYL: ANCYL is the youth wing of the ruling party - African National Congress (ANC). It is part of PYA and also organizes students and workers in institutions of higher learning in South Africa.

Ultra-liberal: Someone or something who/that are liberal to the extreme i.e. someone or something who/that believe true equality and liberty can be achieved under market and monopoly capitalism, and opposed to radicalism and militant means to achieve needs and demands, equality and freedoms. In the case of our context, it refers to measures that make it difficult for radical and militant activities to take shape and gain ground

Radical: Someone or an idea that recognises the contradictions of the current political and economic system and believe equality and freedoms of people cannot be achieved fully until the entire system and its socially corresponding regime are abolished. In our context, the act of rebelling the institutional culture (social and juridical) and the structure that lies at the foundation of the juridical and social culture.

Militant: Someone who is not only radical, but agitate and use confrontational, even if it means violent, methods to fight for a political or social course – usually against the status quo.

De-campaigning: The act of engaging in a process of demobilising and frustrating political developments assisted/led by other (student) leaders, with the aim of making those (students) leaders unpopular and their course to fail.

PASMA: A student organization embracing the ideology of Pan-Africanism, and politically aligned to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa (Azania). It organizes in all sectors of higher education.

Non-aligned: Students who are particularly not aligned to any (student) political organization

Agitate: To work towards a protest or an insurrection, armed or not i.e. mobilize students and ready them for a fight.

Issue-based initiative: In the realm of social and political struggles, an issue-based initiative is the campaign that is built around a particular issue that arises suddenly, randomly and/or occasionally.

Silent march: A march which does not include any “noise-making” – that is not involving singing. This type of march was organized at UFS in 2014 and we were told that we can't sing or chant because it is a “silent” march.

Rigid political partisanship: It is political partisanship which comprise of no compromises in relation to political alliances or relationship. It includes one organization refusing to partner around a common issue on the basis of a fundamental ideological difference or conviction.

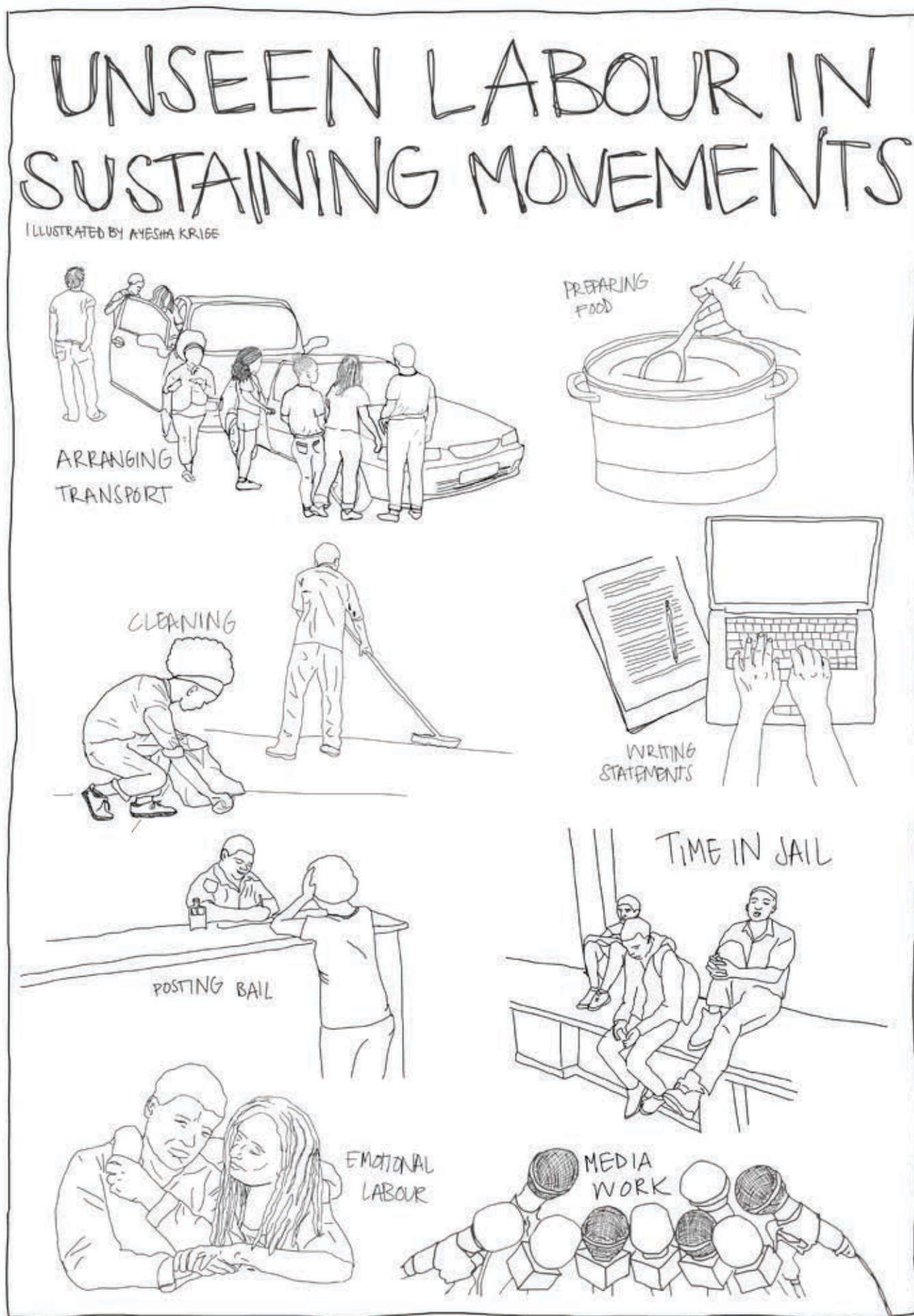
Political collaboration: It is a collaboration of different political formations over a particular issue

SSC: SSC is a student political front that was formed by SYM, PASMA and EFFSC at UFS in 2015. Its purpose was to organize and agitate amongst students to fight institutional culture, the political superstructure and the economic structure that is responsible for the austerities on education and other social welfare programs. Foremost, to raise a cadre armed with tools and content.

EFFSC: EFFSC is a student political wing of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). It organizes in all sectors of the higher education.

SYM: SYM is a student political wing of the Workers and Socialist Party (WASP). It organizes in all sectors of the higher education.

Revolutionary intentions: To organize students with the intent of arming them with a revolutionary theory and proceed to tackle the economic structure, and its juridical and political superstructures, and the institutional make-up that flows from it.



Careerist opportunist: Those political or social activists who see the political or social activism as well for leadership credentials and a ladder to prominent employment position in government or elsewhere in society

Populist(ically): Raising a message or issue in a popular spinning manner such that it appeals to the target audience, even if you do not mean or genuinely express that message or issue.

Politically apathetic spaces: Spaces which lack interest or do not generate traction in relation to political activities. In our context, it means students finding no interest in direct political activities, particularly those involving radical activism.

Protracted confrontation: Confrontation that may last long if need and remain persistent in its call.

Mediocre of supposedly “radical”: Those student leaders who were/are deemed radical, but on the contrary are hollow rhetoric ridden fellows, whose political manoeuvring depends on their phrase mongering of revolutionary quotes and slogans

Rumour-mongering: Resorting to officialise rumours in political rhetoric.

Slandering: Rely on damaging, often far-fetched, statements as a mainline strategy of political manoeuvring.

Radical content-filled cadreship: The comrades who are not only capable of battling and clashing, even if it means violently, with the state apparatus, but are also capable of articulating superior logic.

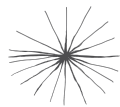
Superior logic: Logic whose diagnosis and praxis in explaining economic and social phenomenon and historical development is precise and meticulous.

Empty populist rhetoric: A rhetoric that resembles hollow understanding of things spoken of, but seeks to cheer or lodge for cheers, quite often, among the masses

Populist adventurism: The political act whose intentions is to experience, the quotes and slogans rather than ideas, whilst at the same time gunning for fame.

TRANS CAPTURE STATUS

UCT TRANS COLLECTIVE
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



'Tokenistic, objectifying, voyeuristic inclusion is at least as disempowering as complete exclusion'

Kimberle Crenshaw captures the motivation for the UCT Trans Collective's disruptive intervention at the Rhodes Must Fall movement's one year anniversary exhibition most eloquently.

For the Trans Collective, the commemorations that are happening at this time invite us to reflect on both the decolonial year that has been and the years that are to come. In our reflection we have found that as black, poor, queer, womxn and non-binary trans people our position in the decolonial theory and practice is unchanged.

It was as early as April 2015, just a month after the inception of RMF, that what is now known as the Trans Collective flagged the issue of a rigid loyalty to patriarchy, cisnormativity, heteronormativity and the gender binary within the space. In our founding statement we made it clear that 'we recognise that colonization has had a severe impact on how we perceive gender and gender expression and thus we are reclaiming our space in the globalised decolonisation movement and calling for our narrative to be instructive going forward'. However, we had been coerced to construct a smaller decolonial enclave that would run parallel to RMF because of what had become apparent as a gulf in consciousness of many, particularly black cis het men, organisers where the understanding of the colony and how it operates did not connect with an understanding of patriarchy, heteronormativity and gender essentialism as colonially demarcated powers. Often times, there was an outright refusal to acknowledge that the condition of being a womxn, queer, trans, disabled and so forth is not incidental to blackness but that these conditions are collateral to blackness. So suffocating is this, that we have had to submarine from active membership. We refuse to avail our bodies and psyches for

the violence that has infiltrated the decolonial project through patriarchy, cisnormativity, heteronormativity and the gender binary. Our role has now evolved into speaking back to RMF and keeping it accountable to its commitment to

intersectionality precisely because it is positioned as a black decolonial space. We are black, queer and trans simultaneously. These are not severable and we deserve to be freed from their colonial baggage simultaneously too.

Following a year of literally wrestling with patriarchy and trans antagonism in the shadows of running from stun grenades, tear gas, jail cells and private security, the Trans Collective has decided to give content to what has been popularly known as 'radical black feminist militancy'.

On the occasion of the well-attended RMF exhibition, RMF aligned trans people once again put themselves on the line by physically disrupting the cis hetero patriarchy within the movement generally and the erasure and tokenism in the exhibition particularly.

First, the Trans Collective demanded that the organising committee remove all the images, videos and texts of and by trans people. As it turns out that only 3 out of more than 1000 images that ended up making it onto the exhibition roll featured a trans person's face somewhere on them. This is truly disgrace on the exhibition selection committee and particularly those 'black intersectional feminist' cis womxn who sat on it for the purpose of ensuring due representation. Even more damning is that it is clear the RMF and the exhibition's idea of intersectional representation has the faces of 4 or 5 black cis womxn repeated in a spectacular show of false inclusivity.

It is disingenuous to include trans people in a public gallery when you have made no effort to include them in the private. It is a lie to include trans people when the world is watching, but to erase and antagonise them when the world is no longer cares. We have reached the peak of our disillusionment with RMF's trans exclusion and erasure. We are done with the arrogant cis hetero patriarchy of black men. We will no longer tolerate the complicity of black cis womxn in our erasure. We are fed up with RMF being 'intersectional' being used as public persuasion rhetoric. We are saying down with faux inclusivity - RMF make it clear, to the world, that we are not welcome here. RMF will not tokenise our presence as if they ever treasured us as part of their



Image credit: Lungile Sigasa

Gender is a way of classifying people in society that assigns people roles and positions of power according to their biological sex; also see sex, gender binary, cisgender and transgender.

Sex is the biological sex; often thought of as a clear binary between male and female but this is incorrect. The sex of people's bodies exists on a spectrum including female, male and intersex; also see gender.

Gender binary/binarism is the belief that there is or can be only two genders which are separate and different from each other - man, which is expressed through masculinity and woman, which is expressed through femininity. Gender and its expression are far more fluid and there are multiple gendered identities; also see transgender and cisgender.

Patriarchy a system of values, beliefs and practices typically based on an unequal power relationship between men and women, but also refers to the domination of all people and practices that are not considered to be masculine.

Cisgender/cis refers to people whose gender identity aligns with the gender assigned to them according to their biological sex. E.g. a male who identifies as a man; also see transgender.

Cisnormativity is the assumption that all people are, or should be cisgender. E.g. all people born as females should identify as women. Cisnormativity excludes, marginalises and violently oppresses people who are not cis for not conforming to 'normal' gender identities; also see 'cisgender'.

Heteronormativity is the assumption that all people are, or should be heterosexual. E.g. all women should be sexually attracted to men.

Cis-het/cis het is someone who is both cisgendered and heterosexual and is therefore privileged by the related systems of cis- and heteronormativity; also see 'cisgender'.

Globalised explains something that has been made relevant, or can be applied worldwide. E.g. Inequality.

Colonisation refers to the process where one region invades another region to gain political control over its people, land and other resources. In the process, the invaded people's land, history and culture are stolen, erased or distorted; also see decolonisation and imperialism.

Decolonisation is the unfinished historical process that attempts to undo the negative effects of colonisation on a region's people, land and economy. It attempts to build a new society that is not economically, politically, or culturally dependent on the coloniser; also see colonisation and imperialism.

Transgender/trans refers to people whose gender identity does not align with the gender that was assigned to them according to their biological sex. Transgender identities are diverse: Some trans people identify within the binary, some trans people do not identify within the gender binary, some do not identify with any gender and others have gender identities which are fluid and which change and shift; also see gender binary and cisgender.

Trans antagonism refers to violent behaviours targeted at people who are trans for not conforming to 'normal' gender identities. Closely linked to transphobia; which is fear or hatred of people who are trans; also see cisnormativity and transgender.

Womxn is a term that removes the word 'man/men' from 'woman/women' in order to represent independence from men. The 'x' is also used to make the category more fluid and inclusive of different expressions of being women; also see patriarchy.

Imperialism is a relationship of power between two regions/countries. It is the use of violence and force by one region/country to gain control over another's resources but also has cultural aspects. Also see entry under 'colonisation'.

Ableism is prejudice and discrimination against people who are disabled. In an ableist society, like ours, non-disability is seen to be the norm and disability is viewed as a condition that needs to be medically 'fixed' rather than being accepted as part of society.

[White Supremacist] Capitalist Cisheteropatriarchy is a term coined by Black feminist bell hooks to mean an institutional construct that defines the interlocking systems of white supremacy, capitalism and cis-normative heteropatriarchy to think beyond the single lens of race, capitalism or gender in order to understand oppression as a system rather than an event; see also capitalism, cisnormativity, patriarchy, heteronormativity.

----> movement. We will not have our bodies, faces, names, and voices used as bait for public applause. We are tired of being expected to put our bodies on the line for people who refuse to do the same for us.

Secondly, in a bid to actualise our disgruntlement, a small group of us manoeuvred our way through the crowd, naked and decorated in red paint, grabbed the microphone from the cisgender man who was addressing the crowd outside. We proceeded to enter the exhibition venue and blocked all entrances with our naked and adorned bodies. One of the placards which we placed on top of our bodies read "Go on, jump over us one more time", making a reference to how trans people in RMF and other fallist movements have been walked over during the last year.

As we lay at the entrances, the crowd festivities outside were continuing. At this point, one of us rose up, interrupted the speaker, took the loudhailer and proceeded to call out the patriarchy, the trans-antagonism, sexual violence that has come to be unchecked within RMF. Furthermore we called out the fact that we have had our bodies and psyches on the line in fallist movements, but are continually erased in narratives by cisgender people. The statement ended by cautioning the attendees that anyone who would enter through the blockaded doors to see the exhibition would be stepping over trans bodies and that they would have to reconcile themselves with the implication that they valued the content of the exhibition more than the trans bodies on the floor and their plight.

We then took the continuing activities outside as an instruction to actualise the work that was being done by our bodies and blockading by communicating our erasure on the exhibition content. We replaced the images with placards which told a truer story of RMF. A story of trans erasure, trans antagonism, unabated sexual assault and complicity. We left other images with marks of red paint as a display of our presence. We may not have been included

in the exhibition role in a meaningful way, but it must be clear to all viewers of the exhibition that raging trans people had been in that space.

We must, however, state unequivocally that our disruptive intervention at the RMF exhibition should not under any circumstances be construed as a rejection of RMF or a departure away from decolonisation. We maintain that decolonisation is necessary for a reclamation of our humanity as black queer trans people. Our intervention is an act of black love. It is a commitment towards making RMF the fallist space of our dreams. It forms part of the journey towards the 'logical conclusion' of the decolonisation project. There will be no Azania if black men simply fall into the throne of the white man without any comprehensive reorganisation of power along all axis of the white supremacist, imperialist, ablist, capitalist cisheteropatriarchy. To our minds this interpretation is line with this commitments that RMF has made in its mission statement to in March 2015:

"AN INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH"

We want to state that while this movement emerged as a response to racism at UCT, we recognise that experiences of oppression on this campus are intersectional and we aim to adopt an approach that is cognisant of this going forward. An intersectional approach to our blackness takes into account that we are not only defined by our blackness, but that some of us are also defined by our gender, our sexuality, our able-bodiedness, our mental health, and our class, among other things. We all have certain oppressions and certain privileges and this must inform our organising so that we do not silence groups among us, and so that no one should have to choose between their struggles. Our movement endeavours to make this a reality in our struggle for decolonisation."

Furthermore, we want to be clear that each and everyone of the trans people who put a stop to the RMF exhibition

was entitled to. Trans people have an equal stake in the Rhodes Must Fall movement. We have contributed to building the movement from scratch and we will never hesitate to reconfigure it to be in accordance with our needs and wants as trans people and with the tenets of the decolonisation project. We are the trans people who have given Rhodes Must Fall the revolutionary language of 'womxn', 'non-binary', and 'trans*'. We are the trans people who lobbied tirelessly for the inclusion of black radical feminism as one of the three pillars of the movement, alongside Pan Afrikanism and Black Consciousness. We are the trans bodies who had invested their time conceptualising and running the Intersectionality Audit Committee. We are the trans people who spent hours at Azania enriching the movement with knowledge about the difference between sex, gender and sexual orientation, gender essentialism, intersectionality, feminism and patriarchy. We are the trans people who have time and time again allowed the violence of being probed, violated, exposed in order to grow and enrich the movement - at the expense of our psyches and bodies. We are the trans people who have spent time tolerating trans misogyny and transphobia in order to facilitate the learning and growth of individuals in the movement. We are the trans people who have put our bodies on the line for all black people at RMF, only to have to face the same oppressor, merely with a different name, alone while organizing under the banner of the Queer Revolution and the Alternative Inclusive Cape Town Pride. We are the trans people who stripped naked at Azania house with cis women when cishet men were victim blaming a rape survivor, yet were erased the next day.

We are the trans people who have loved RMF even when it did not love us.

Aluta Continua

#OUTSOURCINGMUSTFALL

A fulfilling path filled with battles and lessons



VUSI OLDMAN MAHLANGU
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

We joined our parents and travelled a very rocky path filled with rainy days, scorching sun, rubber bullets and learned very valuable lessons. The struggle for the end of outsourcing has been very fulfilling in many ways for everyone involved in it, be it workers, students and journalists who covered our protest actions. Everyone could feel that we are indeed making our contribution to the historic quest for true humanity. As much as we endured the might of the apparatus of the ruling elite in the form court interdicts, police brutality and dismissal of workers/students protesters; we always knew that ours is a noble cause and we fought on.

It will be criminal to speak about this struggle without giving due credit to the revolutionary generation of the 2015/6 student movement otherwise known as #Fallist_Movement, which led the way with their initial campaign demanding the removal of the Statue of bloody colonialist Cecil John Rhodes in the University of Cape Town in what was called #RhodesMustFall. This later sparked the nationwide protest wherein we saw the birth of identical twins named #FeesMustFall and #EndOutsourcing (also known as #OutsourcingMustFall). The twins represented a qualitative leap forward in the struggles for emancipation in this country, for their meant for the first time since the advent of neo-liberal bourgeois regime in this country we witnessed real solidarity between the students and the most vulnerable section of the workers in our universities. The intertwining of students' struggles and workers' struggles translated into real action not mere rhetoric or slogan that it was for years preceding this major breakthrough.

The struggle for the end of outsourcing is in essence the struggle against privatization of support services in our public institutions; it is war against neo-liberal onslaught unleashed against poor African working class communities. The ruling government having adopted the neo-liberal policy framework, following the treacherous sell-out settlement of early 1990s that saw the wealth of the country left in the hands of white settler colonialist community of the previous Apartheid regime, embarked on the IMF/World Bank inspired privatization program. This was in line with the ruling party's desire to build "black petty bourgeois class" from its own cadres. This led to privatization of services in our universities, colleges and other public institutions; security, catering, cleaning, transports,

Gardening and Landscaping were amongst other services that were outsourced. This gave birth to super exploitation of workers and corruption that came with lucrative tenders that were mainly given to highly connected individuals.

The emergence of the #Fallist Movement presented us with an opportunity to challenge, not only our universities but to take the fight straight to the ruling government and its capitalist masters. We, for the first time in many years, fought side by side with our parents, confronted the real enemy and learned lessons. The battle was filled with bitter sweet memories and harsh realities of betrayal by university managers and labour aristocrats in the "sweet heart" trade unions. This struggle was very historic in so many ways and it shall be remembered for the rise of consciousness amongst students and the most vulnerable yet militant sections of the workers. We made significant strides in our fight; our resilience compelled universities to make some concessions and agreed to begin the process of insourcing of workers and salary adjustments. This breakthrough though celebrated as a victory, it came on back of major sacrifices and bloodshed from both students and workers; and it brought a new set of challenges that requires our focus to avoid other betrayals by university managers and the labour aristocracy that will obviously be hell bent at trying reversing our gains.

These historic victories, though not an end on their own but means to an end, inspired outsourced workers in all other universities and colleges in the country to wage similar struggles. This in simple terms means, ALUTA CONTINUA! We still have over ten universities that are yet to sign any deal to end outsourcing and others are yet to move a single inch in the implementation of the agreements; leaving us with no option but to fight on until outsourcing is history. We emerged from this struggle with scars but more determined to continue with the battle until we put to an end to the evil of outsourcing everywhere in shows its head. We have a responsibility of connecting all live wires and build a stronger nationwide workers-students solidarity and expand beyond our comfort zones in campuses and go to all sectors and communities. Bafundi nabasebenzi manyanani! (Students and workers unite!).

MUSINGS ON BLACK FEMINIST RESISTANCE:

The quiet Revolution within a Hetero- Sexist Patriarchal #FeesMustFall

To set the tone for this piece, allow me to share an extract from a poem that is as inspired as it is inspiring as it is inspired, although perhaps slightly out of context for my interpretation thereof. Nonetheless, here we are so here goes:

**The revolution will not be televised, will not be televised,
Will not be televised, will not be televised
The revolution will not be re-run brothers,
The revolution will be live.**

Gill Scott-Heron

The unscripted, messy and complicated revolution. The one that gets little to no airtime. The ongoing revolution. The quiet revolution; this is where it begins for me. This is how we ensure it never ends.

I know that I am not going completely off the rails in saying this because this is the kind of revolution that they will never tell you about. They would rather talk over you boldly and with just enough effort to bully you into insufferable silence. Your insistence to hold on to your will to live, to want to live becomes how you learn to fight like hell to bring yourself back from the dead. Over and over again.

You will fight like hell to insist that you and those who like you matter, only you fight once again to your death why once more, the lives of those who like you, like them, matter; the 'Others'. Those who do not quite fit the final cut in our 'collective' imagination. Collective. I have a complicated relationship with this word for reasons which will follow shortly. It is not difficult to read how literally being made to die (and I don't mean this only figuratively) at the hands of those whom you want so desperately to love is a form of betrayal and furthermore, how this betrayal is traumatic. How do you stand a chance to recover from said trauma when its source is as relentless as it is unrepentant? I can only be as intentional about my healing as my environment allows, and I have come to be painfully aware that it doesn't. It doesn't even care to.

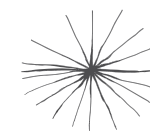
The revolution instead, would rather focus its efforts on headlines and soundbites. The kind which are apparently the only qualifier for mobilizing the 'masses'. You quickly learn that the ways in which that word, 'masses' finds expression is predicated on your exclusion. The 'collective' imagination cannot imagine you into its existence. For the Revolution's convenience, it is simply used to manipulate you into doing the work to sustain the ambitions of ideas of how to facilitate a Life for itself. The revolution has no room for you outside of the ways in which you are useful to its own cause. The revolution will be purified at your expense. You are an inconvenience to the Revolution, an irritation, the first to be offered as a sacrifice to be read as a 'casualty in war.' This is the work of the televised Revolution. The first in the air Revolution. The Revolution where alleged Black love and solidarity is instrumental, first and foremost. The Revolution that defines for itself what is 'urgent.' While your resistance will serve as a reminder that the quiet revolution is itself important work, the Revolution will remind you that this work, this important work is not urgent.

You will quietly go about pursuing community as you always have, as you always wish to and pushing back against the backdrop of the re-runs of Big Revolutionary Men talking about and over you. Theorizing over you into oblivion so that the headlines don't sound so tired; at the very least they must work to even remind you why the work is as urgent as it always is. In all of this however, the quiet revolution, as imperfect as it also is will serve to keep you holding on to the hope that there has to be more to liberation work than this. Keep you clinging desperately on to the knowledge that the revolution is about you too. It will keep you believing with deep seated conviction that liberation can never co-exist with fear and domination. And in believing this, you will quietly remind yourself that even in Revolutionary spaces, violence, underwritten by domination can and does recycle itself. And even just because of this, you are reminded why the work of the quiet revolution is as urgent as it is also important.

The function of power in part serves to maintain order and this order is only sanctioned through and because of domination and control. The premise of an 'ordered' society is exactly this; we are ordered because we are coerced into being controlled. White supremacist power maintains itself. So sophisticated an institution of violence, it has been able to replicate itself as patriarchal domination, as capital, as heteronormativity and so on. If this sophistication of power breeds domination, and this domination takes root as violence it follows that there can be no hope for a future outside of the serious interrogation of all institutions and systems of power. Resisting against systems of domination works against power. The work towards the post-revolutionary world should not only imagine all of us in it, but want us in it. And wanting us in it means a communal investment in ensuring that that world will be safe for all of us, and not just some of us. This is in fact, the first revolution - what is urgent must also be what is important. This is how we will get free. The quiet revolution, which expressed itself as fierce Black feminist resistance in the #FeesMustFall space facilitated this for those of us who are in the 'margins within the margins.' It was Black feminist work that enabled us to insist that there can be no 'mass' no 'collective' that leaves so many behind only because this complicates the ways in which the Revolution imagines and thinks of its role to be. To insist that our contributions, our work, our life, our love is urgent and important. And isn't this a life affirming truth to be able to come back to?

Even when I am met with contempt by hateful men who make egregious demands for my queer as Black 'solidarity' because it is convenient, and this hatefulness is reduced to 'Black Man's Anxiety' (this is a real thing) with little interrogation. Even when the existence of so called Revolutionary spaces are not exempt from being a site of sexual violence. Even when we build movements with people whom we fear and this fear quiet literally threatens our collective wellness. Even when we die multiple deaths; Black feminist resistance still brings me back to a place of hope where I am able to will myself back to life in service of a world beyond this one. The quiet revolution has kept me wanting to seek community with people who look like me, even if their Revolution would rather have me dead.

I want for the Revolution to be interested in taking the cue from me with regards to how I consent to live out my freedom. I want to be interested to learn from the Revolution at those intersections where I don't share certain experiences. I want the Revolution to be intentional about building community and Black solidarity that is not going to hold itself hostage to compromise at the hands of fragile unity. I want the Revolution to be on-going even when there are no camera lights; especially then. I am interested in living out a revolutionary future in community with my people; one that belongs to all of us.



ZUKISWA WHITE
UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND

One that can sustain itself, sustain all of us. I am interested in what it would mean to live beyond the brutality of domination. When we resist, it is because we know with glaring clarity that things don't have to be the way they are. That everything that works to deny life for those we love, is an enemy to our struggle. And when we labour in love to facilitate life in community with each other and for each other, this work is always in service of our collective liberation. Because we must, have in strategies for how we can be in service of a collective futures in ways that are deeply compassionate and fully committed. Capitalism works against Black life. Patriarchy works against Black life. The Prison Industrial Complex works against Black life. All systems of domination works against Black life and our collective future is not safe until we interrogate our own relationship to them. Even in social death there is life and it is within this life that we exist as poor, as women, as non-binary. We exist as disabled, as queer as femme. As incarcerated, as victims of domestic and social violence, as non-Christians, and so on. In seeking to destroy a world predicated on and sustained by anti-Blackness, we must interrogate all the ways in which our enemy manifests itself.

And this is also true when this manifestation informs so much of who we are and come to be in ways that are deeply personal, even sacred such as culture, place and religion. Our insistence that the work of interrogating the ways in which systems of power work to deny us the opportunity to live the lives we want and value is a legitimate response to anti-Blackness. That is to say, the insistence to take up space by Black feminists is a refusal to be erased and this resistance is a legitimate response to power. This work is important and it is also urgent. The work of dismantling all systems of power is work in service of Black community, of Black life. And Black life is possible outside of this. As a brilliant friend and feminist scholar once put it "the world existed long before European modernity and it will continue long after its destruction" (Eddie Ndopu, 2015).

USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

[White Supremacist] Capitalist Cisheteropatriarchy is a term coined by Black feminist bell hooks to mean an institutional construct that defines the interlocking systems of white supremacy, capitalism and cis-normative heteropatriarchy to think beyond the single lens of race, capitalism or gender in order to understand oppression as a system rather than an event; see also capitalism, cisnormativity, patriarchy, heteronormativity.

Capitalism is an economic system in which investment in and ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange of wealth is made and maintained by private individuals or corporations who own capital. Contrasts economic systems based on communal or state ownership.

Prison-industrial complex (PIC) explains the rapid expansion of inmate populations due to the political influence of private prison companies and businesses that supply goods and services to government prison agencies.

Social death can mean the alienation of certain people from society to the point of being forgotten, excluded, or ignored in society or is the condition of people not accepted as fully human by wider society.

STUDENT MOVEMENT ARCHIVE

Below is a compilation of writings in the form of statements, demands, analyses by the black-led student formations that began before the #FeesMustFall October 2015 protests. These student formations emerged out of the problematic contexts that continue to exist unchanged at [historically] white universities. The questions raised are many, but there is a clear articulation of the need and call for a reimagining of decolonization as opposed to transformation. While these writings are prior to the national #FMF protests, they also speak to issues of fees, debt, accommodation and other material challenges faced by black students. One notices that there are broad questions of access relating to language of instruction, curriculum reform, staffing, institutional culture, amongst others. The struggles at the various institutions represented by these black-led student formations show clearly the untransformed nature of universities.

BLACK STUDENTS STOKVEL Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU)

WHO ARE WE?

We are an independent collective of black students and staff who have come together to commit ourselves to the realization of a decolonised and socially responsive NMMU. The movement came into being in April 2015 when we had a silent protest at the institution's graduation ceremony, highlighting the systematic exclusion of black students who would never graduate from the NMMU. We have noticed with utter discontent how the university, with its "transformation" rhetoric is ironically the most untransformed university in terms of curriculum, the institutional culture and staff demographics, with 87% white employees regardless of the Vice Chancellor being a transformation candidate. Our meaning of the term 'stokvel' is inspired by the coming together of black people at NMMU to assist each other in a common plight against institutional anti-Black racism, sexism and patriarchy. By black, we mean the Indians, Asians, Coloureds and Africans in the continent and diaspora.

We have borrowed the collaborative ethic of a stokvel from its economic rooting where black people, particularly women, are united in putting in equal amounts of funds in hopes to empowering and supporting each other financially and otherwise. It is based on the idea of communalism as practiced by thousands of women and men across the country as well as the two political figures in Steve Biko and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. We slightly differ in approach to the traditional understanding of a stokvel. Ours is a more social approach, where everything and everyone is an asset, e.g. ideas, energies, engagement, and all else that will positively contribute to the growth of the movement. We are re-imagining a new politics and there is no set theory or definition that summarizes or critically looks at a stokvel in the sense that we do. We are defining it for ourselves and by ourselves based on our everyday lived experiences as heterogonous black people at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

OUR DEMANDS

Language Policy

We demand that the language(s) of teaching and learning at NMMU be reflective of the community in which the university is geographically situated. The NMMU, as a university located in the Eastern Cape then ought to have isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans as official languages of teaching and learning and not simply the privileging of English and at times Afrikaans, with isiXhosa treated as a non-academic language

Outsourcing of Support Services

We demand that the unethical and exploitative practice known as outsourcing be completely scrapped at NMMU and that all outsourced workers be retained on a permanent basis with full benefits such as but not limited to study benefits, retirement

funds, medical aid, thirteenth cheque and minimum wage of not less than R5000 per month.

Curriculum

We demand the development and implementation of a curriculum which critically centres Africa and the subaltern. By this we mean treating African discourses as the point of departure – through addressing not only content, but languages and methodologies of teaching and learning – and only examining western traditions in so far as they are relevant to our own experience. This is of significance to us as black students in that it allows us to challenge the dehumanization and invisibility of black people

Committees/Structures

- We demand the immediate review of all committees, structures and sub-structures at NMMU so as to allow for more varied student participation as the primary stakeholders of the university

The De-politicization of the SRC

- That academic and admin positions, particularly those of middle management be representative of society's demographics according to race, gender, and (dis)able-bodiedness
- The retaining of Black post-graduate students for lecturing posts
- The ousting of racist, old white lecturers who have been at the 12-year old institution for over 20 years. These people continue to torment and violate Black students at the university.

Funding

- We demand transparency in how the university generates its income and how it chooses to roll it out in terms of its programmes and investments.
- The institution must provide funding and research support as well as to black graduates, staff and academics.

Admission Policy

- We demand that CAAR, the testing centre for prospective students of the institution to take into account the language and the socio-economic background of the students in which they test as it is directly linked to them passing the tests or not.
- The immediate review of the Application Point Score (APS) system that sees the privileging of students who went to former Model C schools and disadvantages those from rural and township schools.
- The thorough outlining of how a field of study/qualification is graded as according to the APS system

Access to Information

- Information that is barred from students and is said to be only for research purposes must be freely available upon request for all registered students, regardless of field and year of study.

Institutional Culture

- The rainbowism rhetoric, under the veil of non-racialism, at the expense of black students and workers must cease to be the university value without thorough investigation of its meaning and implications.
- An in-depth and detailed explanation of the institution's usage of UBUNTU as a value claimed to be embraced and exercised by NMMU.
- The imagination of the institution (Vision 2020 and such).
- The establishment of a Gender Equity Unit/Centre to inform the university's gender, sexuality and rape policies in the quest of protecting marginalized groups and understanding the nuanced identities.
- A more rigorous approach to Socially Engaged Scholarship?
- An understanding of what is meant by the NMMU being a dynamic African university
- The immediate review of the old UPE/PE TECH Diploma System (Dead End Qualifications)
- Universal solidarities with blacks and black movements internationally
- Old staff (white-retired) must go. There are a number of qualified black academics, most of which would add value to the institution. Their presence is needed.

Name Changes

- In our commitment to the decolonial project which also embodies the decommodifying of education, we demand the immediate name changes to all buildings given useless names such as Building 123 etc. as well buildings named after business corporations such as the Absa and Aberdare Computer Labs as well as the Sanlam Building and Xerox Stadium. We firmly believe that a university that claims to be an African University rooted in the value of UBUNTU cannot name buildings after corporations that have dubious histories and are functionaries in the capitalist system.

What We Hope to Achieve

- Our aim, at the end of it all, is an all-inclusive, truly African institution of higher learning rooted in African values, pedagogies and epistemologies. An institution where a student is not excluded on the basis of gender, race, class, sexuality, disability, English proficiency and/or the overall institutional culture which currently is very much alienating to many students who come from the rural outskirts as well as townships.
- To realise an institution that is socially-engaged with its immediate surrounding communities, particularly those which are underdeveloped such as the Missionvale and Joe Slovo communities in attempts to finding lasting solutions to the many problems facing these communities.
- To ensure the decommodification of education and that it is understood as a social good not merely to go serve capital and accumulate wealth, but to understand ourselves and respond to problems posed by modernity (colonialism and capitalism).
- To ensure that the institution refrains from the exploitative and dehumanising practice of outsourcing, where workers are ill-treated, victimized for speaking out and remunerated with slave wages. Workers must be insourced by the university, provided with dignified working attires, be treated with equal respect and afforded all staff benefits and privileges including a minimum wage as agreed to by them.
- To build effective and lasting solidarities with similar movements across the country and abroad so as to exchange

ideas, assist each other in all ours struggles and transform communities into active participants in their own liberation.

- The realisation of a student centred, decolonised curricula taught by qualified teaching staff
- More student involvement in decision-making structures, particularly those which directly affect students' lives and academic endeavors.
- Provide safe avenues for staff and students to report exploitation, racism, sexism and sexual assault amongst others, upon where professional counselling (not only limited to Western psychology) shall be provided including, if needs be, legal representation.



#BLACKSTUDENTMOVEMENT (BSM)

The University Currently Known as Rhodes

'For ourselves and for humanity ... we must turn over a new leaf.' – Frantz Fanon
OUR PRINCIPLES

The Black Student Movement is a group of students concerned about the institutional culture of Rhodes University. This institution is exclusionary to the disadvantaged and marginalised students who are just as much a part of the university but do not receive any support. This movement came out of conversations about our personal experiences as marginalised students who are not able to cope because of the structural, class-based, and intellectual oppression of the Rhodes environment. There are students suffering due to the inequalities and injustices they face daily. We formed the Black Student Movement to take the responsibility of eradicating this structural, class-based, and intellectual oppression.

We are inspired by the philosophy of Black Consciousness and the way it attracted people to join the struggle against apartheid. We are also inspired by the way it united South Africans in fighting against the structural oppression of the apartheid system. In this movement, we also include concerned students who support our struggle. We have come together to champion the cause of the disadvantaged and marginalised students and to fight institutional racism.

It is our duty to work with students who are struggling academically. The Black Student Movement will develop a program to support students and empower students in their academic work. The movement is multi-lingual. It promotes intellectual diversity and open communication.

It is our duty to challenge the colonial legacy and symbols that confront us every day. It is twenty-one years after democracy in South Africa and we are still battling for transformation. We battle for all students at Rhodes University, but the fight is not limited to Rhodes, and we encourage other students at other universities to support the movement. We are in solidarity with the wider community of Grahamstown in their struggles against continued colonial oppression.

The Black Student Movement is inspired, inclusive, democratic, and determined.

OPEN LETTER TO DR MABIZELA, VICE CHANCELLOR OF THE INSTITUTION CURRENTLY KNOWN AS RHODES UNIVERSITY

This letter serves to reiterate our commitment to the common struggle of South African students in oppressive institutions of higher education. Our comrades at the University of Cape Town and Stellenbosch University are being singled out and punished for vocalising their discontent with the status quo.

We, as members of the Black Student Movement, are deeply outraged about what is happening at UCT, with the witch-hunt tactics that are being employed by UCT Management to silence the members of the Rhodes Must Fall Movement. Speak out against any biased and inconsistent processes that the UCT Management is employing against the Rhodes Must Fall Movement, particularly with their focus on black males who are especially criminalised. These actions play into colonial tropes of black males as savage, violent and unruly.

The Black Student Movement (BSM) at the University currently known as Rhodes has also been villainised in various ways.

Twice, the management of this institution and Campus Protection Unit (CPU) have barred members of our movement entry into the Administration building when we marched there to protest the institutional racism and multiple forms of exclusion we are experiencing as students at a glaringly untransformed institution. On the other hand, the university welcomed a group of students who had made abusive comments on cyber platforms [Rhodes SRC Facebook Group] to demonstrate their support for keeping the university's name.

The university has displayed an unsettling bias towards these abusive opponents to transformation. The fact that management finds it appropriate to have CPU present whenever BSM engages in peaceful acts of decolonising suggests that BSM is a violent and criminal group which must at all times be policed and tamed.

This creates the impression that nothing is wrong with the University currently known as Rhodes. It pushes away courageous engagement on tough issues and reinforces a status quo which is deeply violent, apathetic, white supremacist, heteronormative, ableist and unacceptable. It also encourages this manner of thinking within the student body.

In March, Alumni House sent out an insensitive and degrading letter to alumni about BSM. It referred to our movement as inciting "racist storm".

Students have received threats and personal attacks on the university's SRC Facebook page that are careless and deeply wounding: threats which the institution failed to address of its own accord, and which were only addressed following the prompting of members of the BSM who had to force the SRC to act against hate speech. Students of Rhodes have threatened rape and other physical or sexual violence. In another instance, a white male student

responded to a critical member of our movement with the statement: "#suckmywhitepriviledgedick".

Despite such violence, the only response from the university has been a "neutral" stance that the university is opposed to all forms of violence and intimidation. This dangerous neutral stance has also been adopted by the SRC. The failure of this institution to speak out suggests that racial hate and sexual aggression against those who challenge the status quo of this university is acceptable. To quote Archbishop Desmond Tutu, "If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor".

We demand that the institution recognise our humanity and our worth as black students in a "formerly" white institution. We demand the following:

1. That the Vice-Chancellor issues a public statement wherein he apologises to the Black Student Movement for the degrading, racist, and insensitive way in which members of this movement have been treated by this institution thus far.
2. That the Vice-Chancellor and the rest of university management end the criminalisation of black students by management, CPU, staff and students of this institution.
3. That Alumni House rescinds its prejudiced letter from March, and that the Vice-Chancellor does not tolerate further prejudiced statements from Alumni House and other university offices.
4. That every level of university management engages in critical conversations regarding the marginalization and oppression of groups within the student body.
5. With immediate action instigate a process of 'actual' transformation as opposed to merely instigating discussions around transformation that masquerade in the guise of true transformation. We reject placatory consolation prizes that merely purport to embody transformation, while in actual fact just being counterfeit imitations designed to appease.
6. That the Vice-Chancellor respond to this letter by BSM without delay.

BSM, in solidarity with our comrades at other South African universities, unconditionally condemn the criminalisation of black people everywhere, and in particular the criminalisation of black people in South African institutions of higher education.

Every day, students and staff of colour are being criminalised for their economic conditions, race, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, and political and religious inclinations. A pandemic of mass criminalisation is ravaging South Africa, including at our universities. Institutional racism and oppression would have us believe that we are inherently inferior, flawed; that speaking about our lives at university is criminal; that we are vandals.

We vehemently oppose this logic, which makes us problem people, and which legitimates differential treatment for different groups of people in the university. The real crime is disregarding, criminalising, demonising, and dehumanising black students that oppose the status quo.

We affirm our humanity, and we will tirelessly resist all negations of our humanity and all systems which privilege certain lives while de-privileging others.

Sincerely,
The Black Student Movement



#OCTOBER6

The University of Johannesburg and The University of the Witwatersrand

**"The last shall be first and the first last.' Decolonisation is the putting into practice of this sentence."
(Frantz Fanon, 1961, *The Wretched of the Earth*)**

The new student movement in South Africa has called for the decolonisation of this country's universities. Central to the call has been the understanding that our universities remain a product of a longstanding project of racial capitalism in South Africa, and that efforts to 'transform' since the end of formal apartheid have not done enough to change deep-seated inequalities at universities.

In fact, while some progressive gains have been made in the post-apartheid period, South African universities have slid into more conservative practices. One of the most serious instances of this conservatism has been the treatment of university workers. The mass outsourcing of university workers to private companies since 1999 is a blight on the record of post-apartheid universities. Workers who have always earned the smallest salaries on campuses – cleaning buildings, tending to campus gardens, providing security and catering services – lost what meager benefits and status they had on campuses when universities transferred their contracts to private companies. Overnight workers lost up to 40% of their salaries, many of their benefits (including being able to send their children to university for free), their job security, and much of their bargaining power.

For many years workers across universities have been struggling against outsourcing and the intolerable conditions of work on campuses. Oct6 marks a turning point in the politics of outsourcing on university campuses. Oct6 represents the coming together of campus-specific struggles into a national campaign for insourcing on campuses. It is a demand invigorated by the new student movement and the emerging significance of universities in national politics.

Oct6 is the beginning of a long campaign across South African universities, a campaign that puts forward keys demands for a decolonised public African university. Oct6 is the inauguration of an effort to unite workers, students and academics on all campuses to create principled and progressive universities that stand for principled and progressive change in the society in which they work. The campaign begins with one of the most important issues on campuses: the mistreatment of workers.

Oct6 is clear: all university workers must be insourced.

- On the 6th of October, university workers, students and staff will gather outside and on campuses around the country.
- We invite all media and supporters to join us on Tuesday at Wits, the University of Johannesburg and at UCT

from 12h00 until 14h00:

- Wits: Braamfontein campus: picket at Senate House (march from library lawns)
- UJ: picket outside main gate of Kingsway Campus
- UCT: March from Lower Campus, via Bremner Building, to Marikana Memorial Hall
- *13:00 PRESS CONFERENCE: Bremner Building

In Fanon's terms, outsourced workers are the very last on campuses. Academics report having to give workers money privately because workers do not have enough money for food at the end of each month. This while senior management bargains for annual bonuses on top of their already swollen salaries. University management must understand that if they want to be taken seriously as agents of change in their institutions and in society they must work against their own privilege in service of equalising and democratising these important institutions. It is in this spirit that insourcing must be a key task in the decolonisation of South African universities: putting the first last and the last first.

The raw inequality of campus life is a sign of a deeply undemocratic system. Universities cannot imagine that they can serve as the cultivators of future democracy in South Africa if their own terms are saturated by such inequality. It provides a tacit education to all who learn at our universities that such inequality is an acceptable feature of our society. If we cannot sustain a practice of equality in our universities, how are we to expect other institutions to work against inequality in the most unequal country on earth?

From recent correspondence, it seems university managements might be listening. Yet they mostly defer insourcing to some future time when government funding to universities increases. Of course, government must be petitioned to improve funding to higher education to ensure that universities have the resources to provide affordable, quality education to students, and to guarantee its workers a living wage that allows them to secure better lives for themselves and their children. But Oct6 is clear: insourcing cannot wait until government improves funding to higher education.

It is the universities' responsibility to find a way to finance insourcing and living wages for its workers without increasing tuition fees, or reducing academic staff salaries, from within its existing resources. Management argues that they do not have the money to fund outsourcing. How then can university managements routinely find money to fund their priority projects: A-rated scientists who do not teach our students, performance bonuses for senior managers, glossy new buildings? The point is to ask what these projects and their funding say about the principles and priorities of universities, and how they orient universities as drivers, rather than mitigators, of inequality.

**Towards a decolonised public African university:
Insourcing of all workers at universities
Free university education
An end to the criminalisation of student protest
Decolonisation of the curriculum
Massive public investment in universities**

Issued by the Oct6 Movement, endorsed by:

Wits PYA, Wits SRC, Wits WSC, TransformWits, Wits Palestine Solidarity Campaign, AKF Wits, MSA Wits, NASAWU, ASAWU, UJ MSA, UJ Palestine Solidarity Forum, UJ Black Thought, UJ Black Academics Forum, UJ EFF, UJ Persistent Solidarity Forum, UJ SASCO APK (PYA), RhodesMustFall, UCT NEHAWU Joint Shop Stewards' Council (JSSC), UCT Workers Forum, UCT Workers' Solidarity Committee, UCT Left Students' Forum (LSF), UCT Palestine Solidarity Forum (PSF), Black Student Movement ('Rhodes' University), Open Stellenbosch, UFS Socialist Youth Movement, UFS Progressive Student Collective, UFS EFFSC, Education Rights Campaign Nigeria, Democratic Left Front, Right2Know Gauteng, WASP, Activate Wits, MYM Gauteng, MSA Union

#Oct6 on Insourcing

From 1999 many of South Africa's public universities began outsourcing the labour of workers on campuses. Thousands of workers who clean university buildings, tend university gardens, cook food in university kitchens, are no longer paid directly by universities, but receive their salaries through private companies contracted by universities to broker and oversee labour on campuses. These companies make substantial profits from acting as 'middle-men' in these labour arrangements, profits which are created from driving down workers' salaries.

When workers lost their direct employment contracts with universities, they not only had their salaries cut by up to 40%, they also lost the benefits they had once received as employees of universities, including the right for their children to attend university for free. They also lost work security. Although workers come to campuses every day to offer work that ensures the smooth running of universities, they have been made into second-class citizens on campuses. High rates of casual work means that jobs are insecure. They cannot petition the university for better working conditions because the university no longer employs them directly. In order for companies to retain their profitable contracts with universities, they have harsh regulations on workers so that university managements are protected from any 'trouble' that comes from employing people at tiny salaries with no benefits.

University managements make themselves unaccountable to workers because they argue that workers are no longer their responsibility, they are the responsibility of private companies. But workers spend all of their working days on campuses, traveling vast distances to provide important services to all of us that live and work at universities.

Campus workers are our co-workers and colleagues. They share our daily work space and are an indispensable part of our university communities. Outsourcing undercuts this commonality. It eases the mistreatment of workers and it fails to recognise their presence as vital to campus life.

We demand accountability to workers as integral members of university communities.

We demand an end to the outsourcing of workers on campuses in South Africa. We demand that insourcing should be a principled commitment of a decolonised public university.

Join us on October 6 for a national day of action for insourcing on campuses.

Towards a Public African University – Decolonise knowledge, Decolonise institutions, Decolonise labour

#Oct6
#DecoloniseLabour



#OPENSTELLENBOSCH (OS)

The University of Stellenbosch

A collective of students and staff working to purge the oppressive remnants of apartheid in pursuit of a truly African university.

WHO BELONGS HERE?

We are a group of students, staff and faculty working together to bring about change at Stellenbosch University. We are an anti-racist, anti-sexist, non-partisan movement working in a space of deeply entrenched structural and institutional racism and patriarchy.

We should begin by acknowledging that the university management has consistently conceived of transformation in unproductive terms, as evidenced by our Rector's pre-emptive response to the demonstrations held today and his dismissive email response following it. The formation of this movement is made necessary by a lack of action on the part of management, the SRC as well as the broader university community in relation to incidents of racist violence as well as ongoing racism on the campus and the town. We recognise transformation not simply in quantitative terms, but also in qualitative terms that account for the lived experience of black[1] students on campus and in Stellenbosch.

Our conception of blackness is in the tradition of the Black Consciousness Movement which recognises blackness not simply as a matter of pigmentation. For us blackness is a reflection of shared experiences of dehumanisation, discrimination and racism in a place that is hegemonically white and heteronormative.

We believe that qualitative transformation cannot take place while black students live in fear that the expression of their lived realities is actively silenced. This has become the case in the discussions and demonstrations as currently sanctioned by the institution.

Our demonstration today was intended to create the conditions for the type of action we find lacking. In what could be described as a gesture of compensation, the university staged a 'Human Rights March' which was apparently expected to 'reaffirm human dignity'. We find that the very foundation upon which these types of marches are staged ignore the fact that it is very difficult for one to advocate for 'human dignity' when whiteness is the normative framework that informs who is considered human and who not. Providing an Open Space to discuss these nuances is foundational to what we as Open Stellenbosch advocate for. Taking the language policy as a point of departure, we intend to reframe discussions about transformation to include aspects of institutionalised racism, as well as acknowledging the flagrant racism which is the result both of the legacies of apartheid as well as colonialism. We insist on purging the oppressive remnants of Apartheid from this institution. This must be done, if not simply on the grounds that it is necessary if we are ever to bear the full fruit of inclusivity, but on the grounds that the university is largely funded by a post-apartheid and democratic South Africa. Stellenbosch University is intended inherently to be a public space, to which all students should feel able to lay equal claim.

The current language policy at Stellenbosch University belies the university's own vision statement in so far as it excludes many students by privileging the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction. We further hold that this privileging of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction translates itself to a privileging beyond the classroom and simply communication. It extends into the social fabric of our residences and other shared spaces, wherein black people are consequently maligned.

The university cannot claim to prioritise "transformation" if it simultaneously holds Afrikaans as a prerequisite for education – both teaching and learning. Related to this, the space should create the enabling conditions both for white and black students to see knowledge production as an entity which is also vested in black people. In other words, black people should not simply occupy positions which correspond to their historical marginality, a situation which is enabled by the exclusionary language policy currently in place.

Through the space that we created today, we have heard the voices of students concerns in ways that have not hitherto been heeded. As a result, we felt it necessary to reconvene after the demonstration in order to consolidate the critical issues aired. We chose at this juncture, as a collective, to ask participants at this subsequent meeting to only to act in their own capacity, and remove themselves from established infrastructures of the university which are generally perceived as non-representative. Those infrastructures have had their time; today we claimed ours. Those who could not divorce themselves from those structures were not given a space at this particular meeting. While we are not looking to exclude individuals, we assert our prerogative to seek solidarity with organisations we trust are sympathetic to our cause. As yet, the SRC has not shown themselves to be one such organisation.

We call on all students who see themselves as generally for inclusion but who are particularly anti-racist and anti-sexist to join this movement which seeks to Open Stellenbosch and challenge it as a space of deeply entrenched structural and institutional racism and patriarchy.

Sincerely,
Open Stellenbosch

[1] In his probing psychoanalytical text on black subjectivities, Steve Biko famously articulated what we define blackness to be. It is worth quoting Biko at length: "Merely by describing yourself as black you have started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being [...] the term black is not necessarily all inclusive; i.e. the fact that we all not white does not necessarily mean that we are all black. Non-whites do exist, and will continue to exist for quite a long time. If one's aspiration is whiteness, but his pigmentation makes attainment of this impossible, then that person is a non-white [...] black people – real black people – are those who can manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their souls to the white man" (Biko 52).

April 21, 2015

Our Main Aims and Objectives:

1. No student should be forced to learn or communicate in Afrikaans and all classes must be available in English.
2. The institutional culture at Stellenbosch University needs to change radically and rapidly to represent a diversity of cultures and not only white Afrikaans culture.
3. The University of Stellenbosch needs to publicly acknowledge and actively remember the central role that it played in the conceptualisation, implementation and maintenance of apartheid.

The demands of Open Stellenbosch with respect to language

In a post-Apartheid university no-one should be forced to learn or communicate in Afrikaans. Therefore, we demand that by January 2016:

- All classes must be available in English
- The use of interpreters and interpretation devices must be discontinued



**REFORMPUK
North West University Potchefstroom**

WE TOO ARE NWU

As students of the NWU Potchefstroom Campus and with support of staff and alumni of this University we are vigorously campaigning for the eradication of racism and oppression on the Potchefstroom Campus. We want to help create a truly inclusive African university which reflects the diversity and the rich cultural and intellectual heritage of the entire South African society and that of the continent. We subscribe to the widely accepted understanding of the purpose of institutions of higher learning and the role such institutions should play not only in educating and uplifting the students, but also imparting the values of the constitution to all its students.

We believe the university should engage seriously with the demands of the constitution to promote equality for all its students and the community at large and not just a privileged few. We also believe that transformation and inclusivity should become the most important issues for management of this university to resolve.

We neither hate nor reject Afrikaans. We reject the way Afrikaans is used to exclude and discriminate against black students on the Potchefstroom Campus. We also reject the manner in which the administration uses Afrikaans to the detriment of the image of the language amongst other cultural groups in this country. We reject the perverse notion of white supremacy which permeates the "PUK kultuur". We refuse to be considered unwelcome visitors in an institution built, funded and maintained by all the people of this beautiful country.

THE ISSUES:

Language as Access Barrier:

The NWU Potchefstroom Campus is part of the larger South African and African educational Landscape and as a public institution bound to the values and responsibilities of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa should be accessible to all who are eligible to enter. Moreover, as indicated by its name, the North West-University is situated within the North West Province where the most prevalent language is Setswana. The majority of the people living in the area surrounding the Potchefstroom Campus are educated at school level not in their mother tongue but in English. The Potchefstroom Campus, as the largest campus of the NWU, should cater to the immediate needs of those in its closest vicinity. This is both logistically and financially a sensible policy. It also fulfils the mandate of universities to be socially conscious and responsive bodies.

The continued promotion of the Potchefstroom Campus as an "Afrikaans" university has created a pervasive and deeply problematic sense of white Baasskap at this university in the eyes of many white students and their parents. At present some initiatives are being run by the NWU in townships like Ikageng where extra classes and tutors are provided to help prospective students. Dismally few of these students choose to come to the Potchefstroom Campus for the reasons outlined here. All public spaces should not only be accessible to all the people of this country but they should actively welcome such participation. NWU is no exception. No single race, group or language should claim exclusive ownership.

This is our campus too. This is our university too. This is our town and country too.

Interpretation Services

A survey undertaken amongst users of the interpretation services found that the overwhelming majority would prefer being educated in English. We dispute the university's claims about the effectiveness of these services. Interpretation is an obstacle to our education, not an aid. The translators and devices are inefficient, at times inaudible and uncomfortable. They also highlight those who use them as outsiders who don't really belong on this campus. It also entrenches the idea of Afrikaans as a normative code to which all students should adhere.

Demographics / Students

The current admission practices of the university are designed to keep black students to a minority. Using Afrikaans as an unconstitutional pre-requisite and unique selling proposition of this campus only serves to keep a white majority as a tribute to abolished white rule. These demographics are a direct result of the unbalanced recruitment practices of the Potchefstroom Campus which in conjunction with the language policy keeps the percentage of black students at an unacceptably low "quota". It is our experience that the Potchefstroom campus will spend vast resources even going as far as Namibia to recruit students at traditionally white Afrikaans schools or schools where there are large numbers of white students whilst ignoring the black schools in the immediate vicinity. This has to end. Keeping black students as a minority is a deliberate attempt by management to reduce their influence and role in creating a new and inclusive institutional culture.

Demographics / Academic staff

The amount of academic staff who are black on the Potchefstroom Campus is ridiculous. It is impossible to get statistics from management but it is the experience of students that the only visible black academics are an underutilized handful of junior lecturers. These numbers reflect the unwillingness of the management of the Potchefstroom Campus to recruit and maintain black and liberal thinking academic staff. By forcing academic staff to undergo indoctrination in the racist Calvinist world perspective which was one of the pillars of Apartheid, the Potchefstroom Campus ensures that academic staff who might disagree with the current status quo is kept to an absolute minimum. This is the case for black and white academics. A substantial percentage of the current academic staff were students on the campus. This "in-house" training of academic staff as well as a deeply entrenched culture of nepotism are ways the academic staff at the university is kept predominantly white.

NWU Potchefstroom Culture

The culture on the Potchefstroom campus is one of hostility and fear. These are not the words only of ReformPUK but the words of Leon Wessels, former Human Rights commissioner whom the NWU - Potchefstroom campus tasked with investigating campus culture and when he reported back they tried to suppress his report.

Silencing the Voices of Black Students:

Black students are afraid to speak out. Countless incidents or verbal and physical abuse go unreported. The university offers little protection from the threat of violence that comes simply from voicing one's experiences as a black student. All attempts to voice out the struggles faced daily by black students have, both in public and private, been met with jeers, derogatory terms and mass walkouts of meetings. The simple act of speaking out means you are immediately labelled as a trouble maker and alienated by management and fellow students. There is a real and immediate need for providing safe spaces for black students to share their stories without being censored or having their pain and experiences invalidated or dismissed.

Institutional culture:

We are confounded by students and parents' adamant refusal to admit or even acknowledge the white supremacist hegemony of the ethereal concept they so desperately want to protect, "PukKultuur". This culture is from its inception built entirely on the exclusion of black students. The burden of finding a space to be ourselves is placed entirely on black students. It has created a dichotomy to black students of assimilate to survive or face being alienated. This campus needs to interrogate its institutional history and critically engage with debates on "decolonizing the university" if it is going to address the indignities and inequalities so many students suffer. The institutional culture on this campus needs to change radically and rapidly to represent a diversity of cultures and not only white Afrikaner culture.

Hostel culture:

Intentional segregation is practiced in the simple action of not placing black and white students as roommates in student residences. The demographics of students living in the campus residences are even more problematic than those of the rest of the student body. White Afrikaner students are given priority during recruitment processes and in the daily culture of the hostels. Meetings intended to convey important information are almost always conducted in Afrikaans. Participation in various hostel activities is a prerequisite for remaining in the hostel the following year. Yet, most of the activities are part of a culture on campus that deliberately excludes outsiders. Black students report feeling lost and unwelcome in residences but are often dismissed or asked why they decided to come to this university in the first place.

The SRC:

The SRC and its Constitution undermines the ideal of a truly democratically elected student body. The current system works almost entirely to the benefit of majority of white students living in residences. The main business of the SRC is the governing of various activities that take place in hostels. It is the organizing of sport, artistic and social activities of residences. Students who are in residences are encouraged from the onset to participate in these activities. They are the ones who are then elected to the SRC. The immediate and distinctive needs of students who do not live in residence or want to be affiliated with town residences go unrecognized

The decolonization of the campus:

There is a desperate need for tangible and authentic discourse. Vigorous steps should be taken to eradicate the culture of shying away from political discourse on the Potchefstroom Campus. White students should be sensitized about their privilege and the plight of students from cultures different to their own. It is unfortunately evident through postings on various social media sites and conversations taking place in public as well as private spaces that white students lack understanding of the harsh realities of our country as well as the rest of the world. Students on the Potchefstroom Campus typically come from insular homogenous environments, often with deeply ingrained ideologies, and on this campus continue to live in a "bubble" of isolation which serves to reinforce their prejudice. There is a vehement denial of the white Christian supremacist hetero-patriarchal system that engulfs the campus. The need to encourage and actively develop critical thinking and promote robust debates with the intention of decolonizing the minds of our fellow students, is urgent and should become a fundamental component of management's transformation objectives.

The curriculum:

We call on the university to fund and develop a new curricula that accounts for social and political changes in our country after Apartheid. The current Eurocentric curriculum does not include sufficient celebrated black academics. The lack of writings by Steve Biko, Professor Achille Mbembe, Robert Sobukwe, Thomas Sankara, Franz Fanon and other black intellectuals in classes about philosophy and worldviews is deeply problematic. But it is not only a question of allowing liberal black voices - we need to be sure that the ideas of

important liberal thinkers such as Marx, Freud and Weber are presented without prejudice and bias. The problem with dismissing the works of African academics is that the University entrenches the notion that black people's intellectual endeavour is unworthy, just like black people are considered worthless.

To read the full ReformPUK Manifesto go to:
https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B6IzCfBhy_9HQno1WmFJLXZ2blk



**#RHODESMUSTFALL (RMF)
The University of Cape Town**

We are an independent collective of students, workers and staff who have come together to end institutionalised racism and patriarchy at UCT. This movement was sparked by Chumani Maxwele's radical protest against the statue of Cecil John Rhodes on Monday 9 March 2015. This has brought to the surface the existing and justified rage of black students in the oppressive space cultivated and maintained by UCT, despite its rhetoric of 'transformation'. We want to be clear that this movement is not just concerned with the removal of a statue. The statue has great symbolic power; it glorifies a mass-murderer who exploited black labour and stole land from indigenous people. Its presence erases black history and is an act of violence against black students, workers and staff - by "black" we refer to all people of colour. The statue was therefore the natural starting point of this movement. Its removal will not mark the end but the beginning of the long overdue process of decolonising this university. In our belief, the experiences seeking to be addressed by this movement are not unique to an elite institution such as UCT, but rather reflect broader dynamics of a racist and patriarchal society that has remained unchanged since the end of formal apartheid.

This movement is not just about the removal of a statue. The statue has great symbolic power - it is a glorifying monument to a man who was undeniably a racist, imperialist, colonialist, and misogynist. It stands at the centre of what supposedly is the 'greatest university in Africa'. This presence, which represents South Africa's history of dispossession and exploitation of black people, is an act of violence against black students, workers and staff. The statue is therefore the perfect embodiment of black alienation and disempowerment at the hands of UCT's institutional culture, and was the natural starting point of this movement. The removal of the statue will not be the end of this movement, but rather the beginning of the decolonisation of the university.

CENTERING BLACK PAIN

At the root of this struggle is the dehumanisation of black people at UCT. This dehumanisation is a violence exacted only against black people by a system that privileges whiteness. Our definition of black includes all racially oppressed people of colour. We adopt this political identity not to disregard the huge differences that exist between us, but precisely to interrogate them, identify their roots in the divide-and-conquer tactics of white supremacy, and act in unity to bring about our collective liberation. It is therefore crucial that this movement flows from the black voices and black pain that have been continuously ignored and silenced.

With regard to white involvement, we refer to Biko:

"What I have tried to show is that in South Africa, political power has always rested with white society. Not only have the whites been guilty of being on the offensive but, by some skilful manoeuvres, they have managed to control the responses of the blacks to the provocation. Not only have they kicked the black but they have also told him how to react to the kick. For a long time the black has been listening with patience to the advice he has been receiving on how best to respond to the kick. With painful slowness he is now beginning to show signs that it is his right and duty to respond to the kick in the way he sees fit."

"The (white) liberal must understand that the days of the Noble Savage are gone; that the blacks do not need a go-between in this struggle for their own emancipation. No true liberal should feel any resentment at the growth of black consciousness. Rather, all true liberals should realise that the place for their fight for justice is within their white society. The liberals must realise that they themselves are oppressed if they are true liberals and therefore they must fight for their own freedom and not that of the nebulous "they" with whom they can hardly claim identification."

We support the White Privilege Project and encourage white students to engage with that. They can contribute through conscientising their own community on campus. We also welcome their participation in radical action as a sign of solidarity, so long as that participation takes place on our terms.

AN INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

We want to state that while this movement emerged as a response to racism at UCT, we recognise that experiences of oppression on this campus are intersectional and we aim to adopt an approach that is cognisant of this going forward. An intersectional approach to our blackness takes into account that we are not only defined by our blackness, but that some of us are also defined by our gender, our sexuality, our able-bodiedness, our mental health, and our class, among other things. We all have certain oppressions and certain privileges and this must inform our organising so that we do not silence groups among us, and so that no one should have to choose between their struggles. Our movement endeavours to make this a reality in our struggle for decolonisation.

ON 'REVERSE RACISM'

In line with our positions, we reject the policing of the responses of black students to their violent experiences. We want to add that we feel that the Constitution's conception of racism is fundamentally racist because it presupposes that racism is a universal experience, thus normalising the suffering of those who actually experience racism.

"A derivation from the word 'race' is 'racism'. The mere definition of the word race does not amount to racism. Racism is a set of attitudes and social mores which devalue one race in order to empower another, as well as the

material power to deploy those values in the devaluation or destruction of the lives of the devalued race. Therefore those at the receiving end of racism cannot be racists. They may develop counter values which despise racists, but precisely because of racism, they lack the material power to implement those values" – Yvette Abrahams, UWC Women and Gender Studies Department.

The Constitution's conception of racism has systematically been used to deter irrepressible urges by black South Africans to challenge racism and violence. An example of this was the Human Rights Commission ruling against the Forum for Black Journalists, when white journalists were banned from the organisation in February 2008 and this was declared unconstitutional and racist. An examination of South Africa's political history reveals the necessity for black people to organise to the exclusion of white people in the fight against racism.

It is laughable that UCT has a building named after Biko, when Biko himself said "Those who know, define racism as discrimination by a group against another for the purposes of subjugation or maintaining subjugation. In other words one cannot be racist unless he has the power to subjugate. What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in which they find themselves the objects of white racism. We are in the position in which we are because of our skin. We are collectively segregated against – what can be more logical than for us to respond as a group?"

STUDENT LEADERSHIP

We have noted that the UCT SRC has supported this movement, and we welcome their solidarity and appreciate the strong stance they have taken. However, we are wary of the contradictions inherent in the SRC taking up such a cause. Given that they are a structure specifically designed to work with management, having them lead puts this movement in a compromised position in which we would have to negotiate with management on their terms. To be clear, we see SRC involvement and support as crucial in this movement, but believe leadership and direction must come from students themselves. Any attempt by the SRC to co-opt the movement will thus be rejected.

ENGAGEMENT WITH MANAGEMENT

We find the way in which UCT management has 'engaged' with this movement to be disingenuous. At no point have we been engaged directly by management. Management has responded to various media houses and has made attempts to isolate individuals from within the movement to divide us. Black outsourced workers are used to deal with protests, despite their own exploitation at the hands of the same institution, whilst management keeps itself unseen. Their releasing of statements reflects the way in which the university prioritises pacifying public opinion and defending its public image over the interests of its own black students. Our expectation is that management makes a genuine attempt at meeting with us, on our terms, which involves the removal of investigations that frame us as criminals. Meaningful engagement cannot happen if one party is under duress.

We also find it infuriating that management is attempting to open up a process of debate through their 'Have Your Say' campaign. Alumni have been emailed and asked for input, and notice boards have been put up near the statue to allow for comment from the broader student body. This is not meaningful engagement of black students by management, and in fact shows a complete disregard for the black experience. Management is making clear that they are not interested in alleviating black pain unless the move to do so is validated by white voices. It is absurd that white people should have any say in whether the statue should stay or not, because they can never truly empathise with the profound violence exerted on the psyche of black students. Our pain and anger is at the centre of why the statue is being questioned, so this pain and anger must be responded to in a way that only we can define. It must be highlighted that the push for dialogue around the statue reflects the disturbing normalisation of colonisation and white supremacy at UCT. That the presence of Rhodes is seen as debatable shows that management does not take seriously the terrible violence against black people historically and presently. Finally, it is revealing that while black protestors are threatened with and are facing investigations, the racist backlash from white students has not been dealt with by the university.

OUR DEMANDS

Our immediate demands are that we receive a date for the removal of the statue from campus grounds, and that the university investigation of student protesters be withdrawn. We find it unacceptable that management has presented a date on which council will discuss the statue; we reject the notion that the university has any decision to make here. Our position is clear and will not be hampered by bureaucratic processes which management hides behind. Our pain should be the only factor taken into consideration, and therefore the statue's removal from UCT must be a non-negotiable, inevitable outcome.

OUR LONG-TERM GOALS INCLUDE:

- Remove all statues and plaques on campus celebrating white supremacists.
- Rename buildings and roads from names commemorating only white people, to names of either black historical figures, or to names that contribute to this university taking seriously its African positionality.
- Replace artworks that exoticise the black experience (by white, predominantly male artists) which are presented without context, with artworks produced by young, black artists.
- Recognise that the history of those who built our university—enslaved and working class black people—has been erased through institutional culture. Pay more attention to historical sites of violence, such as the slave graves beneath the buildings in which we learn.
- Implement of a curriculum which critically centres Africa and the subaltern. By this we mean treating African discourses as the point of departure – through addressing not only content, but languages and methodologies of education and learning – and only examining western traditions in so far as they are relevant to our own experience.
- Provide financial and research support to black academics and staff.
- Radically change the representation of black lecturers across faculties.
- Revise the limitations on access to senior positions for black academics. This includes interrogating the notion of

"academic excellence" which is used to limit black academics and students' progression within the university.

- Increase the representation of black academics on the currently predominantly white, male decision making bodies which perpetuate institutional racism.
- Re-evaluate the standards by which research areas are decided – from areas that are lucrative and centre whiteness, to areas that are relevant to the lives of black people locally and on the continent.
- Introduce a curriculum and research scholarship linked to social justice and the experiences of black people.
- Adopt an admissions policy that explicitly uses race as a proxy for disadvantage, prioritising black applicants.
- Remove the NBT as a requirement for admission because it systematically disadvantages all students except those who attend Model C schools and private schools.
- Improve academic support programmes.
- Meaningfully interrogate why black students are most often at the brunt of academic exclusion.
- Develop an improved financial aid system.
- Radically reduce the currently extortionate fees.
- Improve facilities which deal with sexual assault, as well as facilities which help black students deal with the psychological trauma as a result of racism.
- Implement R10 000 pm minimum basic for UCT workers as a step towards a living wage, in the spirit of Marikana.
- Get rid of the Supplemented Living Level, which prescribes a poverty wage.
- Stop using the Consumer Price Index which ensures that wages never really increase, leaving workers in poverty.
- End outsourcing. The companies must go, the workers must stay.
- There should be no capitalist companies making profits at this public sector institution. Workers must know that their job is safe, has decent working conditions and ensures comfortable lives.
- Education for workers and their families must be free.
- Stop the victimisation and intimidation of workers. No worker must be penalised in any way for supporting and joining protest action, including strike action, at UCT.
- Workers must be able, without penalty of any kind, to refuse work that is a danger or hazard to their health and safety.
- Provide workers with access to services dealing with labour, family, housing issues.
- Provide workers with avenues through which to report and address experiences of racism, sexism and other forms of abuse. These avenues must assist in enforcing legal action against the perpetrator.

In solidarity,
The Rhodes Must Fall Movement



#TRANSFORMWITS

The University of the Witwatersrand

WITS students concerned and dissatisfied about the slow pace of curriculum and staff transformation at WITS. We are tired of European universities in Africa

Who we are made up of:

We are an intersectional movement that centres the struggles of Black South Africans. We subscribe to the definition of Black as articulated by Bantu Biko:

"We have defined blacks as those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations"

In other words, we are made up of and led by 'non-whites' who choose to be conscious about their positions in white supremacist capitalist patriarchal South Africa. We are an intersectional Black movement that recognises the various positionalities and privileges that we as a Black collective will have as a result of our various social identities such as gender, class, race, religion, sexuality and (physical) abilities. With this in mind, we believe that the best way for us to be truly transformative is to be a movement that works for and centres the most marginalized among us.

FIVE KEY PILLARS FOR #TRANSFORMWITS DEMANDS

We have identified five key areas on which to frame our demands and under each we will have sub demands:

1. **"#OppenheimerMustFall & #SobukweMustRise"**: Africanisation of University Symbolism and Institutional Memory: This is for the fall of Oppenheimer, Jan Smuts and other buildings named after problematic white historical figures as well as mediocre whites. In their place, we want buildings named after historical black figures and not mediocre whites, as well as artwork that speaks to our African heritages.
2. **"Teacher Don't Teach Me Nonsense"**: Radical revision and Afrikanisation of all university curricula: A call for a process to be put in place for a panel to review and revise curricula in all faculties to reflect Afrikan and Global South context. Panel would include Wits students, Wits staff and other leading scholars on African thought such as Mahmood Mamdani, leaders in thought and pedagogy in the Global South such as Chandra Mohanty, Ha-Joon Chang.
3. **Fast-track Afrikanisation of academic staff contingency**: A call for transformation that reflects the country's demographics, as well as support for Black academics and their research.
4. **End of worker discrimination**: Demands would be those articulated by the workers themselves and we will take direction from them
5. **End of financial exclusion of students**: Wits must put an end to its anti-poor policies. This in solidarity with the SRC's NSFAS campaign, and also includes the kind of financial discrimination that sees student food insecurity, arbitrary and expensive fees for things such as transcript print outs, high deposits, subsidisation of residence for wealthy white students etc.



TUKS #UPRISING

The University of Pretoria

@UPrising is a collective cause and movement of the STUDENTS. It is a movement that is not inclined to any political party but inclined to STUDENTS.

Tuks UPrising is a movement that serves to be the vanguard of the students. We aim to hold the University of Pretoria accountable but most importantly we want them to hear and see the students of Tuks. We refuse to turn away from being bullied. We are tired of legitimising an institution that shuts us down.

Hence we refuse the registration fee increase or any other increase relating to students, that being tuition, residence levies etc. The fees will remain stagnant where they are.

So we encourage you the student to rise with us and make a clear stance that we will no longer be dormant but heard loud and clear as a collective, as students of the University of Pretoria!

Extract from the proposed constitution for UPRising

UPrising is a non-party affiliated social movement comprising of students that seeks to unify the student body. We aim to conscientise students on issues of intersectionality at the University of Pretoria. We endeavour to achieve the realisation of transformation by both directly engaging with issues and by supporting organisations and structures in activities and projects that are inclined toward our cause; these issues will be determined in a process of engagement with the student body. (through our membership)

UPrising is an apolitical, non-partisan organization. As such shall not take part in SRC elections. Member wishing to take part do so of their own free will. Any and all cooperation with political organizations is solely for the advancement of the vision.

UPRising along with the EFFSC and PYA at the University of Pretoria entered into negotiations with the Vice Chancellor and university management on 24 October after submitting the following demands on 21 October 2015:

Free education

1. No fee increment (zero percent) across the board
2. That no person(s) participating in the mass protest action be victims and/or prosecuted by the University or its affiliates
3. That provision be made for students participating in this mass protest action to catch up on any academic activity which was disrupted and/or missed as a result of said action
4. That Foo Services (TuksRes) must decrease their prices to be market competitive. In the interim, we are launching an investigation with the Competition Commission, as well as the office of the Public Protector in order to follow up.
5. That any and all financial decisions impacting on students must be proposed to students no later than September each year
6. That a student's financial status shall have no bearing on their ability to retain their Residence placement
7. That every person who is deemed fit for financial aid, as per the NSFAS criteria, receive such financial aid from the University
8. The removal of application fees as well as the residence levy fee.
9. That a seat be allocated to a student representative on the Standing Committee of the Council
10. No interest rate (zero percent) on any outstanding fees owed by a student
11. No registration fee
12. That Council convenes and ratifies this document in our presence.

A number of further meetings took place and the University management clarified the further decisions reached on 26 October 2015:

- All students who qualify for NSFAS and who were not assisted will be assisted, using the additional funds the University has made available. For all new students in 2016 the University is committed to assisting once statics are available.
- Students in residences who are financially disadvantaged will not be excluded from residences on the basis of their financial disadvantage
- Where food prices are not market related food prices will be decreased.

University Management further agreed to:

1. Monopoly, Food prices and competition, wider choices, a new model and affordability
2. How to define working class versus wealthy students, as defined by family income
3. Outsourcing – a commission to look at, consultation with all stakeholders. Reps of workers
4. Contracts should be par, not penalised for the strike but lose money – no leave days will apply for time lost due to protest
5. Request for only one language of tuition – English – to consult with the Senate, and the Council, and stakeholders, including the DHET; there will be a written report before the end of the year
6. Transport to Sunnyside, students have to propose the route
7. Agreements with Prof Visser should be revived – address so that students are allocated affordable accommodation and not Hatfield Studios
8. Outstanding fees no interest to be charged
9. Res students Food allocations for the exam period to students who have run out of meal funds
10. Intervene on behalf of UP students at the Fields
11. Develop a programme to listen to students



BURNING BUILDINGS

As the smoke clears and we again begin to rebuild the walls of a still born revolution many stand still looking through the rubble for answers for our failure and gradual unprincipled annual surrender. Some look behind the ashes of buildings, some behind the smoking gun barrels pointed at us, some behind empty tear gas canisters lying on streets, corridors and residences, some behind unprincipled unity, and some behind the physical and emotional pain endured by those languishing in prisons brutalized by injustice in a quest for justice. If anything as the dust settles we find all these people mediating, conversing running trying to come together and rebuild. But what if the real answer comes in destruction. What if the real answer comes from the ashes of this building, rather than its erection, what if the answer to our call lies in burning buildings?

There is a fire brewing in the hearts of a woken generation in South Africa, especially in Kwa-Zulu Natal. A fire that can no longer be contained by fear and fallacies of freedom and democracy. A fire that will no longer be extinguished by systematic violence, architectural racism, and a legacy of white privilege.

The question we must ask ourselves is do we let everything else close to it catch flame? The curriculum, the space, the manner of thought, the culture, the means of knowledge production, the violence, the commodification of education, the exclusions, the systems, the colonial structures, the colonial architecture, the colonial presence of whitened walls ...

What exactly are universities, fountains of knowledge or incubators of learned slaves?. Besides the visible contestation of space and the rat race between the field house slaves trying survive the plantation, there is a greater fight for identity, purpose, existence and humanity, things the plantation doesn't offer to those who don't look sound or walk like the master. Too much has been normalized in our plantation, abuse, violence, dispossession, disingenuous knowledge, inhumanity and the dehumanization and demonization of an entire people .To question this is an abomination, to confront this is insubordination and think independently when assimilation has no price, carries a heavy burden and end for rebellious learned slaves.

There are two things, its either we continue to speak of transformation exchanging between the colour of faces of the masters, convincing each other that radical reform will shift the plight and emancipate the field slave by giving him access and altering his position on the plantation.

Or we do away with the whole plantation as know it, burn the crops, burn the cattle, burn the buildings burn the systems burn the master burn the chains, de-commodify education, remove colonial extensions of the SRC and colonial bureaucracy, remove white washed spectrums of knowledge and knowledge production, remove the academic gatekeeper and the gates. The plantation must go. The violence is enough. We want to be human, we want to exist, and we want to breathe that

XOLA MEHLOLAKULU
UNIVERSITY OF
KWA-ZULU NATAL



can never happen in our plantations.

The mistake society has made is to think the effort to suffocate, silence and subjugate Africa today is no more because no shackles and duct tape are seen stuck around the continent, but real chains remain in the systems of our higher institutions with them continuing to deliberately violate, marginalize, deprive and refuse us expression, participation and genuine emancipation and existence.

Perhaps reflection should start with identifying violence. But then again to be able to identify violence is one thing, to be brutally confronted by it every day is another. Our Institutions of learning are not a place where violence occurs, our Institutions of learning are violence, violence to black dreams, violence to black thought, violence to black identity, and violence to black history, violence to the bodies of black womxn violence to queer bodies, violence to non-able bodies, violence to our existence. Our Institutions of learning are violent.

We need to stop participating in the building of forts and sky scrapers of oppression in the name of advancing academic knowledge. These forts must burn and from the ashes we will rebuild Azania.

THE FIRES THIS TIME



SUREN PILLAY
UNIVERSITY OF THE
WESTERN CAPE

I write this as I sit near the corner of Thornton and Belgravia Road in Athlone, in the Western Cape. Near the memorial for what is known as the Trojan Horse massacre; a day in the midst of the student boycotts of 1985 when a group of policemen hidden in a wooden crate on the back of a railway truck popped out and opened fire on the school children lining the streets in protest. Three teenagers lay dead in the aftermath. This road was a meeting point for students in the area from the different schools, who would gather. The thick blackness of the readily identifiable smoke of burning tires would billow up into the blue. Saffron flames blackened the sky in the heat of the day and burning rubber and the sulphur of teargas clotted the

air. A time when resistance's hubris was as high as the repression. Where the hope of building a new society lay on the other side of the State of Emergency, across the ocean on Robben Island, and across the Limpopo river. Another society would be created. A lot has of course happened in between. In that slow caterpillar that is time, undulating its heaving body, those then young have become old, the old are becoming ancestors, and the rebels, well they remain young. But a new young. And there are fires again.

In the flames that burnt on Thornton and Belgravia road, there was often an idea amongst us as students that we did not want to simply replace Bantu and apartheid education with those that the white schools had. Both were products of apartheid. Something new had to be created. Something of that desire for the alternative was lost over time, sedimenting into the conditions for the fires this time. Out of the current crisis, the current flames, the worrying valorization of violence, there might be some hope. But the hope will have to transcend the historical track record of violence, which really only gives rise to new violence, to new cycles of violence. If we really want to pay attention to African history, and African pasts, then we cannot ignore that lesson. There has to be a different disposition to life than the one that treats it as collateral damage, as a price to pay.

As we enter the university, we ask ourselves, what is it for? Who does it serve? There are of course the regular and pertinent questions of employment, jobs, vocations, to which the ends of education are directed. In a society such as this one, it is impossible to side step those pressures, those expectations, those hopes in what an education can mean and what it can do, in very material

terms. With the chasm as wide as it is deep between the rich and poor, when so many are unemployed, and so few are middle class, and when the rich seem limitless in their ceaseless desire for more- how can we not expect the hope that education will be a bridge over that stormy river toward a better life.

In the fire this time there are existential questions: who are we? Where do we want to go? How do we want to be human? Questions about a people becoming "African" where African is not the name of a black hole where everything including time, futurity, possibility, achievement, seem to drain into a vortex. The demand for the decolonization of knowledge wants to smash that vortex. It is different to the political decolonization that comes with what other Africans have called 'flag independence': the right to have a flag, but little other power over life, over the future, over becoming. It speaks to the question of an incomplete justice that was achieved. It is perhaps too South African and not sufficiently continentally African to give up on a political settlement that radically departed from the colonial inheritance of citizenship. This settlement made residency a grounds for belonging rather than origins. From the vantage point of Africans who know civil war and genocide on the continent, this is an achievement not to squandered. Perhaps South African exceptionalism makes us think we have no lessons to learn from those up North. It was however a settlement that left the question of social justice open. To wrestle with this predicament disturbs the civil slumber of liberal freedom with the sharp and impolite reminders of inequality. An inequality not just in material terms, but in being itself.

A reckoning in the decolonization of knowledge is how to affirm a vanquished and vanished knowledge. We name this the legacy of Eurocentrism. It is about who has produced knowledge worthy of being called knowledge. Who has made history worthy of being called History. Who are the authors of culture and civilization and achievement.? But the challenge is also how to do justice without lapsing into the very way in which Eurocentrism affirms itself by uncritically affirming everything Eurocentrism undermined. Should the radical be the mirror of the reactionary? Is not the really radical act that transcendence of both inheritances? Just as Fanon reminded us that the native is a product of the settler, and the settler the product of the native, Afrocentrism is a product of Eurocentrism. Decolonizing knowledge will require turning this crises into a moment to create something new, for real this time. Not just in the kind of knowledge we put in our new curriculums, or the new names of our buildings, or the new figures of our statues. But in the way we do it- a decolonized politics itself might be the only way to produce a decolonized way of being together. And the starting point might have to be a radical refusal of Western modernity's violence.



ENCOUNTERS WITH A REVOLUTION:

What the media did not write about #FEESMUSTFALL



NEO MATLHARE
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

Most stories begin with a sad ensemble of words that indicate an ending that could either be a bore or a riveting story that you would want to tell an entire village. My story begins with strength because the moment I got stung on my tongue, in my ears and in my nose, by the effects of teargas, I knew then that I share my story with not only that experience, but many others. When life fails you, you look to other things to make you strong and the #MustFall campaign was my confidante and my pillar of strength.

This is what the media did not write about #FeesMustFall

THE CONTINUUM

1976 was the benchmark year for change. A lot of those who were involved always speak about the pain and the hurt that they felt. I had a conversational encounter with my mother, who at the time was 11. She told me of how she went to a school called Tebogo Higher Primary School in White City, Soweto and how SASO came and took them out of their classes and were instantaneously separated from the younger learners from the school. All those from the ages of 11 were "forced" to march to Orlando and so she went. At that age, you follow the crowd without any question or hesitation, because not even you know what is going on and inquisitiveness of the events that may follow suddenly creeps in. Sometimes, I ask myself of the dilemma she may have found herself in: to go or not go? The younger students were sent home and amongst them, was my mother's younger sisters. That separation today is still reflected in how they are inseparable from each other's lives. My uncle, who went into exile in the 1980's because of this education we all strive to have and desire to have, has still "not come back" from Tanzania. The point is, every black family in the country has a story to tell as to how they contributed to the struggle. Some lost the lives of their loved ones, others were in the forefront of the uprising and got badly injured and others were aids of emotional, physical and mental support. I can truly say, that in as young as I am and unaware of what the sentiments that were shared on the 16th of June in 1976 were, I am still the aid to my family's wounds from their sacrifice, our sacrificial lamb to the struggle, my uncle.

2015 was the continuum of this. I expressed a lot of fear and did not know what would come out of it. I had the freedom to choose whether I wanted to take part in the #FeesMustFall campaign or not, and although June 16 may have seemed a distant memory at that point time, it is that very day that reminded of what I had the privilege of being: a leader and an educator. Nevertheless, we could not and still cannot be silenced. The question that kept on hounding me and the numerous other thoughts I had, was "How far am I willing to go?" How far am I willing to go to make sure that someone else gets the opportunities that I got after my high school education? How do I ensure that no other person can be silenced by an entity that fought silence but in itself, is enforcing silence in the form of ignorance and shaming? How do I make sure that I am safe and don't get hurt in the process? These are some of the questions I asked myself while marching on Church Street and Burnette Street in Hatfield, Pretoria. And for that, I remembered only one thing: Malume (Uncle) Sello, my uncle, who till today, has not returned home because of a struggle that even today, writing this, I am still fighting.

25 October 2015 is probably one of the most significant days in the new democracy. It is arguable as to whether we are really living in a free country or a dragged-out Mandela revolution. On this day, thousands of students from Gauteng and Limpopo, made the pledge to go to the Union Buildings (which I

believe is a structure that represents the oppression and suppressive power that got South Africa to this point in its history) and in solidarity, came together to hear what the President of South Africa had to say about #FeesMustFall. That meeting took an entire day, with student representatives sitting in with the President and reflecting on the grievances of all universities, nationwide. It was the one day, where opposition parties came together to witness history and create together, with support and representatives of all races, cultural backgrounds and genders. It was the one day that we all came together for one cause: #FeesMustFall. Unrest grew as the leaders were taking too long to get back to the students. What is important to know is that this event took place during a hot summer's day, so dehydration and hunger were the other orders of the day. So, food had to be prepared, and with the little we had, water and food, we shared with those in need. That was liberating. As unrest grew, so did the reaction of the police guarding the unknown. It grew to a point where students, removed the barbed wire securing the Union Building from the crowd itself. It then escalated to toilets being burnt, resulting in a huge amount of smoke. Then, police started to fire rubber bullets. Under who's authority, we do not know. Throughout the day, these unrests kept on going on and before the address, the crowd got teargassed. I remember not feeling anything one minute, and in the next, I could not even see what was happening in front of me. My tongue felt like it was being burnt with petrol, my ears felt like someone was slicing my nerve- system, my sinuses were going crazy and my eyes burnt up to a point where for a good ten minutes, I could not see where I was going. It is in that moment that I encountered what my mother had in 1976 - I encountered a revolution. Even after the water run and rescue from one person to another, we went back and all that came of it was a radio broadcast. It is then that in the effort to disperse the crowd again. Is that not an act of brutality? Is that not an act of violence towards our right to protest, strike or picket in a public place? I think that because of this, we as the people are well within our rights to go to the Constitutional Court and take law enforcement to court, for this. We do not know their mandate, therefore, they do not have grounds to fall back on.

A free education is received at home. A quality education is provided by an institution that has the resources to enable people to enhance what they already know and to equip them with the skills to be able to go out into industry and go out to the world, so that they too, may remain competitive not only with the jobs they have but the knowledge that they choose to incline themselves to. If this cannot be done because of an increase that may result in a person not being able to obtain that future, it means that education has failed us. Education is NOT a privilege but a human right.

THE STUDENT UPRISING: ARE WE READY?

Students from all across the world have built up the courage to speak out and about the colonial structures that have for a long time governed what we can and cannot do, and within what confines what we want to do, can be done. We applaud universities such as the University of Cape Town for "beginning" the era of #... MustFall, starting with the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, who even when he is praised for his contribution to the economy of South Africa, was in fact a perpetrator of the law and part of the building blocks of apartheid. But now begs the question: are students ready to rise above the law, the system that has continuously infringed on our basic human rights without reservation of the impact it may have on our well-being? Are we ready to fight the government tooth and nail, to reinforce the right to a free and fair education? Are we ready to be followed by the Secret Security that we have, NOT be bribed by

unknown sources from the government in order to not carry on fighting and educating ourselves to fulfil a long-awaited struggle? Are we ready to take a bullet for the nation?

Many students nationwide, have found themselves in a predicament: have fees really fallen or do we carry on fighting for a free and fair education. This also gives rise to another question of, how far are we willing to go? We took to the streets of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Johannesburg and we sang, ran and walked peacefully but are we willing to take the government to court and demand that the Constitution be revised and specified as to what constitutes a free and fair education, and even then, what happens to those who cannot afford NOT to have a free education. Is the world willing to listen to South Africa because even us South Africans, have been failed by the continuous corrupt behaviour of the government as a whole (President to the official)? You HEARD us when we said #FeesMustFall, now is everyone willing to LISTEN?

University is not a place for sissies. In your first year, you are very naïve- you want to wear the best clothes, go out with the hottest guy, continuously want money and it is the time when you are destined to fail one or two subjects because of the 30% pass that was allowed by the Department of Basic Education- now 50% is staring you in the eyes. It is also the time when parents realise that all that money that they saved in order for you to go to university or college, is not enough, so loans are your best bet. NSFAS may decide that it won't give you the full R60000, but will give you enough to cover fees and books. And then what? By your third year, you know the drill - you bask in the sun all day, missing numerous classes, while you wait to sign your contract with NSFAS, for which again, the full R60000 is STILL not guaranteed. What happens now?

We have stood in lines all our lives because we needed to be accepted by a system that tells us how much of an education we can get because of the cost of it. Sure, tertiary education has never been free in the history of South Africa, but is not time to break the chain of waiting for affirmation of what type of education is well-suited for you, based on your financial background and where you come from? It is a racial thing and I will stand by it - black people have for their entire lives, been at the mercy of white supremacy and subjugation to "waiting", when even that Constitution you work hard to live within the confines for, will tell you of Roman Dutch Law or British Law, NOT African Law. It was created to make us stupid, thoughtless, unknowledgeable and make us believe that we could not think any further than what we were "taught" to think - We have the Bantu Education system introduced by the National Party from its rise to power to confirm that. The class of 2015 has thought further- we have the right to a free and fair education, regardless of what level in the education sector, we are categorized in.

But are we ready to talk, debate, sing, run, walk and raise our fists in the air, as a sign of solidarity and the knowledge we all have, cry, be shot at with rubber bullets by a police service that has NO knowledge of what they are doing, but are instructed by a piece of paper, as to what needs to be done "when a bunch of students intimidate you", be teargassed (like they did at the Union Buildings for absolutely no reason but to disperse us from a structure created to make the Presidency, feel above the law- it was created and put on a mountain, purposefully so that we knew who the boss was = #NP) and more importantly, to demand recognition of this on-going socio-economic issue and

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that the only way for it to be solved, is that everyone be given an equal opportunity, to learn and conscientise themselves in a field, that in essence, does STILL not equip us for the working environment because of the impracticality of textbook learning, and not hands-on. Are we ready to rise and continue?
I Am.

OUTSOURCING AND AFRIKAANS LANGUAGE POLICY

#OutsourcingMustFall is interlined with the #FeesMustFall campaign to a great extent. The aim of it was to try and eradicate the system of labour brokering, where instead of universities hiring individuals to work on the maintenance of universities, labour brokers are used. They come in the form of outsourced cleaning services, such as Servest. A lump sum is then given to these employers and they pay employees from this. This ultimately results in a low salary or wage and in turn, strips the employees of the benefits that as an employee of the university, should get. That resulted in these employees protesting for a higher wage pay out and benefits. There have been stories that workers can get as little as R1500 from these labour brokers or outsourced companies. Even a university student, cannot live on R1500 because of the current economic climate. And so, numerous protests and agreements have foregone some with success and others not. A question: what does a parent say to their child, when they are not paid enough to even feed them, when they want a better education? How will they say it and is this what the Mandela revolution has breed, the fear of the unknown?

For many years, previously Afrikaans universities have kept their language alive in tertiary institutions, making it difficult for reformation and transformation to happen in these institutions. What needs to be understood is the call for the total abolishment of Afrikaans as a language, it is for it to not be used as a medium of instruction. In the bid to indicate and to show how Afrikaans as a language is disadvantageous as a medium itself, I took to Facebook to express, what I had known, seen, heard and felt.

This is what I said on the 21st of February 2016:

“So, to those who don’t understand what the #AfrikaansMustFall situation is, I’ll make it clear: Although, I embrace the 11 official languages in South Africa, I believe if one will be to the disadvantage of others, then it should be erased.

1. Most classes at the University of Pretoria are bilingual, meaning that lessons are taught in two separate languages.
2. There are usually more students being taught in English, than in Afrikaans.
3. Only about 15% of the learners get taught in Afrikaans.
4. What’s interesting is that the students in these Afrikaans lectures, answer questions in English. E.g. KOB220
5. What is even MORE INTERESTING is that they write their semester tests, assignments, exams and use English textbooks. E.g. OBS 210 (2014)
6. Some lecturers are not even proficient in Afrikaans and have had to learn to speak and teach the language, to be able to teach these students – which has added an additional burden to lecturers who have to set up coursework in Afrikaans as well.
7. In an English lesson, an Afrikaans student will ask questions in Afrikaans, an there will be an Afrikaans dialogue between the student and the lecturer. E.g. OBS 310
8. Module codes are in Afrikaans: KOB 220 – Kommunikasie 220. STK 220 – Statistiek 220
9. The majority of students at the University of Pretoria know English and may have not taken Afrikaans as a second language.
10. #AfrikaansMustFall

Even though people may say this is a losing battle, there’s proof. Aluta Continua”.

Afrikaans is not a thing and it should not be put above the needs of the majority.

REFLECTIONS

There was a lot of aid during the protests, be it from sponsors, photographers, celebrities who helped to mobilise others, lecturers who heard out plight, Gift of the Givers with supplies and the EMS services, just to name a few. These were the driving forces of the entire campaign because no one went hungry or thirsty or even hurt without assistance – we had the best aid a cause could mobilise. I interviewed a fellow colleague, who too was involved in helping out where she could and in the best way possible. This interview was a reflection of what was not just done from the ground (where I was) but from the side-lines and from the roots themselves. Without aid, the Union Buildings would only just have been a dream.

Ato Moilola is a photographer who had her first encounter with the #FeesMustFall campaign through social media and radio. As the news spread far and wide, she too joined and as an alumni of one of the tertiary institutions, saw fit to contribute towards this cause. Like many, she marched through the streets of Johannesburg, with thousands of students as a supporter and a campaigner. In hand during all these protests, was her camera, one that captured the stories of many but with only one message: Listen to Us. The pictures have produced history itself and are a depiction of the power that the voice has. After the protests, she donated those pictures to the movements involved and various local newspapers as well as the campus newspapers, and also was working with the radio station, 702, in making sure that water, beverages and fruits were distributed to students. She noted that there was a general escalation in the feelings and the voices of students. She said, “Social issues have been swept under the carpet for too long and these issues have been silenced for far too long.... These are real issue, by real people”. The adoption of a radical approach, she says, was necessary and could not be bottled any more and more of us needed to speak up and bring all these social issues back to the surface. On the day of arrival, with her camera in hand, Ato goes on to say that there was no intent to cause drama, but to raise our voices and be heard. She mentions that she too realised the militant euphoria that came about when students were ignored by the President. She points out that there was no difference between those involved and those who were not because that was the one day when the spirit of Ubuntu, actually lived. There was one vision, and only way forward. She mentioned that the principle here is one – social issues, and if education is treated as a luxury, the cycle of poverty is never ending.

The media at large has either fabricated or dramatized some events that occurred during the #FeesMustFall campaign and

THIS IS WHAT THE MEDIA DID NOT WRITE

OUTSOURCED WORKERS’ SUFFERINGS



DELIWE MZOBE

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

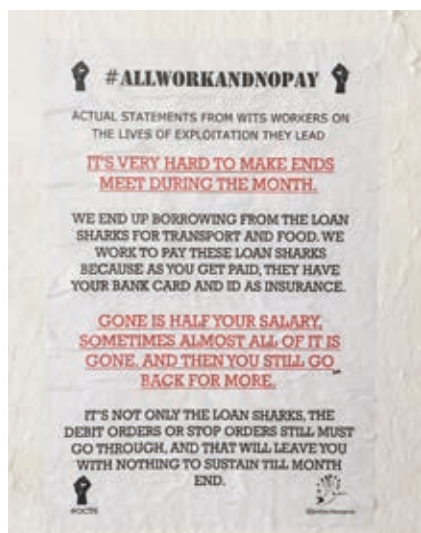
The workers at Wits were once seen as Wits staff with equal rights and benefits, they were all treated the same irrespective of the kind of work they do, there was no segregation, no discrimination and no intimidation. Every worker was invited to all occasions whether it was a sports event, commemoration, Christmas party etc, then it all changed when this enormous monster called outsourcing was introduced at Wits, that’s when the harmony and working relationships was destroyed. It was 2001 when workers’ lives were turned up side down, a black life was dehumanized, reduced to nothing. Wits management took a decision (without thinking twice, in order so save costs and for What? If you ask me:1) it was just so that top management can earn fancy salaries and fat bonuses, 2) They can afford to throw best parties to welcome the incoming VC & 3) They can order best gourmet meals for their meetings) to outsource some of its service providers namely: cleaning, gardening, catering, transport, maintenance, security and waste management. What a catastrophic moment it was, in the history of the Witwatersrand

university, when hundreds of ex-Wits employees had to queue up for their jobs after being retrenched by Wits. An outsourced company was hiring these workers, most of them got hired but some never got their jobs back due to nepotism and corruption conducted by the outsourced company, instead new comers got hired because they were blood related to the outsourced company management, some exchanged money and some were subjected to give sexual favours. Outsourcing has affected workers in the most outrageous way, there was a huge gap in the salaries when compared. Wits was paying plus minus R2400 versus outsourced company, who by then only paid R1000 monthly, Wits gave an allowance to its former workers of a lousy R200 and all ex-wits then were brought up to R1200 monthly. (I quote Mr Majoji an ex -Wits staff saying: with this salary we will never be able to buy cows for Lobola its means we will be bachelors for life) There was no bonus come end of the year, no UIF and provident fund deductions, to add to that the workers suffered victimization and intimidation from the

new bosses. The union which represented workers whilst employed by Wits also decided to outsource workers by rejecting them as their members, they claimed that by law, they do not represent contractors, (it’s very funny because now that outsourcing is ending the very same union that rejected us, is now interested in our business, they want us to re join them! Karma is a) we had to find an outside of Wits union called NASAWU, the National Service and Allied Workers Union did not hesitate to sign us as their new members. The union fought for our rights and by 2006 we got paid bonuses and our UIF and Provident funds were deducted and a follow up is done annually to the NBC which is the company keeping our provident funds.

1. Our children lost the privilege of studying for free at Wits like all the children of the staff employed by Wits. (after matric, our dependents sit at home and end up accompanying us to our workplace

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in search of work, hence you will find there is three generations per household working as cleaners because we had also accompanied our parents to Wits in search of employment and now our offsprings, the third generation is following in our foot steps)

2. We lost the medical aid benefit that meant we could no longer afford to get proper health care, and our job can be a health hazard if not proper care and necessary protective clothing provided, we can be easily vulnerable to all kinds of sickness as we are exposed to dangerous chemicals everyday.
3. We also lost our right to visit the libraries and the use of computers, this meant that we will always be cleaners as we could no longer improve ourselves by borrowing books to read and the computer access loss meant that we could no longer view job vacancies and be able to apply internally for better paying posts in the university"(not that applying meant you stood a chance of getting that post, we had to take chances just incase you got lucky, we always knew deep down that we were considered as second class citizens, we are not good enough for those jobs, that is why most workers ended up not applying because it was just a waste of time, not even a single interview you would make, not to mention a response saying sorry but your application was unsuccessful).

Working as a contractor at Wits meant that you had to obey the rules that the university has laid down. Three apartheid rules that we had to obey were:

- (i) Entrance/Exit gates we were not allowed to use any other gates except for the station street gate, it didn't matter where around this big institution you worked, if your transport leaves you at west campus entrance and you work at west campus, you had to walk all the way up to station street to enter only to walk back down to west campus to resume your duties. (You should have seen us when it was 4pm following each other to station street gate, we were like headed cattle being led to the river to drink water with our header the company's Admin lady Cindy, she used to be strict watched us like a hawk, if you did a favour for a temp who does not have an access card and you let them out with your card, if she sees you its over for you, you are fired, a worker Lydia Zikhali was fired for letting her sister who was a temp out using her access card.
- (ii) There were some toilets which we were good enough to clean but not good enough to utilize, after cleaning them they were kept locked and only Wits staff could use those bathrooms.
- (iii) We were not allowed to use any of the resting/ eating areas all around Wits and also not allowed to sit on the lawns and enjoy the tree's shades. We were allocated a small changing room and kitchen which had no microwave sometimes the water boiler didn't work that meant no tea/coffee for us, these two rooms were unventilated they had no windows for fresh air and to top it all they had sewerage pipes running through, the smell and the heat used to be unbearable, the cherry on top was the next room which was turned into a dumping area the deadly smell coming out of that room especially on Mondays because of the weekend rubbish that was not collected was enough to knock a person down, but what could we do we had to sit and eat our cold food because we were also not allowed to take our belongings (bags, food, clothes etc) to our work place if you were caught doing any of the above it was dismissal "it was a very bad sin to use the client's microwaves and kettle"(During winter it was very difficult to eat cold food especially if its tripe or chicken feet, so we used to hide our lunch tins at our backs, carry them as if we were carrying our babies on our backs and you had to make sure that Cindy does not see you or else you are dead! Some times we will be going to our posts and Cindy would be on her way to the office, we have to go past her and after we have passed her she would stand behind us looking for those who are carrying babies on their backs, so if we saw her first well in advance while she is still far we would quickly take off our babies and hide them in the nearest garden, we put them inside the bush of flowers and we carry on walking as if nothing is wrong! But sadly sometimes when you come back for your baby it would be gone, someone who saw in which spot you hide your baby, would come after you had gone and snatch your baby and that meant no lunch for you on that day)

The Wits community was watching and experiencing while this unspeakable & disgusting treatment took place right under their noses, some were not bothered but some were very concerned and it took some students and some lecturers to put a stop to this brutality and victimization, that's when the Wits Workers Solidarity Committee (WSC) was formed, it is a combination of Students, Lecturers, Professors and the workers. enough was enough, this discrimination and segregation by Wits must come to an end. A letter was written to the university about this matter and demanding an end to this apartheid. The university responded by saying they (management) were not aware of any of these laws and wanted to know who implemented them? Our company pointed their finger at the Wits services department as they take instruction from them and the services department denied having laid those rules. Then, the university hired someone to investigate and that's how the TOKISO REPORT (see copy attached) was born. A big meeting was called for all the contractors and at that time Prof. Habib was about to take over as the new Vice Chancellor, He announced that as from May 2013 all those apartheid rules were abolished, from that day we were free from abiding to those ridiculous nonsense rules designed to make our working lives a living hell but the struggle of end outsourcing was far from over, we still had a lot of political issues to address and every time we met with Prof. Habib he would rub it in our faces that he set us free what more do we still want him to do? Hello! We want a decent a pay Mr VC and please can you stop bragging about ending that apartheid because it should have not been implemented in the first place it was a disgrace for such a respectable institution to be still oppressors in this new democracy!!!

The struggle never stopped, in fact we became strong and untouchable together with the WSC our union and the media, we were now fighting for our jobs, as one of the cleaning contract was expiring end of June 2013. The WSC approached Wits management to let them know that: no worker must loose their job because the contracted company is leaving, yes the outsourced company may have reached the end of the road but it should not be the case for the workers, who have been serving this institution for more than two decades! We form part of the Wits community whether they label us as second class but we have put blood, sweat and tears to this institution! Our hands built it, clean it and furnish it! so the company must go but the workers must remain and which ever company wins the tender must absorb the workers. At first they refused to listen to what the WSC was demanding, their response was that the WSC was not a formal structure, it is not registered therefore it cannot make those kinds of demands. We then, took a brave step by protesting at the entrance of the senate meeting (highest decision makers) which takes place every month where all the university Professors, board members, management and SRC gather and important decisions are reached by voting.

We managed to get a vote that saved plus minus 300 workers livelihoods, it was a huge victory when the new outsourced company took over the cleaning contract it absorbed all the workers.

While we were fighting this battle the message was clear as well we were also fighting this beast outsourcing, "it must go it must end it must be abolished" In retaliation the university yet again paid someone (with the money they saved when they brought this monster at Wits) to compile the LETSEMA REPORT (see copy attached) in my opinion Wits has too much money to waste compiling all these reports of which at the end of the day, these very same reports are no help to us for e.g the Tokiso report came with great recommendations but were they ever taken to task NO NO NO what good are these reports to us? They should have just given that money to us to help boost our peanuts that we get paid every month! The letsema report was also a total waste of time and money because the methodology used was not transparent we do not know how they got to their calculations which claims it will cost Wits lots and lots of millions to end outsourcing? It was later discovered by one of the members of the WSC that the reason why the costs escalated so much is because in the report they remunerated each worker a monthly salary of R7500.00 at that point in time we were asking for a decent wage! At that time a minimum living wage was R4500.00 per month. Why the extra R3000.00 to make this exercise look expensive and impossible? But then again if Wits management wants a properly cleaned university they should pay those millions and stop hiding behind the costs because clearly they have too much money lying around! That they can easily pop to pay Letsema company which by the way, one of the council member has shares in, so money goes only to the already rich!

What about us the poor church mouse?

PUBLICA[C]TION REFLECTION

LEIGH-ANN NAIDOO

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

How often have we been reminded over the course of the student movement that no matter how much people talk left, if they walk right their words become hollow. No matter how many times the ruling elite says 'liberation', it is its actions towards preserving the status quo that counts. It isn't what is said but what is done that reveals the world. Action is what matters, what is meaningful. What you do in the world becomes a living archive that stands as a source for people to know you by, for people to know the validity of where you stand. We have been inspired by the actions of South African students over the past two years. No matter how many words are used to discredit them, their actions stand as a brave and hopeful testimony to the resurgence of a radical political imagination in their generation.

**imagination >>> imagine action >>> imagina[c]tion.
How do we put action into imagination?**

We are interested in action. And we are interested in the responsibility between action and words. We are interested in words that matter. In words that are accountable to action, that are active in the construction of a new world. Our collaborative project emerged out of a desire to bring together radical action and words that can testify to it. We wanted to create a project that would put words to the decolonising actions of the student movement.

**Publication >>> Publica[c]tion
How do we put action, and publics, into publication?**

We work against the individualised, defensive, corporatised formula that the university has perfected, erecting jargon like gates, firewalls like moats, words like egos. We self-publish against the ratings and rankings, against the masturbation of the academy. We insist that it is equally difficult, perhaps more so and requiring of all kinds of important skills, to allow for collective, collaborative, consultative engagements to be the foundation of our creativity. How do you undo academic elitism? How do you reroute knowledge production and distribution, resisting its estrangement from the lives of all of us?

**STARTING POINTS:
Establish connections >>> find the people who have done the work >>> insist on collective creativity**

Find two good comrades and start a collective. Together, imagine how you can think and write and share about student engagement, analyses and critique over the last few years. Do not over-determine the questions up front. And importantly, do not present yourselves as 'editors'. Leave the framing broad enough to allow for possible contributors to enter and edit as they see fit. Invite active students to participate (find the people who have done the work). Workshop what a possible collective publication could look like... a publica[c]tion. Set up a collaborative process where we sit face-to-face and think through what it is we are doing. Hire a minibus.



**WE BEGAN WITH THE BASICS:
What is reading? >>> What is writing? >>> What is publishing?**

What emerged was a five-hour process, conducted in 5 provinces – at North West University Potchefstroom; Tshwane University of Technology, Shoshanguve; University of Venda; University of Kwazulu-Natal; Bisho, Eastern Cape; University of the Western Cape and University of the Free State) – 20-odd universities invited, thousands of kilometers mostly driven. Sitting together learning about each other and about the institutions we inhabit. Wits, UJ, NWU, VUT together || TUT, UNISA, SMMU, UP || UKZN, DUT, UniZulu, MUT || Fort Hare, WSU, NMMU, UCKAS || UWC, USB, UCT, CPUT || UFS.

We sat together on lawns, in classrooms, under trees and in the minibus, sharing food and conversation. We talked about what it means to read, write and publish. We read aloud together a piece by Paulo Freire on reading¹, one by Toni Morrison on writing², and UC Berkeley student reflections on publishing³. We spoke about form and audience and the importance of extending the work of disruption from action to words. The short texts we had chosen to read and discuss together evoked a different set of discussions at every meeting, even though they were repeated half a dozen times with a different group of participants. Challenging the notion of what reading is, by expanding reading to include reading the world and not merely texts, allowed for most participants to bring experiences and ideas from wide personal archives into the conversation. After each session, the three of us used the road trip to reflect on our process, we deconstructed every turn in the conversation, every relationship, we gave each other

critical feedback on how we'd facilitated the process, on the ways in which our subject positions, our language, our relationships shaped the field of conversation. From these reflections we drew the decision that we would not edit the writing of contributors. We have not wanted to presume that our way of writing, our sense of what should or should not be committed to paper is better than others. We want to be in relationship with other students and ask good questions; we want to encourage further engagement and re-writing without presuming a standard norm or a 'best practice'. The experiment is with a way of proceeding, and in the quality of relationship. We also proceed with the assumption that the student movement is neither complete nor that it has finished asking all of its questions. Some contributors are still in running battles with private security and police, one of our student comrades remains imprisoned without bail. This is not a project of closure, but one of sustaining the opening. We chose the form of a broadsheet to indicate this relationship to time and publication.

When we approached some progressive publishers we realized that creativity's wings are clipped at the door of publishing houses. We decided to self-publish, and began a process of putting together a design team and finding a paper source and printer. We chose to have no white people involved in this publication⁴, from its facilitators to its authors to its wonderful designers – thank goodness for Naadira Patel and Ayesha Krige. Even the printing house is black-owned. In the spirit of the student movement, we are asserting that black lives not only matter, but can and should configure the terms of the future. The work of deciding on themes, figuring out form and its relation to content, how to position interventions in relation to each other, how images make sense of words ... has also been a long collective conversation, thrashed out over our dining room tables with pizza and lots of tea. We have taken the responsibility for making these choices very seriously. How is privilege playing out in how we position contributions in the text? Do we have a content page? How should the archive of student movement materials be made available as a resource in our broadsheet? Which borders do we put onto a map of South Africa? How can the publication be positioned as material to be used rather than data to be consumed?

I have learned a huge amount during this process. Not only about what it takes to organize across universities, but also about what it means to be in a process with others that ensures I am accountable to them and open to receiving critical feedback from them about my thinking AND my action. There have been many hard discussions, uncomfortable ones, necessary disruptions to our own way of proceeding. But the most creative and compelling moments in this process were the times of collective thinking and action.

The creation of action >>> cre-a[c]tion.

It is difficult to describe the energising experience of such shared work. I first experienced this consistently at the RMF occupation of Azania House, especially the public seminar space. In this creative educational space people were not simply engaging the topic of discussion or the presentation delivered by an invited guest. They were engaging the words and ideas as resources for radical action in the world. Because their collective action and their experience was in the conversation, there was an intensity, a connectivity between people in the room. I had access to this again in the publica[c]tion workshop discussions. I felt compelled to engage and think with contributors in ways that the university classroom did not allow, does not allow. Creating space, by listening and allowing for participants to go in the direction they chose, meant that the engagements we had were more surprising than we could have predicted. We developed a ferocious commitment to listening.

I feel hugely privileged to have been in conversation with so many different students across the country. We will continue the collaboration, as a first step through publica[c]tion launches at each university, crafting each launch with our comrades at the different institutions to serve as further action towards the decolonisation of our universities. We will not sell the publica[c]tion. We will share it with co-creators and co-collaborators, old and new, as we continue to act to change the worlds we inhabit.

¹ Freire, Paulo. *The Importance of the Act of Reading*. Journal of Education, Boston, Vol. 165(1), 1983, 5-11.

² Morrison, Toni. 'No Place for Self-Pity, No Room for Fear'. *The Nation*, 23 March 2015. <https://www.thenation.com/article/no-place-self-pity-no-room-fear/>

³ Muller, Lauren, and June Jordan. *June Jordan's poetry for the people: A revolutionary blueprint*. Taylor & Francis, 1995. In the section called 'why publish' from Page 178.

⁴ The only white people who had anything to do with this project were the funders, who agreed to fund our project without interfering, on our own terms and without any conditions or strings attached, for which we are grateful. Also, much of what I think and do is influenced by my partner and comrade Kelly Gillespie, who is indirectly but actively involved in most things I say and do. "This project has been supported by funds from the NOTrUC Project (Notations on Theories of radical Urban Change, DNR: MOVE 211-2011-1519; Swedish public research funder Formas) led by Dr. Henrik Ernstson together with Dr. Koni Benson at the African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town."

WORKERS' STRUGGLE WITH OUTSOURCING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE ::::



David Hlongwane's sculpture and plaque at UWC

At the centre of the University of Western Cape (UWC), there is a telling sculpture by David Hlongwane, which symbolizes the struggles of cleaning staff to send their children to university.

The sculpture itself is deeply symbolic of the protracted struggle of the working class in South Africa, which is predominantly black. Furthermore, the sculpture has a written message: 'ending and beginning', a poetic message illuminated, so vividly, by the gifted David Hlongwane, the artist who crafted the sculpture. The message: "ending and beginning" illuminates a key moment of struggle, the ending of a painful past, and beginning of a brighter future; the ending of an era of "kitchen girls, and garden boys" and the rise of a new well-educated, successful post-colonial generation. This invokes a popular struggle song: "my mother was a kitchen girl, my father was a garden boy; that's why I'm an educator". This struggle song probably inspired David Hlongwane in the process of carving out his award winning sculpture.

The University of Western Cape prides itself on its history of sympathizing with the working class: 'The university of the left' is known for graduating its cleaning staff and for its role in the anti-apartheid struggle, especially during the times of Prof. Jakes Gerwel's era.

UWC landscaping and cleaning workers started protesting for the end of outsourcing on the 2nd November 2015; but this should not lead the reader into assuming that the working force of UWC had been passive by then as there is evidence of written correspondence between workers and the former Rector of UWC, Brian O'Connell regarding the end of outsourcing. Nonetheless, UWC workers were clearly animated by the 2015 student rebellion trend, and of course protests against out-sourcing that mushroomed in universities across the country, almost simultaneously with the 2015 student revolt. On the 2nd November 2015, the UWC landscaping and cleaning workers were joined by UWC students as they marched on campus, demanding the end of out-sourcing. That was a historical moment not to be taken lightly in the history of UWC.

However, such protest action against out-sourced companies at UWC didn't end outsourcing in that university. Following a two-day meeting (26th & 27th November 2015) UWC Council announced: "the University supports insourcing in principle and considered it unaffordable." It is unclear how the UWC Council came to that resolution pending a feasibility study announced by UWC management in earlier agreements. For example, in a meeting between UWC management, SRC, and UWC Fees Will Fall Movement (22 - 23 November 2015) it was agreed that the "Final

decision on insourcing will be made by Council. The Vice-Chancellor will present the financial implications of this to Council. If approved by Council, the implementation of insourcing will start with Cleaning staff in 2016, Security and Garden staff in 2017". And, indeed, the UWC Council concluded that in-sourcing would be 'unaffordable'. The political contradictions underpinning that decision are spelled out below.

On the surface the resolution that insourcing is 'unaffordable' appears a political decision/resolution rather than the recommendations of an 'objective' 'economic' feasibility study. Nonetheless, the question is: What (political) barriers prevent insourcing at UWC? Simply saying that insourcing wouldn't be affordable does not hold water. Furthermore, finance students who had been tasked by UWC Fees Will Fall Movement to analyse the financial reports of the university pronounced that in-sourcing is affordable, and would in fact save the university some money.

After protracted deliberations, UWC Council, and UWC management, under pressure from protesting students and general workers, announced that: "It was approved that all



End of Outsourcing meeting held at UWC student centre after protest action (02/11/2015)

outsourced staff will receive a monthly allowance of R2000 in addition to their earnings, which will be effective as of 1 December 2015". Furthermore, on the same statement, it was announced that: "outsourced staff, spouses, and their children will have access to study rebates similar to permanent staff". These announcements sounded progressive, but implementation proved difficult, if not illusionary. For example, the R2000 allowance was only allocated to permanent workers, and not casual cleaning staff (both garden and in-door cleaning staff).

The UWC Fees Will Fall Movement was disgruntled by such unfair discrimination against casual workers, and approached the out-sourced companies in-turn to encourage the same companies to consider making the casual workers permanent so that they could have access to the R2000 UWC subsidy and other benefits accrued to permanent staff. Subsequently, on 8th December 2015 a delegation from UWC Fees Will Fall Movement approached Bidvest-Prestige Cleaning Company, and released the following statement on their Facebook page:

On 8th of December 2015 Bidvest Prestige Cleaning Company announced that it will give its casual workers the allowance of R1000.00 effective from 30th November 2015 and R2000.00 effective from the 1st December 2015 in addition to their monthly salaries as agreed with UWC. Furthermore Bidvest Prestige Cleaning Company announced that it will give the said casual workers permanent employment effective from January 2016.

This transpired after the casual workers of the same company were discriminated against in favour of permanent workers in receiving the monthly allowance that has already been received by permanent workers since 30th of November 2015.

UWC Fees Will Fall Movement welcomes such progressive developments, but will continue to elevate the voices of the other 5 casual ("standby") workers of the same company who are still discriminated against on the basis of them being non-permanent workers. We will not rest until they also

receive the same benefits and made permanent workers.

Furthermore, we would like to point out that the following companies (Metro, Bidvest Steiner, Perfect Bounce and Pegasus HLM) have not paid out the first installment of the UWC monthly allowance/subsidy. On this note, it is disheartening to learn that companies such as Metro have casual workers who have been discriminated against in favour of permanent workers and may not receive the monthly allowance as agreed with UWC management that pointed out that: "it was approved that all outsourced staff will receive a monthly allowance of R2000.00 in addition to their earnings, which will be effective as of 1 December 2015".

The latter quote says nothing about the discrimination of casual workers in this agreement, therefore the University must abide with its own agreement.

The struggle for the end of outsourcing continues. We will not rest until this mission is complete.

Below are some vignettes from UWC outsourced workers showing some of their everyday struggles to make a living under precarious and low-wage conditions of work. These vignettes include the vicissitudes of both the casual, and permanent workforce of UWC.

Anonymous worker 1

Anonymous worker 1 works for Metro as a casual worker for more than 2 years. He is 45 years old; lives in Belhar, and earns R2200 p/m. He supports a family of 3. According to the labour laws of South Africa, Anonymous 1 should've become a permanent worker after 3 months of work. Anonymous 1 is not receiving the UWC monthly allowance of R2000 received by permanent staff of Metro.

Anonymous worker 2

Anonymous worker 2, a 23-year-old casual worker for Metro, had been working for 11 months at the time of writing. He supports his baby, and the mother of the child with his wage. His wage varies from month to month, depending on circumstances of precarious employment. In December 2015, Anonymous worker 2 received a wage of R2030. Anonymous worker 2 said that, since he is 23 years old, he would love to study at UWC, should he be granted that opportunity.

Anonymous worker 3

Anonymous worker 3, a casual worker for Metro for 2.5 years at the time of writing; has 2 children (a 7-year-old boy & a 20 year-old girl). The 20-year-old girl is eligible to study for free at UWC, but Anonymous worker 3 was not aware of such information.

Anonymous worker 4

Anonymous worker 4 has been working for the University of the Western Cape for 20 years. She stays in Harare, Khayelitsha. From the R2700 she earns per month she supports 4 children and 2 grandchildren. Anonymous worker 4 lives off loans and money lenders who charge her heavy interest. Her expenses per month exceed the R2700 she makes. She told us: "My loans and garnish are over R4000 per month and are difficult to pay off. I am harassed by shops wanting me to pay accounts nearly everyday. I wish I could throw away this phone...I have a child who passed matric 2011, he is working in factories now and can't go to university because there is no money."

Anonymous worker 5

Anonymous worker 5 has been working for the University of the Western Cape for 20 years. She earns R 2700 per month. She is a single parent with 4 Children and 6 Grandchildren. She stays in Site C, Khayelitsha where she also supports her elderly mother and 5 brothers who all are unemployed. Her monthly ticket to and from work is R600. She told us: "I have a child at College



MNQOBI NGUBANE
UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

“THE BEGINNING OF THE END”

who dropped out because he couldn't afford studying expenses and I could not pay for him. The R2900 that I make is nothing – it all goes to loans. The company I work for provides no benefits like medical cover and pensions. I was once given a warning for sitting down and taking my pills since I am sick. The university must take money they give to Metro directly to us. If they can pay the company they must pay us.” She adds: “We are only asking that the University to pay us directly, asifuni iLabour brokers, ndimdala, siyaguga. I'm ashamed to tell people back home that I work at a University.”

PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT: THE STRUGGLE FOR A LIVING WAGE FOR WORKERS AT UWC

At policy level, the state, labour unions, politicians, and experts of various sorts have held protracted deliberations about 'the living wage'. Coming after the strike of mineworkers on the platinum belt and farm workers in the Western Cape, the idea of a living wage seemed to be at the centre of discussion around labour in 2015. On campuses, these discussions appear to have been confined in academic seminars, with little engagement of the stakeholders, such as workers themselves. However, in 2015/16, partly due to the student revolt, and policy level deliberations, we saw open discussions about the end of outsourcing, and invocations of the living wage on our campuses.

The National Minimum Wage Initiative (NMW-RI) of Wits has probably had some of the most prolific open discussions about the struggle of general workers for a decent wage in that university. On the 2nd December 2015, the NMW-RI had open discussions around “issues of living wages, minimum wages and outsourced workers”, which was attended by a wide range of participants from COSATU, NMW-RI, and outsourced workers of the same university. That particular discussion aimed to “empower Wits outsourced workers in their struggle for a living wage”, amongst other objectives such as, to “anchor the debate on the NMW[RI] in an understanding of the needs faced by poor workers” (with emphasis).

These discussions are invoked here to suggest that universities such as UWC, could probably rekindle or continue or start similar open discussions with similar objectives towards empowering outsourced workers and ending outsourcing. The importance of these open discussions advocated here is that they provide direct linkages between stakeholders, and they have potential to influence labour policies at various levels, from the workplace, to state labour policies on a national level.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES: THE PRESSURE TO END OUTSOURCING AT UWC IN EARLY & MID-2016

On 8th February 2016, UWC landscaping and cleaning staff embarked on a march to the Rector's office to hand over their memorandum of demands for the end of outsourcing and the implementation of a minimum wage of R10 000 per month.

Subsequently, on Wednesday, 10th February 2016, workers and students gathered at the student centre, at about 1pm, and marched to the administration building to get a response from UWC management.

The response from UWC management reads as follows:

1. True to our mission, the University remains sensitive to the plight of the marginalized and to provide affordable access to poor students, while we are also cognizant of the challenges workers face. To balance of this dual tension will require serious investigation. The Council of the University has formed a task team who will be engaging stakeholders involved in outsourcing/insourcing at the University.

2. We have made a commitment to augment the existing salaries of certain workers by R2000.00 per



UWC, 10/02/2016, Workers & students unite against outsourcing

month and at the moment this is as much as we can contribute. This amounts to an increase of over 70% per designated worker and is a demonstration of our good faith. In addition the study rebate received by University employees has been granted to these employees as well. This includes the workers of Pegasus Consulting Services who only commenced their contractual services at the University in October 2015. As you are certainly aware, there has been no fee increment at Universities in 2016 and all expenses of the University must be evaluated within the context of sustainability.

Let us re-consider some of the political dynamics that will help us come to terms with the political reasons behind the UWC's apathy towards in-sourcing. In March 2016, there were rumors that some UWC personnel, in the upper echelons of UWC are benefiting from the tender system used to contract outsourced companies. It was alleged that some of the owners of these companies have intimate relationships with some UWC personnel in the upper echelons of management. Our sources also informed us that such personnel are not willing to give up their fortunes just like that. Of course, these were only rumors, but they do shed light on the political dynamics at play in the upper echelons of UWC, beyond economics.

Disgruntled by these issues, on Monday, 22nd February 2016, the outsourced workers of UWC put their tools down and occupied the Rector's office from about 7:30am. The Rector and his team arrived at about 8:30am.

The Rector engaged the spokesperson of the workers in a relatively short conversation where he reiterated previous statements about insourcing: “We are the university of the working class!”, “We have tried our best and given some of you the R2000 allowance!”, “Insourcing will bankrupt the university!”.

The casual workers expressed that the R2000 allowance does not accrue to them. The Rector responded by saying that a list of all casual workers from all outsourced companies should be submitted to his office for consideration for the R2000 allowance. And that was the end of that short occupation of the Rector's office. The delegation went out of the Administration building to join the rest of the workers who had been waiting outside, picketing, in front of the Administration building. The demonstrations lasted



the whole day, 22nd February 2016, and continued the next day, and the next.

On the 24th February 2016 demonstrations against outsourcing continued regardless of a court order obtained by the university on 22nd February 2016. But on the same day, private security personnel somewhat saw the need to disperse the workers' militancy with pinball gunshots, and two arrests, which we interpreted as careless police brutality, and the pleasure of trigger happy masculine paramilitary forces at UWC. No one deserves to be shot at, even with rubber bullets or pin-balls, not in our democracy that many people died for!

On Thursday, 25th February 2016, the workers, UWC Fees Will Fall, UWC management had a closed meeting, whilst the majority of the workers were locked outside the university premises. The meeting had no tangible outcomes beyond the reiteration of UWC's rhetoric position towards insourcing.

May the reader take note that by March 2016, it was becoming much clearer that in-sourcing is not an option for UWC, not because the university cannot afford it, as reiterated by UWC management and UWC Council, but it was convincing that there are much deeper political reasons embedded in the tender system governing the allocation of tenders to bidders, which prevented insourcing at UWC. However, it must be reiterated that at the time of writing, these were 'only rumors', which could be perhaps probed by investigative journalism, beyond the scope of this chapter.

By September 2016, it appeared that UWC was unwilling to end outsourcing in that university for political reasons, regardless of ongoing protest action, and pronouncements of insourcing at other universities such as UCT, and later UNISA. These outcomes were discouraging, in terms of progressive politics at the time of writing. Nonetheless, outsourcing continued at UWC for political reasons outlined in this chapter, rather than for the 'economic reasons' rhetoric uttered by UWC. Such 'economic reasons' rhetoric is contradictory to the history of UWC, as 'a university of the working class'.

FEES MUST FALL



SAMSON "SAMMY" RAPAU MAHLATSE
UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

FEESMUSTFALL ACTIVISTS (UL)

We are proudly agent of change in the republic. Our vastly diverse generation is economically disadvantaged by the burden of being black and a flawed democracy. Some of us are the children of the have-nots who made it to the elite institutions. We are suffocating, suppressed, misled by the 'system' which at this particular juncture left us in dismay and are in pain of being left out being ignored in their nation. We are the children of the soil colour define us not, future leaders and anomie youth; inspired by, Fanon, Mothopeng, Mandela, Sobukwe, Biko and Tiro to name a few.

UNORGANISED MOVEMENT

The tool that has been used to demonise the student has been a vital tool in active to spark and destroy the movement. As it was stated by Kwame Toure that "MOBILISE MOBILISE AND MOBILISE". The media has led to the mobilisation of OTHER varsities to join the FallistMovement. The less WE knew about the origin of the event and its original intention it holds underneath, WE responded to the mobilisation of FeesMustFall. This

became a detrimental factor to the disadvantaged masses and has hampered (de-assisted) in the mobilisation of authentic forces towards free quality education. WE all wanted free education but it differed with time. SOME wanted it now, whilst the OTHERS condoned and recognised continuous processes to ensure hegemony of the privileged. Others wanted to hear government outlining Free Education road map as for some were (ARE) just confused towards the happenings.

Detrimental Factor – the media as an information tool exposed intention of government to increase Fees at the higher education, with unknown agenda, which provoked the citizens of the nation. Fee increment was against peoples will. Parents knew they cannot afford, it will mean high number of dropouts, more black debt and political opportunism.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM – THE FEES

Students at the University of the Witwatersrand (Mangaliso Sobukwe University) were viewed as leaders of the struggle of FeesMustFall. They were discredited after others agreed with the Zero fee increment. These agreements led to more frustration and exposed the

weakness of mobilisation. The students' think tanks declared the agreement as a deception; and we had to continue for free education. Most students left the struggle for the #FeesMustFall (free quality education). By means of all of what happened, we learned that most students have not understood the core of the event.

Furthermore, University students were opportunistic to address their campus specific problems with the management. This rubbed on the wounds of SRC and political structures. It divided our campus worse. We ended up with no agreement with management and with such number of student attending the mass meeting a revolt was unavided. It was unfortunate for University of Limpopo properties.

How it came to be of the concept. The institutional racial history card was questioned through RhodesMustFall. This led to the #FeeMustFall and #OutSourcingMustFall concepts but credit must be given to the RhodesMustFall activists. We ended up calling this movement a FallistMovement.



Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 2 May 2016 Our piece for #WorkersDay / #WorkersMonth @ Wits. The situation of black workers in SA is sickening. / Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 8 Jan 2016 Symbolic erasure of Solomon by Wits management. Little do they know what 2016 has in store for them :) Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 24 Oct 2015 Our small contribution to part of the #FeesMustFall struggle. Reclaim. Rename. Revolution. #SolomonMahlanguHouse / Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 1 Feb 2016 Our new piece in the Wits tunnel to kick off O-Week: The Creation of Adam's Damnation #Asinamali #FMF2016

IRON FISTS & THE COURAGE OF RESISTANCE



OWETHU MBAMBO
UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

On my first day at the University of Johannesburg I walked around looking for my lecture venue, getting lost countless times. The place seemed scary but I reassured myself I'd get used to it. I never did. After five years in UJ, I still felt the alienating coldness of its apartheid architecture. The cement and face brick buildings never warmed up. The boards across campus telling you where the venues were, where to go, what was where, were only in English and Afrikaans, and many remain so.

When black students are admitted into institutions of higher learning, we are constantly reminded of how lucky we are – by our families, our communities and our politicians (who are equally quick to remind us that they freed us). We are reminded of the many other black students who couldn't make it and oddly told that we should be proud of this. For a while I bought this narrative. I accepted that I was lucky and that I was free. We were after all in a rainbow nation and there was so much to be hopeful for, or so we were told.

The Rand Afrikaans University ("RAU") symbolism and culture all over the UJ's main campus where I studied, was flagrant. The dominant residence culture

was unchanged from that of RAU: from a residence named Dromedaris – after one of mass coloniser Jan van Riebeck's famous ships, to the Afrikaans stream students always getting a more detailed exam and test scope than the black dominated English stream. Many things were amiss and alienating, so the façade wore off for some students after a while, now and then.

At the UJ, activism is dark. It is heavy. Countless student leaders have been expelled for activism. Cleaners have been relocated for begging to be insourced. Many more suspended and put on warnings – to paralyse them through fear. Bouts of activism were suppressed. Student leaders would be abused by the Brixton SAPS which our vice-chancellor seemed to have a great relationship with. And so it became a cycle – students would get disenchanted seeing their friends being excluded because their fees were not paid, unable to register because they were poor, they would protest and they would be suppressed and disappear. This is how the culture of fear was gradually entrenched into the fibre of activism at UJ. The fear never prevailed though, the fatigue from begging to learn, to be equal

and to be considered worthy always got the best of activists and they would again risk it all.

The UJ is a perfect microcosm of South Africa today. The integral sites remained largely unchanged from what it was under apartheid. The practices and culture remained. We carried the burdensome rainbow nation spirit with us because we were "lucky" and we were hopeful. But the black and poorer always got alienated and eventually excluded; again this was part of the process in the rainbow nation. A few would stand up and they too would be alienated for trying to ruin the rainbow nation where many others were still hopeful.

In 2015 #FeesMustFall (FMF) happened. FMF brought about renewed strength and courage to the UJ community. The cleaners led us. Students were afraid and outnumbered by bouncers that had been hired by the University, but the cleaners revolting in their masses across all the campuses gave us the necessary courage to get up and call for free education, decolonisation of the curriculum and the university as well insourcing of workers. All these struggles had been suppressed throughout the UJ's existence.

A GENERATIONAL CALL

A question that government never answered before, was a solidarity call by children of the elite and the have-not (dregs). We had fear of expulsions, suspensions, mixed emotions, confused but nevertheless, we carried on; it was now or never. We did not expect parents or anyone to understand our pain. We knew they never understood but felt the excruciating pain. Going home listening to the financial challenges of our families, face of poverty on our young sisters, violence of loan shark collector, noisy stomach, challenges of being youth, etc. is too much to sink in serenity.

It was sunny morning; others went to write exam before it started. It was everyone's struggle that made students to unite and rally behind the banner of #FeesMustfall campaign. We bottled many issues against the universities and more over it was the pain of the have-nots. We knew that parents cannot afford to pay registration, loan sharks they take every year, late accommodation, financial exclusion, not enough food in our rooms, student prostitution etc. We are the direct victim of our government that once gave our country hope.

Most people act racism than speaking racism, but government act racist and claim democracy- by Us

Commodifying education = indebting black people
This is pure witchcraft to all blacks in the world.
We are just taken for a ride. Before WE work will have already owing thousand to state. This is what they call success as government. Since blacks are slaves of whites supremacy. We remain unprivileged one way or another. WE are trapped in dept. and hypocrisy. This act creates a space to create the surplus labour for all general work as coined in the economic sector. As Marx taught us, surplus labour is in check to all exploited workers. It brings acceptance and fear to revolt against the witch craft system. This exploitation is permanently paralysing our families and villages life. We witness it in our campus. Workers such as Cleaners, securities, drivers,

plumbers etc. are outsourced and are ultra-exploited. Hence, the movement went to extent to mobilise workers in campuses to call for #EndOutsourcing. Racism is installed as the software of governance at every corner of our republic and need to be eradicated in our lifetime.

FEE INCREMENT = INCREASE OF BLACK DEBT

We are just systemically robbed our development in our community with such act. As Black people, we have more responsibility especially if you're a child of the have-not and from a village. Black graduates, after employment if we got luck, we become bread winners in our family. How will one focus on the Village development with such burden?

CAMPUSISM

Campusism - ranking and myth of universities MIND attitude that make students grouping to give birth of belonging amongst student of other varsities. Institution such as Wits, UCT etc. have been ranked as the best in the republic. WE accept the effect it had in the same movement amongst Us. There was an atmosphere of tension in presenting of ideas, attention and believes WE had amongst universities. When Soshanguve TUT, WSU, UL etc. had all protest as not ranked within the best varsities was demonised and not even supported. Financial exclusion of Us, the have-not matter not but exclusion of the middle class Blacks matter. The fact that the middle class blacks were directly affected with the fee increment of the 2015 was covered and promoted as if it is a new thing. This is the reason why most of these highly ranked and racist varsities have not been burned. WE in low ranked universities have been more violent and felt betrayed by this middle class Black student who pledged solidarity with us.

AFTERMATH

As much as we cherish democracy of the so called

rainbow nation the happenings of the event of feesmustfall was reflection of democracy but hypocrisy. The students were in a position of determination to the cause. The aftermath of the revolutionary event was so consequential to the student leadership and also to that ordinary students who by their conscious sense of being free from debts and in demand of free education were victimized others were imprisoned for the course of wanting shot down for the need of being educated expelled for the cause of being poor. Divide and conquer was used to divide the students. The tool of division was a segregationist of racial, political and tribal lines to end the revolution and to continue victimizing the leadership. Leaders were shut down in broad daylight by those in power

It was a bloodless revolution, unique revolution the action was done the revolution was abandoned most of all betrayal by the electronic media and the print media was injected. The main intention was to delay the youth especially the black youth the poor masses who are victimised everyday by the system of the government; they remain poor and never will they grow in this environment. The youth of 2015 distinguished themselves and identified that in this kind of system never will we grow. It's impossible for today. We remain resolute and wait for a revolutionary day, not believing in Mrs Liberty.



Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 7 Mar 2016 Our new piece in the Wits Tunnel on Afro-Palestinian Solidarity for #IAW2016 / Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 15 Sep 2015 Lumumba. Biko. Sankara. Another one of our new pieces at Wits. #BeMartyrworthy #BikoMonth #WhereAreTheLeaders? / Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 24 Aug 2015 White Rhinos are not greater than Black Miners. #RememberMarikana

During the protests, the university abused students and women. The university-hired bouncers dragged women by their breasts and almost cracked open the skull of one student activists. This angered protesters and pushed them forward. For weeks there was a stand-off between the university bouncers and protestors. The university suspended some students, still we soldiered on.

The university eventually made promises on the cleaner's demands, including the insourcing of workers by the end of 2016. The cleaners returned to work as a result of this and this significantly weakened the student numbers but not the quality of their fight.

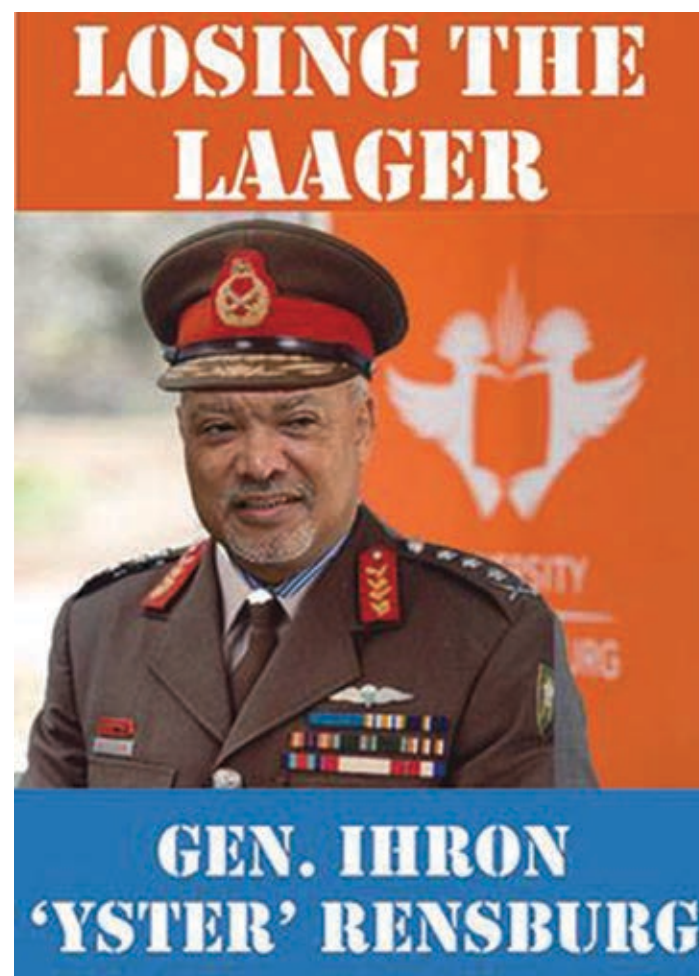
During 2016, UJ suspended more student leaders and kept them off campus with no disciplinary hearing for most of the academic year. Like in South Africa today, the few that are questioning the oppressive status quo have been cast out by the iron-fisted vice-chancellor and those who are at peace with the system, who hope to be amongst the lucky few making it out are ignorantly blissful. The university has tried to rectify a system that needs to be rebuilt through unsustainable reformist means like fundraising. Yet the marks of students remain blocked for non-payment and thousands of students are unable to pay the university.

Activists however learnt to fight the system even from the outside and have remained resolute that free education will come. After months of illegal and unfair processes, the university expelled several student leaders and life continues on the UJ campuses like these students never existed and like FMF did not happen. No one wants to stand up for the expelled students, those who care are afraid and this is exactly what the university wants.

It is 2017. UJ has still not insourced the cleaners. I am living in a country with no free education. Tons of young black people are begging for funding to register in various institutions on social media platforms, hundreds more are trying to raise the funds in their communities to pay for the previous year's debt. NSFAS has reached its funding limits and thousands of students are left with no funding. Many will return home to the poverty they thought education would relieve them from.

I am asking myself whether Fees Must Fall was worth it - the scars, the losses, the exclusion and trauma. After the 1976 student uprisings where students were killed, detained, and wounded, the Apartheid government did not back down from its Afrikaans policy. I guess it may have seemed like a loss for them too, for a while. But the domino effects of those uprisings slowly started to show, the ground had been fertilised and it was never the same. Fees Must Fall's fruits are not all clear now, but the atmosphere in institutions of higher learning and amongst the youth is rebellious. Young black people are tired of begging for education, they are tired of begging to be accommodated in their own country. They are restless.

I am hopeful that Free Education will be realised.



UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE IS A MISSIONARY STATION. ALWAYS WAS.

SIBUSISO MNYANDA

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE



The history and background of the University College of Fort Hare, as it was known as on erection, has its roots embedded in the missionary efforts of the envoys of the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS). This collective was commissioned by the British monarchy and was established purely as a measure to infiltrate basic day to day local or 'Native' life. The reasons for this move demand another critical study all together. I will focus on the infiltration and results thereof that informed what was to come.

It's evident that the monarchy had a standard plan for its colonies internationally. This is blatantly visible in the colonial development of modern day India, Australia and New Zealand. The move to establish a settler community in the modern day eastern cape is testimony. Never before, had a colonial force in Africa, been able to impose itself culturally than in Southern Africa in the early nineteenth century. They were so effective that they were able to inculcate a settler community in the middle of war ridden terrains. How? The assassination of dominant monarchs and destruction of sovereign rule, the translation of the Bible into isiXhosa and the establishment of schools fashioned in settler pedagogy, with an emphasis civilizing the locals. Locals were to become an economic commodity to sustain the colony without even knowing it.

As some might differ, the truth is that the eventual discovery on minerals in the Southern African region in the late nineteenth century was not a discovery, but a plot. It led to over 200 000 (subject to correction) of locals to be subjugated to a mass slavery effort that saw them work on mines, farms and domestic enterprises owned by the settler community. They would never do this willingly, the frontier wars are testimony, but eventually the pressure from the British in particular was like a curse. It cumulated into the two particular incidents: first the exaggeration of the migrant movement triggered by changing climatological conditions and verily competition for resources known to most as iMfecane¹ and king Shaka's doing; and then verily Ingqawule/Cattle killing, of which for the better half of modern history was blamed on a young Xhosa teenage girl².

The aftermath of these incidents left locals perpetually dispersed and furtherly disunited. It allowed the monarchy to unleash its most potent weapon to date: Civilization of the wild African through systematic dehumanization. The logic here is, how were a mere 5000 settlers going to subjugate a multi nation that was Southern Africa, to their will and power? This would come in the in the guise of formal education for the uncivilised 'infidels'³.

In the advent of missionary stations or 'formal education' being set up in colonial corners of the Cape region over the better half of the nineteenth century, two notable products of the missionary effort are Tiyo Soga and Walter Rubusana. Even though they were notably clergymen, their legacy is intensely politically charged up. The establishment of Lovedale is significant as well. In the aftermath of the genocide that was known as ingqawule, certain philanthropists/missionaries played the role of shepard to the masses who were scattered by death and hunger. John Ayliff and Dr John Love were the principle actors. Each given the task of establishing what was to be the most progressive missionary station ever. The same one that station that would mint, print and translate the first bible into an African tongue, from British text. Lovedale was formed in 1824 by the already mentioned Love. Originally established in Ncera, it eventually was fully established on the banks of the Tyhume river. A certain John Bennie, who was instrumental in the bible translation process, was one of the founding fathers. John Ayliff would later, after leading the *amamfengu*⁴ across the Kei, establish a junior high school of sorts that would work as a feeder to Lovedale, Healdtown. These were the kraals that would mould our 'leaders'. And these were the shepherds that would herd them.

Tiyo Soga, probably the first recognised 'Native' journalist, was educated at Lovedale from 1844-46 until *Imfazwe Yezembe*⁵ broke out. Subsequently, because of how 'diligent' he was, he ended up in Scotland on scholarship in Glasgow, to study theology. On his return, not only was he the first ordained native, but he was also to be involved special mission to translate the Bible into his native tongue, and publish it. Rubusana was graduated at Lovedale in 1878. He was tutored by the notorious James 'Somgxada'⁶ Stewart. He led the revision process of what Soga had worked on in the 1850, under the ordinance of king Edward the VII in 1904. He happens to be the same man that was a significant part of the formation of what was known South African National Native Congress, and eventually the ANC under the watch of the Thembu King Jongilizwe Sampu Dalindyebo and his motley crew of chiefs in 1912.

The British Monarchy understood the power relations that went into colonial expansion. Testimony to this is the deliberate set up of mission stations within the royal kraals of local; chiefs and verily Kings. This meant converting the royals, which would open an evangelic window into the people. Today, in the Cape Province we see a lot of missionary stations situated in royal kraals of yester year. Along the Tyume and Keiskamma rivers where the frontier borders established, was where this colonial expansion took major formation. Chief Ngqika and Kama of the Xhosa amaRharhabe took into this Christian conversion very keenly even setting up schools in their kraals.

This development led to factions amongst the 'converted' and 'non-believers' amongst the locals. Those who kept tradition and custom, amaqaba, and those who took up new western

USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

Africanist can mean a specialist in African affairs, cultures, or languages or someone with ideologies that centers African knowledge systems.

Gatekeeper can be a person whose job it is to open and close a gate and to prevent people entering without permission or someone who has the power to decide who can and cannot get particular resources and opportunities.

Civilisation can mean the process by which a society or place reaches an advanced stage of social development and organization or the stage of human social development and organization which is considered most advanced.

ideals, amagqobhoka (literally meaning the penetrated ones). At the turn of the century, twentieth century that is, the colonial government set up structures of the then Parliament of South Africa that would allow Africans to participate in general diplomacy of cabinet. The converted Africans who were endorsed by their various chiefs would be the representatives of the African majority. This would put into motion the standoff between what was the true voice/representation of the African. By the time the South African National Native Congress, and eventually the ANC was formed, various factions amongst leading African clergymen/ academics took centre stage, leading to what then became known the True Africanist faction that criticised the voice of the likes of Walter Rubusana and John Tengo Jabavu and in later years Chief Albert Luthili. Critique was simple. The voice of 'penetrated Africans' diminished the true Africa voice in diplomatic matters. A political stance then that would seek to being true to African values was emergent. The Society of Young African in the early 1940's was a significant collective in this regard. They were former students of already mentioned missionary stations in the Cape region and verily were graduates of Fort Hare. The likes of Sastri Mda, Mda Mda, and Livingstone Mqotsi; in later years Phumi Giyose were instrumental in informing this collective. They would in time be political mouthpieces for the then Unity Movement. They would challenge the colonial government favoured ANC in as far as being true to the African agenda of pan Africanism and liberation, without collaboration. This was a counter attack directly at colonial government and their maintenance of an unjust status quo using African liberal as a yardstick to African values systems

The current nature of liberalism in South Africa, especially amongst those with a rich missionary and academic background is a manifestation of the deliberate agenda of penetration and conversion of Africans into gatekeepers, civilized kaffirs and 'Uncle Toms' who go about the business of liberation with the assistance or influence of former colonial masters and evangelists. This was highly flawed, still is, and well calculated. Slaves have just merely swapped their shackles for ties and suites.

More recently, those who were linked with former president Thabo Mbeki, are often labelled by the ANC stalwarts as clever blacks, who are too educated for their own liking. The threat obviously leaning towards a true Africanist stance. The 'I am an African' speech is a point of departure here. It set the tone for what the twenty-first century ANC aligned diplomat would aspire to. An African renaissance that takes into account that we come from a missionary background thus the need to re-visit our true identity, in an attempt to become world citizens.

The future of this country is in the hands now of neo liberal culture and this is a symptom of being converted by missionary folk in to civilized citizens. The notion of non-collaboration fell away with advent of democracy. It is thus safe to conclude that the formation of Fort Hare and verily other missionary stations that supported the British colonial expansion has fulfilled its purpose of breeding a generation of sell-outs and collaborators who are then celebrated as black academic pioneers, or the champions of Africa intelligentsia when we all can see that we are still subject to Lancaster House and the remnants of the Glasgow missionary order.

In the light of the above and taking into perspective the centenary celebration of this institution that is Fort Hare and its significant history, what is it that we are celebrating? Julius Garvey, Marcus Garveys' youngest son recently delivered the memorial lecture of a stalwart of the broader Pan-African and non-collaboration movement. This was the Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe memorial lecture at this university during the centenary month celebrations. He highlighted that Africans were heavily conscientized and civilised prior to colonial expansion. This is not rocket science really. Then the question arises, are celebrating a true Africanist order or detached and marginalising second wave of human slavery through the mind? Fort Hare might have been the training ground of anticolonial superheroes, but the fact remains, all their tools of resistance were borrowed from the masters' toolbox.

¹ Also known by the Sesotho name Difaqane (scattering, forced dispersal or forced migration) or Lifaqane, was a period of widespread chaos and warfare among indigenous ethnic communities in southern Africa during the period between 1815 and about 1840.

² Nogqawuse.

³ Factors and agency leading to curriculum renewal: A basic review of the history of formal schooling in South Africa, Sibusiso Mnyanda and Nqaba Mpofu University of Fort Hare, Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Rural development, 2010.

⁴ The wanderers.

⁵ "War of the Axe" or the "Amatola War 1846-47,

⁶ Literally meaning 'the one who came from nowhere' or 'the galloper'. A name given to him by locals

BLACK SHEEP OF THE FAMILY

ITUMELENG MOKOENA
VAAL UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY



Itumeleng Mokoena at Union Building protest, 23 October 2015.
Image Credit: Wilson Ramotebele, VUT student

I have never considered myself to be an activist. Nor have I ever really considered myself a comrade. However, in the wake of the #FeesMustFall campaign, I could not resist the urge to be a part of this great revolutionary movement which had been long overdue.

I have previously been a victim of economic exclusion from a very early age, dating back to the years when I was still in primary school. The year was 2007, I was in Grade 7 and I can still vividly recall my teacher standing in front of the classroom and calling a list of pupils whose fees were not paid up. We were told not to return to the classroom until our fees had been settled. This went on for a few days. Every day, one would get up and go to school only to be chased out of the class due to fees that had not been paid up.

Fast track a few years and I am now a student at one of the universities known notoriously for protest action. The Vaal University of Technology (VUT). In the past, our Student Representative Council had continuously led student protests to address the challenges which many of the students struggled with. These ranged from issues with NSFAS, security at our residences, students being blocked from registering due to unpaid fees and other such related issues. However, at a time when the student body could have capitalized on speaking out and being in solidarity with other students, they failed to do so. I am not entirely sure as to whether they were oblivious to the fee increase or because they felt they were not directly affected thus they didn't have to actively partake in this event. They were nowhere to be found. It was almost as though they were hopelessly

disconnected from the realities that were going on with students around the country. Needless to say, when I was looking for peers from the university with whom I could travel with to the Union Buildings, my attempts seemed to fail at every door.

Nonetheless, the lack of leadership I felt could not deter my spirits from going to show solidarity with the students that had fought so tirelessly to ensure that fees were not increased for the year 2016. So after travelling nearly two hours to get from Vaal to Pretoria, I found myself walking from Bosman Station to the Union Buildings where the President was meant to address the students. I had left the house not having anything to eat, barely a few coins in my pocket and my mother was worried sick with nerves. She did not want me to go, I knew this because she had given me that parental glance which had sent a pang down my spine for a few minutes. But I knew that I had to leave. I had to go there and somehow be a part of creating a new kind of narrative as a young person of our society today.

Emancipate yourself from mental slavery. Get up, stand up and fight for your rights.

2015 STUDENT DRIVEN PROTEST AT NORTH WEST UNIVERSITY:

Reflection and Perspective of a social science student at the Mafikeng Campus



IGNATIUS BIKO MOKHATLE
NORTH WEST UNIVERSITY - MAHIKENG

North West University is a newly merged institution from 1 January 2004 with three campuses at Potchefstroom, Mafikeng and Vanderbijlpark. I avoided articulating about the Vaal Campus her because it is like an extension of Potchefstroom campus. In 2015, South African higher education sector was dominated by student protest action across campuses in the form of various radical and militant social movements. #RhodesMustFall was the first and most significant. In North West University #ReformPUK (A group of Black students inspired by teachings of Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko) emerged strongly at Potchefstroom campus. Mainly the #ReformPUK led students were radically campaigning for the eradication of Racism and all other forms of oppression such as Hetero patriarchal culture. A strong demand to change the language policy, Removal of problematic statue of Totius Jacob Daniel Du Toit, and Decolonisation of the University. Totius was an Afrikaans theologian, poet and translator. He played a significant role in the founding of Potchefstroom campus.

His statements to Die Volkskongres in 1940 that segregation is not only logical but the divine will of God was one of the pillars that supported apartheid. On the issue of the language policy, to date most classes are still in Afrikaans. On the issue of decolonized curriculum students wanted a curriculum that reflects African context and intellectual contribution. Mafikeng campus also witnessed student protest which was often characterized by violence. Mafikeng campus is underdeveloped in terms of facilities compared to Potchefstroom campus. The merger exacerbated that colonized relationship and students themselves are well aware of its inferior status. This explains the violent responses to any crisis. Students vigorously campaign against the slow pace of transformation. Since the merger the university management ignored and failed to deal with student grievances. It is also the perceptions of both students and staff that the Mafikeng campus is neglected and suffocated by the Potchefstroom campus. Although there is an effort by institutional management to roll out infrastructure such

as new residences this is to create an impression that management is doing something. Grievances that remain unresolved at Mafikeng campus: victimization of students, maladministration, decision taken elsewhere, high fees when services on different campuses are different, poor library facilities, and the outsourcing of workers. Instead of management finding long lasting solutions, they then decided to dissolve the SRC accusing them of failing to discharge their constitutional mandate.

To worsen the situation the firebrand SRC President Benz Mabengwane was suspended for allegedly disrupting the university, putting the university into disrepute and assaulting students. Management arrogantly appointed a more liberal SRC, which students rejected. Student disrupted the inauguration of the newly appointed SRC which resulted in students clashing with university security. An administration Building was torched and a security guard vehicle damaged. Students were informed that the university will be closed indefinitely. Furthermore, it was amongst students and staff that there was a strong perception that the institutional office and council favours Potchefstroom campus and is not interested in significantly resolving problems on the Mafikeng campus. Also there is a strong feeling of superiority amongst Potchefstroom staff often acting as teachers and Mafikeng campus staff as students. Again, as long as the institutional office is still staffed by people from Potchefstroom campus Mafikeng campus will continue to be treated as step child of Potchefstroom campus. As long as the council is still dominated by Afrikaner men North West University will not achieve any meaningful transformation.

22 YEARS AFTER DEMOCRACY AND A GLIMPSE INTO AN APARTHEID ENCLAVE

North West University Potchefstroom campus



REFORM PUK: HASAN VARACHIA, JEANETT MOSALA

NORTH WEST UNIVERSITY - POTCHEFSTROOM

The North West University Potchefstroom campus is a bastion of old-style Apartheid practices, this after 22 years of democracy. It proudly proclaims itself as an Afrikaner institution upholding Afrikaner 'Kultuur' with Afrikaans the medium of education. What this in practice means, is that it is an institution for whites, predominantly Afrikaners. Over 70% of the students and 90% of lecturers are white. To think that such an institution can still be allowed to prosper in the 'new' South Africa is an indictment on not only the 'privileged', whites but on the black liberation movement as a whole, particularly the ruling party of our country.

When all the calls to "bring back the land" are loudly on social media and nowhere in the streets of our country, we cannot turn around and place this immense burden on the shoulders of a few black students to dismantle institutional power of this magnitude.

Reform PUK, the renegade revolutionary Black student movement, which suddenly and unexpectedly flared up on campus, around October 2015. Black and marginalized students realized "enough is enough", and it cannot continue unquestioned that a public institution is still trying to "accommodate" the majority black people in South Africa.

The Reform Puk Movement emphasized that the situation at Potchefstroom North West University was peculiar, a continuation of age old Apartheid practices that were consciously being promoted and defended. The university admission policy works on a racial quota system (clouded in language preference), the SRC constitution has 'Bantustan' portfolio's for two black representatives, residences restrict black students to less than 10% and the arch-racist Afrikaner poet Totius who justified Apartheid through biblical reference was glorified through a statue in his honour taking pride of place on Campus. It is through the struggles of black students at Campus that the University authorities began to address these issues albeit in a reformist manner which does not deal with the real transformation of the institution.

While other universities called for liberal post-apartheid goals of decolonization, ending of outsourcing (#OutsourcingMustFall) and for a free quality education for all (#FeesMustFall), we struggled through our oppression and supported the national call, which often felt centuries ahead for this campus.

And while we can proudly say we fought bravely and sincerely for this cause, we have now reached a point where we for all intents and purposes are now dead. We have been systematically repressed and silenced.

In 2015 we had two mass meetings with the Vice Chancellor, a meeting with the university council, meetings with the SRC, organized and executed protest action in Potchefstroom and all the way to Sandton, Johannesburg, where the university council had its yearly amendments meeting.

Unfortunately, in 2016, all the meetings we had turned sour when we were referred to as an illegitimate structure with the backing of the 'Communist' Minister of Higher Education, Blade Nzimande, who sent out a directive that these errant student bodies (black led non-partisan movements) not be entertained and of course this worked wonderfully for the University Authority, This was basically the cherry on top, to smash our movement

in the name of the minister. This was certainly a clear play of blame and the upper hand of power with backing. The most excruciating disgrace was government siding with the same racist who believe they are not good enough for their post but yet playing into their hands. This came when we attempted an alliance with the workers for

a meeting with the Rector to finally join the call of the national #OutsourcingMustFall campaign. This then led to a protest, where no damage to property nor person was committed. But in brutal retaliation the campus management with malicious, calculated intent chose six students to suspend and over 40 workers to fire as a means to further silence us. This extradition was backed with a court interdict on the basis of what transpired (burning of buildings) at the Mahikeng campus. In summary of this Potch campus or rather white supremacy was "preserved" based on incidents that transpired on the Mahikeng campus.

At times we fleetingly fool ourselves with meetings and gatherings aimed at rekindling the fire and passion we once bravely had. But harsh and swift suspensions, mass and intensive propaganda against us and academic pressures have led to the demise of the movement. How do you begin to fight institutional racism, sexism and classism with actual institutions that hold your academic and financial future in their hands?

"We can strike and pass at the same time" and "free education in our lifetime" are brave fundamentals that we believe in, but how do you support and live by this when you have hungry families back home depending on your degree for their salvation? We know our circumstances are identical to countless others in the country but with little to no student and political backing, we can't help but be selfish. We and so many others are petrified.

We have not achieved the ultimate goal of our unique struggle, but before we win the war small internal battles need to be won to gain the strength to be able to take down the hegemony of racism, patriarchy and classism and lead us towards a society governed with equality for all.

We hope that we will be once again motivated to fight if and when a nationwide call, like 2015's #FeesMustFall movement demand our feet. When the burden of our actions doesn't just fall on our shoulders and South Africa can stand up together for a common goal.

Imagine yourself a victimized black body in the constant fight for your humanity and existence. In Potchefstroom the battle for free tertiary education, decolonizing the curriculum and creating truly intersectional and inclusive universities comes second. With language and recruitment policies that actively discriminated between those who can or choose not to speak Afrikaans, this is an everyday struggle.

When your ability to simply hear and understand the content of your lectures is hampered by ineffective and uncomfortable interpreting devices, unfortunately the struggles of a nationwide student collective have to come second. Especially when it seems time and time again that our cries aren't in close proximity to the "right" type of whiteness to be heard, to the perfect blend of melanin for those in power or even our fellow students nationwide to intervene. We occasionally ponder if we are too black for those in power and too white for our fellow students. To live and study in a system created for white, Afrikaner, Christian, heterosexual, middle class males, is impossible. At this institutions foundation, its current and previous management and external funding has the interest of their own at heart rather than that of the African child.

USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

Totius: Jacob Daniel du Toit, an Afrikaner poet who used the bible to justify racism by claiming God created black and white, day and night, hell and heaven one superior over the other. He was a fundamental figure and participant in prior meetings leading to Apartheid South Africa.

Reformist manner: a slow process of gradual change similar to an evolutionary process which may take decades if not centuries for change.

Liberal: internal willingness to accept and "accommodate" other viewpoints, opinions and behaviours.

Post-apartheid: the recovery and stabilization period after the enormous economical, physical and mental burden and breakage of Apartheid.

Decolonization: the broader aspects of removing colonization from the minds, policies, systems, education and the country at large in totality.

Outsourcing: exploitation of cheap labour legally with the sole benefactor being a single private entity.

Communist: A person who believes in the principles that all property should be owned by every member of the community and members of the community to receive according to their need and ability.

Hegemony: dominance and superiority by one group or sector over another.

Racism: the prejudice due to the beliefs of superiority and seniority based on race by generalised beliefs and theories associated with race, specifically predefined by centuries of colonialism.

Patriarchy: the generalised oppression by superiority of a male decent due to historical unequal power relations between men and womxn and the accepting of the male domination societal norm.

Classism: the prejudice and oppression faced by groups of people based on their income level or rather financial standing and ownership.

Intersectional: the theory of the overlapping and intersecting of social identities of the different forms of oppression and discrimination to a specific group such as class, race, gender, etc



Project Hoopoe @projecthoopoe 16 Jun 2016 "All grown up in the Rainbow Nation" - our piece for #YouthDay. 40 years on, where are those that sacrificed in '76?

The ability to experience a joint and inclusive society becomes far from achievable. The realization of Steve Biko's words can only come to mind; "black man you are on your own."

Imagine yourself a black body in a socially anti-black space. When the mode of communication and basic functionality is not your own, or even one you spent more than 12 years of school trying to master. When the music, arts, sports and even laughter don't include you to such an extent that you can sit around and trade stories of horrific, brutal acts of racism that have happened to you, knowing full well that there are means and channels to report the perpetrators. Nothing will ever be done to protect your black body!

A glimpse into the lives of black students on the NWU, Potchefstroom campus in a few recent events, is harrowing and almost unbelievable. We live in a space so devoid of active and sincere attempts at moving towards a future that is different from what its founding fathers envisioned.

The reformist approach of the University authorities such as removing the Totius statue, introducing parallel English medium classes in a few subjects, restructuring the University in both the administration and academic spheres are but small changes to show they are serious about transformation when we know they have no interest in a fundamental restructuring of the institution. The lesson we have learnt from our struggles is that the only way change takes

place is through organized mass action. Whether it is today or tomorrow the emancipation of the black child is not going to happen through administrative consideration or 'white' charity. Our task is to revitalize the student movement and make sure that the demands of the Reform Puk Manifesto are realized

Transformation of the North West University tends to now look like nothing but just a dream.

ALUTA CONTINUA!

LANGUAGE & MEMORY

BONGANI MELENI

NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY



"I wish to talk about the plight of my Language isiXhosa in relation to memory in the context of the present emerging process in our time"

Throughout the history of human existence, communication is one of the skills that humans have used to connect with one another. Language plays a crucial role in keeping alive the culture, identity and most importantly, memory. Memory holds our past and our being as humans which helps us to understand the world we live in. There has been a subjugation of African languages in colonial and post-colonial Africa. Because of colonisation isiXhosa speakers have been forced to identify themselves with 'rational' European linguistics and memory. History has it that the European colonizers did this by planting their memory in African geographical landscape.

With colonization therefore, the history of Africans in SA was somehow erased as the process of colonization continued to replace indigenous landmarks with names of European origin. Take for example places like Port Elizabeth (Cacadu), King Williams Town (Qonce), and Queenstown (Bonkolo) to name the few. There were people who were living in these places prior to colonization and these places had a name that was meaningful to the native people were living in that time. Colonisation controls the memory of the colonizer by maintaining hegemony of memory. It uses violence and oppression to dis-member the memory of those who were colonized and subjugates language. One way this was done was through the way in which Africans were supposed to give their children a 'Christian' name. Your indigenous name of Bongani becomes Thomas, Thabisa becomes Maria and Mthimkhulu anglicized Grootboom. This was annihilation of your language, culture, identity and your memory. They orchestrated successfully through political power and were accomplished and consolidated through an education system. In the words of Ngugi wa thiongo's (2009); "the ultimate goal was to establish psychic dominance of the part of the colonizer and psychic subservience on the part of the colonized". The effects of colonisation and apartheid are evident in the modern society. The black majority are the ones who are in the periphery of the hegemony. They are still facing the socio-economic issues and are landless. Because of memory, to a certain extent this history cannot be erased for the sake of memory. We need to understand that the memory of colonisation and apartheid plays a role on shaping the status quo, because not only isiXhosa but all African languages were marginalized and memory compromised. True to the observation of Ngugi wa Thiongo that "without memory you cannot relate with one another, with our bodies even in our own minds."

With the emerging decolonization debate throughout South African universities and the call of decolonize the curriculum, one simply wonders whether they would be genuine with most memory erased or distorted especially among blacks. As far as possible, language should be in the center of debates on decolonization. Our intellect is still intact in European

linguistics. In the western epistemology the belief is that the African epistemology can be thought through European language and memory. This is absurd because it confines and deprives the ideas of African epistemology that had huge influence in origins of civilization. If we want to reconnect with the memory of the past, African language and African literature is a starting point. The self-definition of your existence must begin with the language you speak and understand from your family and the community. With Ngugi's words no language has a monopoly keeper of memory, and that all memories contribute to the meeting point of human victory.

If as intellectuals we want to be true to the cause of decolonization and all that goes with it, we should consider the role of language seriously – the repository of memory, culture and identity.

USEFUL TERMINOLOGY

Colonisation: refers to the process where one region invades another region to gain political control over its people, land and other resources. In the process, the invaded people's land, history and culture are stolen, erased or distorted; also see decolonisation and imperialism.

Decolonisation: is the unfinished historical process that attempts to undo the negative effects of colonisation on a region's people, land and economy. It attempts to build a new society that is not economically, politically, or culturally dependent on the coloniser; also see colonisation and imperialism.

Hegemony: can refer to the political or cultural dominance or authority over others or the dominance of one group over another, often supported by cultural norms and ideas; see also colonisation.

Civilisation: can mean the process by which a society or place reaches an advanced stage of social development and organization or the stage of human social development and organization which is considered most advanced.

Linguistics: is the study of the nature of language, including its structures and variations.

I WANT TO TELL YOU MAMA



THATO MAGANO

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

I want to tell you Mama.

I spent the night in jail Mama,
I am ashamed to tell you Mama,
Because I know you will not understand.
I am afraid to tell you Mama.
I do not know that you can comprehend the pain we've
endured,
Left out in the battlefield,
Carrying the weapons and their scars all by ourselves.

I want to tell you Mama.

I want to tell you that the police man came Mama,
He came Mama and all he said was that I am a criminal
That is all he said.
He did not care that we were sitting on the pavement,
Or that we were kneeling on the ground,
Or that we were finding a short reprieve from the daily
oppressions,
Or that we were laughing.
He did not care that we were eating biscuits and chocolate,
That we were talking Mama.
Just talking.

He called us criminals.

He said get in the van.
He stared us down and shook us and dragged us and
choked us and beat us and shoved us and drove us
recklessly and pushed us and laughed at us.
And then he told us that he understood what we were
doing and that he is just doing his job.
He told us all this Mama,
While he expected us to smile with him after he had done
all this to our bodies.

When he said get in the van Mama,

He didn't care to see that my hands were shaking,
He didn't care to see that my fear of the back of a police
van had left me paralysed on the pavement,
He didn't care to see the irony,
To see that we had been here once before and we had
promised ourselves never again, never again we had said.
He did not care to see any of these things Mama.

I asked him why Mama.

I asked him many times why?
You know Mama,
I asked him in the same way that your favourite Sarafina
asks Guitar,
"But why Guitar?"
I asked him Mama.

I had wanted him to tell me what was so criminal about
my sitting down on the pavement,
I had wanted him to tell me what was so criminal about
this endemic position of black people –
a life lived in perpetual waiting,
Waiting at the corner,
Sitting on the pavement,
Waiting for the bus,
Waiting for the taxi,
Waiting for the nurse,
Waiting for the doctor –
Always, always waiting.
Always made to wait whenever we have agency,
But never waiting, never the two minutes taken to explain
why,
Never made to wait when we are told to we are criminals,
That we must get in the van.

I went to bed Mama.

I slept in the cell,
I thought sleep would never come but it did.
My heart was full and sad,
But I could not tell the comrades,
I could not expose myself,
I could not tell them that all I longed for the couch at the
corner Mama,
You know it Mama, the one I lie on when I watch TV or
occasionally sleep on when my room is too hot.

The police man reminded me again that I am a criminal,
He came into the cell and told us to wake up, to stand
against the wall and be counted.
It was four in the morning Mama,
Four AM Mama.
Not even the gods have completed their work at this hour.
Can you imagine the disrespect oXamata must have felt
at this Mama?
But I can't tell you any of this Mama.

Can I tell you Mama?

Can I tell you of the fear?
Can I tell you how I looked around at comrades?
How I questioned if I was safe within those walls as
darkness staked its claim on the day and the stars
twinkled on the mesh fence that hovered above us,
Keeping us tight in,
No route to escape.

Can I tell you Mama?

That I looked around at comrades and for a moment,
No Mama,
Actually for many many seconds and moments during the
course of the night,
for all the times that masculinity demanded that it be felt,
when masculinity let us know that 'real men' endured and
survived,
that people like me were borne of the imaginations of
the Greeks,
that we were not African.
Can I tell you Mama?
Can I tell you how I sat with the idea of the terror?
For all those many seconds,
All the while knowing that I couldn't tell you.

At four am Mama,

He didn't care that I was dreaming of you and Papa at
home,
That I smelt the crispness of the vanilla incense in the
bathroom,
That I smelt the freshness of baked bread as Makazi cut it
into slices for breakfast,
He didn't care that my dreams were the only way for me
to escape the walls,
That they allowed me to withstand the hours and hours
of immobility,
The indignity of a prison system only concerned with
incarcerating brown and purple black bodies,
Doing so for the benefit of olive and pale bodies,
To continue their lives without even as much a concern
that one day they could be stopped,
And told to get in the van without a reason, Mama.

To be honest Mama,

I am ashamed that I have become one of those people,
Those people you used to say they only want to destroy.
I am ashamed that I have been left no option but to want
to destroy,
And I am ashamed that I only serve to become a continued
disappointment,
A reminder of a refrain you had reserved only for others.

But Mama,

I must ask you,
Why do you want to be like the police man and refuse to
listen Mama?
Why do you not want to hear the reasons why I want to
destroy?
Why are you not interested to ask me why, Mama?
Ask me why like you favourite asks her Guitar?
Why, Mama?

They keep saying the beautiful ones have been born,

That we are the ones we have been waiting for,
But Mama, how are we so beautiful that we spend nights
in jail?
That we are called criminals, terrorists even, who want to
overthrow the state?
How are we so beautiful when we can't even say that
'your' heroes are offensive to us?
How are we so beautiful when we have nowhere to sleep
but the library all year long?
How are we so beautiful when we have nowhere to shower
but the campus toilets?
When we only eat at the mercy of friends?
How are we so beautiful Mama?

I know you will never say something so ironic Mama.

I know you won't because the novelty and the romance
are lost on you.
I know you won't because you have told me many times
that all we want to do is to destroy, never asking why.

I am sad that we have come to this Mama.

I want to tell you that I spent the night in jail
I am sad that I can't tell you any of this because you refuse
to understand.

But of all of this,

I am sad because I am beautiful
but I am also a criminal and you won't ask me why.

FMF AND THE CHURCH*

**FATHER
VERNON HAMMOND**

**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU NATAL**



Greetings to all present and thank you for allowing me
this opportunity to share my story with you. I want to
begin by saying that I'm no great public speaker per
say, but rather a voice from the pulpit on a Sunday
morning that has the potential to influence thought.
Mine is a voice like many who have the privilege of
using a pulpit to address the congregations that gather
eagerly (I hope) to hear what I have to say.

I am aware that I have the potential to change perceptions
and that's my start point within #FeesMustFall. (I
actually don't like that term but for the lack of a better
context to speak to, I will continue to use it). So, if you
expecting to hear an academic presentation from me
this afternoon, I'm so sorry that I am not skilled that
way and I hope that I don't disappoint you.

I also want to say that I don't have all the answers and
hope not to have to give any today. The things I say
today, I do so with the utmost respect for all involved
in mediating a peaceful way forwards regarding
#FeesMustFall. As I speak I also remember and keep
in my mind the name of Bonginkosi Khanyile, a friend
and a brother.

My involvement began as the chaplain to the Anglican
student's federation in the Diocese of Natal in 2014
when I met with Anglican students who began to share
their different struggles with me. They engaged me
and introduced me to campus life in a way. I began
my own journey by offering council to students who
were having difficulty and not just academically and
on the odd occasion would pray with students as
they gathered to protest. As a student myself, who I
must add stood aloft on the shoulders of privilege by
having my fees paid by the church, it was difficult to
grasp what students were going through regarding the
difficulties they faced regarding finances.

However, my reality began when I met a young lady who
told me how she would sell herself so that she could
feed herself in order to finish her degree. This was the
moment of truth for me. This young lady changed my
thought patterns and brought me to a point in my life
when I realised that God had called me for something
other than what I had imagined. For the most part I
remained in the background providing legal assistance
where I could and sending relevant people to apply
for emergency bail without speaking for or on behalf
of students until the arrest of 2 students at Howard
College while gathering for a prayer meeting. It was
at that point that I went to the police station myself.
My presence within #FeesMustFall in Durban became
all the clearer after the arrest of Bonginkosi Khanyile.
With these thoughts, I hope that I have shed some light
on why I am doing what I do within fees must fall.

So to really begin I would like to make the following
statement:

*"A Church absent from social chaos is a Church
advocating for the very social chaos that it is
absent from".*

To go back to my earlier point on my privilege of use
regarding the pulpit and the assumed position of
influence I have over my congregation, I began to speak
about issues of social injustices and the role of the
church regarding #FeesMustFall and the hardships that
black students were facing at our institution of higher
learning. I invited students to share their stories in
order to add their voices to the narrative being written
by the media at the time. At this point I continue to be
of the view that the church during the struggle against
the apartheid government was both vocal and active;
however the church today remains relatively silent and

***Input on panel (February 2017,
Diakonia Centre)**

invisible with regards to issues of economic apartheid especially those faced by our students. To cut away from political innuendoes, finger pointing and the like, I would like to move a bit in order to stress a point.

In 2015 when the country was gripped by violent national protest regarding #FeesMustFall and with a march of such nature looming in Kzn Durban, fear gripped many of the congregants (civil society) that I interacted with....Father they would say, "What do you think is going to happen?" My response was almost always that I have faith in the students in Kzn and that it would be peaceful. Come and join me as we share their plight during the march. For those of you that can remember, the Kzn #FeesMustFall march of 2015 to the ANC office and then to UNISA was PEACEFUL.

From my involvement in the march I learnt that students respected the office of a priest. There were many instances when violence loomed and yes for sure I feared the worst especially being alone as the only priest present. Only to be assured by the then SRC chairperson of DUT that you can stop the possibility of violence reverend.

In a few words while standing between police and students, the response was almost always either sorry pastor or we hear you pastor or high discipline cadres..... One man in a dress commanding such respect made me realise that the church is still a respected voice in times of crisis.

In 2016 with the help of Bishop Rubin, Bishop Mike, Norma and the personal support given to me by Bishop Dino, a space at Diakonia was opened for student to have safe conversations with people that students considered to be rational voices.

This developing dialogue provided many night vigils and planning meetings that took place in the security of church premises throughout Durban's CBD. In the latter part of 2016, the KZNCC began to show their support by their presence and much needed resources. For that I say thank you to all at Diakonia and KZNCC.

I must also add here that while students held in high esteem the clerics present during protest, the security forces on campuses didn't think twice about firing stun grenades and rubber bullets while in the company of these men in dresses. There have been many sessions of counselling for all sorts of student struggles and my office became at some points a student crisis centre.

With the presence and support of many more clergy and many more centres for dialogue opening up around the CBD, students were able to plan and discuss pressing issues regarding #FeesMustFall while embargoed by court interdicts.

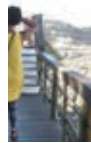
Armed with safe spaces, students planned for what was again expected to be violent mass protest in Durban CBD. As you know that the 2016 march also went off peacefully. Although the media spent hours covering the violent protests in other parts of the country, very little was said about the march that went off without incident in Durban.

So why do I share this with you?

Firstly because it is the only point of reference that I have that can be compared to other parts of the country and secondly because I want to leave you with these thoughts...Imagine if churches became safe spaces throughout the country. Imagine if churches began to speak out against injustices regarding students. Imagine if churches became a visible presence in not just the education crisis, but in all areas of social injustice? Imagine a South Africa where the church became the church again? **Thank you.**



Image taken from Father Vernon Hammond's Facebook page



Desiree Lewis

November 15, 2015



Recently, I've found it both ironic and disturbing that in conversations about the complexities of the violence at campuses throughout South Africa (and in the Western Cape in particular), it has been far easier for me to listen to and talk among many South African workers, student parents, community leaders, activists and students than has been the case among many colleagues. I'm both appalled and surprised by the ease with which many academics (who've always seemed to me to be very progressive, people with whom I've had very challenging and valuable conversations) have retreated into moralistic condemnation of student violence, as though this violence existed in a vacuum, and as though there were not numerous invisibilised and naturalised violences at play at universities in South Africa.

These include: the violence of academics' silence (as a colleague at UWC recently described it); the violence of university management and governance being wholly out of touch with the student majority's voices and, most importantly not being accountable to the student majority (UWC managements' refusal to listen to the massive FMF movement and its insistence on recognizing only the discredited SRC as a valid student leadership voice, as well as the recent conduct of the current chairperson of council are grotesque examples of this); the violence of Management's unleashing paramilitary presences and police on university campuses – without any sort of consultation with or accountability to the various stakeholders (parents, lecturers, administrators) who work with and know the students; the routine and everyday violation experienced by many students, especially those at CPUT and UWC and possibly other HBUs who, for the past few weeks, have been living constant fear and insecurity – about exams, about whether or how they will get their next meal, about whether they will wake up to find that their residences have burned down and their possessions have been taken by looters from neighbouring communities off campus, about how to communicate with friends, relatives parents in homes far away.

Although academics such as Shirley Walters, William Gumede and John Higgins have been saying this for years, South African universities have transformed horrifically under the impact of GEAR and neo-liberalism. And events in recent months have made this abundantly clear. The university environment has changed dramatically in terms of what progressive academics do, how they have been positioned and, most importantly, how they position themselves. Universities in South Africa now function in top-down systems in which both many academics on the right AND "the left" close automatically ranks when it comes to analyzing and resisting hierarchical, neo-liberal and individualist institutional cultures, teaching and research environments and management arrangements. In these climates, even the most progressive decide to keep silent, to obey authority, to act alone in ensuring that they produce palatable publications for palatable journals. Many universities have also set in place tightly-knit boys clubs – with the members of these using university resources and structures primarily to access power and networks for personal professional and economic gain.

Furthermore, universities have fostered terrifying degrees of self-interest and individualism among academics, encouraging many to believe that individual outputs, "job security" or prospects for promotion are far more important than any sort of collective or truly collaborative work among ourselves. This culture of auditing, managerialism, individualism and ambition also generates "progressive" staff organizations that mirror the status quo they claim to challenge: exclusivist staff associations, and small groups of "critical thinkers" who claim to speak for the majority, for example.

To me, what may be especially disturbing is that the present situation is not calling upon progressive academics put their necks on the line. The basic requirement of thinking critically and teaching students to think critically does not mean "committing class suicide", or becoming a rabid activist or student movement supporter. It simply means being committed to critical and rigorous thinking writing and working with young people in ways that enhance their ability and independence in thinking and behaving critically and responsibly; it does not and cannot end with preparing lectures and ensuring that all students write exams. It must surely extend to participating as far as ones conscience takes one in talking to students, talking among colleagues and where necessary, speaking out against certain colleagues, management and governance structures when they seek to shut down on critical and respectful debate and teaching.

There are a few facts that I'm trying to hold on to. These are:

1. that the university student protest started as a peaceful protest with leaders committed to opening channels of communication (with University Management, with Blade Nzamande, with government, with other students) around fee hikes and a broader transformational agenda that included socio-economic ones and the role of the government (and these broader agendas are of course agendas that speak to affect the well-being of all South Africans)
2. that at most campuses student protests were met with (normalised) repression and violence
3. that academic groupings (as opposed to individual academics) have, in the main, been extraordinarily silent and reluctant to involve themselves in situations where connections between institutional dynamics and ideological ones have become inextricable.

I don't believe that the situation at the moment requires "concerned or progressive" academics to "lay their careers on the line", to mechanically side with students, to take up the battles of students, or to become activists. This belief is symptomatic of an inflated sense of our importance in the broader scheme of things. But it surely requires us all to do what we are paid to do and have been trained to do: namely to teach critically and with sensitivity, to apply our minds to careful analytical thought, to work with young people in encouraging them to undertake rigorous and sensitive analysis of the world they currently live in and the worlds they wish to see.

It is surely outrageous, then, for academics to be turning on students and saying things like: "we condemn your arsonist behavior"; "we condemn your violence"; "we will now side with management or governance structures because you have misbehaved".

Shame shame poppy-shame...

DISRUPTING PATRIARCHY'S EXPECTATIONS:

SHABASHNI MOODLEY
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN 

Dear Young Black Womxn who marched against rape culture at UKZN - PMB on 07 September 2016,

It's been a long time since young black womxn, at UKZN, publicly and vociferously raised their fiery fists at rape and gender based violence on the campus. It reminded me of regular public protests against rape at UND/UKZN, between 2000–2007. The rapid corporatization of UKZN and rising inequality in South Afrika has provoked persistent protests over the last two decades but mass action against rape, at UKZN, has been sacrificed. Although your bodies already do various forms of protest labour, the responsibility of organizing a march against rape and gender based violence, has ultimately, fallen upon your heavily burdened shoulders. Like many other students, womxn and gender non-conforming bodies across the country you, have been asking university executives to stop paying lip service to sexual violence and start taking responsibility for the rape culture that teaching and learning occurs within. These executives have neglected your requests, continued with business as usual and brought in more men with guns to intimidate and sexually violate you.

After years several years of being sexually harassed by private security – after the news of a fellow student being sexually violated by a police officer on UKZN's hyper-secured campus; after the refusal by the Alexandra Police station to file a rape/ sexual violation report; after the broader misogynistic public who, typically, argued that since no rape case had been filed, rape/ sexual violation was not as 'real' as the 'burning of buildings'; after UKZN's spokesperson Lesiba Seshoka's shamefully claimed that; "The university cannot say that the student was raped because no case of such nature was opened and the student has changed her story. Now they are saying there was no penetration but it was a sexual assault so it is hard at this point to give enough information on this matter" (Daily Vox, September 9, 2016), and the vice chancellor focusing on technicalities (as if sexual assault is not part of rape culture) subsequently avoiding any responsibility for ordering the securitization



A Letter of Love to the Womxn who marched against rape culture.

conditions that lead to sexual violation – you disagreed with all of it and led a public protest against these multiple forms of violence on 07 September 2016 in PMB.

You publicly disobeyed what Arundhati Roy calls the 'Great Rape Trick' (1994); the patriarchal expectation that, womxn who refuse to be 'well-behaved, quiet & polite, womxn who 'want to act like men,' womxn who refuse to be terrorized into submission– deserve sanctioned violence – deserve punishment in the form of sexual and physical violence.

Similarly, in her book Rape: A South Afrikan Nightmare Pumla Gqola describes 'The Female Fear Factory' as the "manufacturer of female fear ... the environment that makes women constantly aware that we could be violated at any time. It is part of rape culture, communicating that we are not safe in public, that we are open for harassment, that our bodies aren't ours." Therefore, patriarchy expected you to, once again, sacrifice your rage against the normalization of sexual violence, to, once again, be silent about the impoverished logic of rape culture, to suppress your pain about the historical & systematic intimidation of rape victims and those who believe them. But you showed patriarchy that your body belongs to you; you dressed up in Black, mobilized students, made some protest banners, collectively got on your knees to pray for protection and then marched and raised your fists at rape culture.

Mobilizing against rape culture/ female fear factory is an underestimated political 'strategy'. It has the power to break down false racial/ cultural/class hierarchies between 'Coloured', 'Afrikan' and 'Indian' students at UKZN. These false hierarchies are used by the female fear factory to sanction violence and to oppress various rights, such as freedom of association, academic freedom and the right to protest. Therefore, it makes sense that the annihilation of the rape culture – fear factory should be prioritized in struggle against the anti-black establishment. It is counter revolutionary to confront the anti-black establishment but continue to sacrifice and postpone the uprising against rape culture. If we are genuinely committed to the emancipation project then there has to be more vociferous public action against rape culture and more substantive reflection on how rape culture is fundamentally anti-black. But, who will undertake this labour? Dismantling rape culture can no longer be a burden that is predominantly be carried by gender non – conforming bodies and young black womxn like you. I hope that your leadership in resisting the female fear factory and disrupting patriarchy's expectations will provoke similar defiant mass action across South Afrika.

*Yours truly in the struggle against patriarchy,
Shabash*



HALLUCINATIONS¹



LEIGH-ANN NAIDOO

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Running through the WhatsApp feeds of many of us in the student movement is the constant reference to revolution. Revolution peppers daily expressions of solidarity, discussions of national strategy, media interviews, and student activists' descriptions of their actions and motivations. This language of revolution, of comradeship and war, of tactic and strategy, runs deep in the political life of the student movement. It is in the mouths of #RhodesMustFall students, anti-outsourcing student protesters in Tshwane, in the rallying of the new student Pan-Afrikanists. It is a striking fact that warrants some attention.

It warrants attention in particular because it is starkly contrasted by the quick dismissal of talk of revolution by an older generation of anti-apartheid activists. I have heard them say over and over again, 'we are not in a time of revolution', as they shake their heads, knowingly. Or they say, with certainty, 'you cannot justify such action because we are far from the conditions of revolution', 'it's not the time for this or that because we are already in democracy', 'we have already achieved liberation'. Or perhaps most earnestly, they say 'there is no need for revolutionary action because the laws and institutions of post-apartheid are sufficient.'

Quite simply – and this is what I wish to discuss tonight in relation to the question of rage and violence – we are living in different times. Or at least, our time is disjointed, out of sync, plagued by a generational fault line that scrambles historicity. The specter of revolution, of radical change, is in young peoples' minds and politics, and it is almost nowhere in the politics of the anti-apartheid generation. In fact, even as they criticised young people just five years earlier for being apathetic and depoliticized, they have now thought student activists misguided, uninformed, and mad.

You would think that it might be possible to resolve this difference in time by means of a careful reading of what is called the 'objective conditions for revolution': are we in fact in a time in which revolution is immanent? No matter the subjective experience of time – there must be a way of determining who has the better bearing on history, who can tell the time. What time is it? Yet to tell the time is a complex matter in this society. We are, to some degree, post-apartheid, but in many ways not at all. We are living in a democracy that is at the same time violently, pathologically unequal. Protest action against the government – huge amounts of it, what in most other places would signal the beginning of radical change – often flips into a clamour for favour from that very government. Our vacillations, contradictions and anachronisms are indication that what time it is, is open to interpretation.

I want to argue that the comrades I have worked with in the student movement are not so much mad as they are time-travelers. Or rather, that their particular, beautiful madness is to have recognised and exploited the ambivalence of our historical moment to push into the future. They have been working on the project of historical dissonance, of clarifying the untenable status quo of the present by forcing an awareness of a time when things are not this way. They have seen things many have yet to see. They have been experimenting with hallucinating a new time.

The first task in this hallucination has been to kill the fallacies of the present: to disavow, no to annihilate, the fantasy of the rainbow, the non-racial, the Commission (from the Truth and Reconciliation, to Marikana, and Heher...), even of liberation. The second task is to arrest the present. To stop it. To not allow it to continue to get away with itself for one more single moment. And when the status quo of the present is shut down the third task – and these have been the moments of greatest genius in student movement – is to open the door into another time. It is difficult to work on the future while the present continues apace. There has to be a measure of shut down in whatever form, for the future to be called.

One of the most important venues for this work on the future has been Occupation. Occupation by definition creates a new space-time. The RMF occupation of the UCT management building in March 2015 changed the building from Bremner Administration into Azania House. It occupied the time and space of university management that both shut down UCT management's right to continue to oversee the incremental transformation of the university, and created the conditions for a vibrant intellectual space for imagining what could replace it. It was during this three-week occupation that RMF students clarified their vision of a future UCT, where campus was renamed and resignified with other statues, artworks and building names. Where black service staff were a part of the university community, not relegated to the dehumanising practice of outsourcing. They called for a lecture series of black staff only, generated new reading lists and discussed the future of admissions. They experimented with a different version of the classroom in their meetings and educational programme, where black experience, queer experience, trans experience, women's experience, became pedagogically valuable. Where the black student schooled the white professor. All meetings and seminars engaged both the theme or topic under discussion while at the same time engaging the ways in which power was working to silence and alienate certain people in the conversation, and amplify others voices. These sessions were chaired by students who tried to implement in the time of the occupation the philosophies and practices of the movement's three pillars: Black Consciousness, Pan Africanism and intersectionality. They called this work decolonisation.

At Wits University, the occupation of Senate House during the October Fees Must Fall shutdown turned it into Solomon Mahlangu House. Here too mass meetings, small group discussions and strategizing, experimented with the birthing of a different kind of praxis in the university. The character of the Wits protests differed from those at UCT because of the strong presence of party-political aligned students. What the occupation of Solomon House did was allow for the emergence of a non-aligned student politics, and an experimentation with politics beyond the party and the leader.

Solomon House became a place in which a different kind of democratic practice started to emerge as the politically aligned student leadership at the forefront of the protests was challenged. While protesting Wits students were asserting their right to be part of the planning and decision-making processes during the shutdown, they were also highlighting their discomfort with representative forms of democracy. This experiment with alternative forms of governance is of extraordinary importance in a country, indeed a world, in which government is by and large alienated from the people it is supposed to represent. Students began developing a critique not only of SRCs, but also of the representation of workers by unions, the university community by senates and councils, and indeed the people by political parties. Perhaps one of the most important moments in this disruption and reimagining of existing orders of governance was the occupation of a Senate meeting by students and progressive staff, which

served as an important claim on the political structures of the university, and on the taken-for-granted processes that reproduce the university in the interests of the status quo.

And throughout the student movement, of course, across the country, emerged a politics of land, which is an invocation of an older Pan Afrikanist politics, but put to use as a critique of post-apartheid reconciliation. 'Izwe Lethu! IAfrika' [Africa is Our Land!] began as a quiet call in the movement, but has become emboldened, energising a politics of redistribution that slashes into the history of white capitalism as much as into the ANC's class project, and calls out towards a more just future.

But the student occupations were resolutely, and often violently, evicted by our university managements, who could not – would not – see the worth of the work students were doing, and were intimidated by their tactics. University managements, far from behaving in the spirit of university autonomy, criticality and experimentation, have brought the practices of a securitizing state directly onto campuses. They have clamped down on protest and occupation, instituted legal proceedings against students, installed spy cameras, welcomed police and private security forces onto campus. At Wits, our management even brought out a 1959 Trespassing Act against its own students, and currently has in place an interdict against disruption and occupation that is seen by many as unconstitutional. In the name of 'protecting the university' they have closed down not only the university's most important avant-garde, but also the very actors who could force the state to better fund our universities. They have miscast the student movement as an enemy to the university, when in fact it is one of its most valuable gifts. 'But the students are violent', they argue, 'their strategies and methods are suspect. They are not nice'. Listen to Noam Chomsky on the student movement of 1968, the last time students shook the world:

I feel that the sharp challenges that have been raised by the student movement are among the few hopeful developments of these troubled years. It would be superficial, and even rather childish, to be so mesmerized by occasional absurdities of formulation or offensive acts as to fail to see the great significance of the issues that have been raised and that lie beneath the tumult.... Only one totally lacking in judgement could find himself offended by 'student extremism' and not, to an immensely greater extent, by the events and situations that motivate it.²

The stakes of the generational confrontation over the question of what time it is would be perfectly ordinary were it not for the fact that the generation now in control of the reigns of institutions, and of the state, control – indeed at present own – the narrative of struggle and liberation. This is what makes the fight awkward and its violence obscene. They are supposed to know better. And we are supposed to learn from them. But when they use their bullets and teargas at the Union buildings, when they spend their money on bringing private security companies on campus, when they interdict us and suspend us and bring their expensive lawyers to put us down, one can but infer that the anti-apartheid generation have become afraid of the future. Many in the anti-apartheid generation have become anesthetized to the possibility of another kind of society, another kind of future. They have become fatalistic, in their 'pragmatism', their 'hybrid models' and their evasiveness. In fact, it is they that are nihilistic, more so than even the Afropessimist students, who at least have the decency to recognise the ways in which the present remains captured by the violence of the past. We have to recognise that the ruling elite, and in that I include the managements of our universities, have lost the capacity to dream us, to move us, into a new time. For you cannot bring a trespassing act from 1959 against students and think you have any relevance for a more just future. They have become advocates of presentism, reduced to what the black feminist Audre Lorde calls 'changelessness'. And they can no longer be trusted with the responsibility of the future. When they dismiss the student movement's claim on the future, its experiment with time, when they belittle it, shoot it down, well, then pain becomes anger, anger becomes rage, even fire.

Rage does not emerge in any simple way out of colonial and apartheid violence, although that is its precondition. *The conduit for rage is awareness of another possible world in which that violence does not persist.* The glimpsing of a different way of being, a different kind of life is what animates anger. Panashe Chigumadzi at last year's Ruth First lectures gave an account of why the 'coconut' – a particular version of Du Bois's 'double consciousness' – has become such an important and radical figure in this generation. Mediating between worlds, exposed not only to different kinds of life but to the hostilities and hierarchies between them, the 'coconut' gains an awareness that sets in motion a set of antagonisms, refusals, pain and anger.

Time-travelers have a similar kind of doubling: a familiarity with the present, but a willful transgression into the future. The work of sensing the threads of a future world brings a hostility and a resentment to the present that cannot be easily put aside. I have witnessed firsthand with many students in the movement the pain that the present causes. And it is not just the daily pain of the black condition. It is the pain that comes from being forced back into the present world after a premonition of a different one, like a trap, or a curse. Maybe this is why so many Fallists talk of suicide: it is the ultimate claim on escape from the present.

We are in the midst of an intense politics of time. It is not easy to accept the burden of a living, prefigurative politics. Immanence is difficult. The fear is intense, and the threat of failure is everywhere. How do we sit, collectively, in the middle of that discomfort, prepared to not know quite where we are going, but be convinced that we have to move?

Audre Lorde, implores us to understand the worth and the purpose of anger. In her words, 'Anger is loaded with information and energy.... Anger, expressed and translated into action in the service of our vision and our future, is a liberating and strengthening act of clarification.'² And here, in Lorde's words, lies the challenge for the student movement. If we are to be custodians of a future that will have dismantled the violence of the past and its stubborn hold on the present, then we cannot get stuck in a politics of shut down. Shutting down is indeed necessary for the arresting of the present. But if we do not use the space that shut down grants to work, seriously, on our vision of the future, if we do not allow ourselves, too, to be challenged and pushed, to read, and talk to each other, to work out our strategies, to doubt, and to find a vision of a future world in which the many oppressions that beset this one are in sight, then the door that we have opened will be closed again.

May we live in a time of difficulty, of critical immanence, and always, always towards justice.

¹ 2016 Ruth First Memorial Lecture Keynote Address, 17 August 2016

² Chomsky. 2003 [1969]. 'The function of a university in a time of crisis' in *Democracy and Education*. New York: Routledge.

³ Lorde, Audre. 1981. 'The Uses of Anger: Women responding to Racism' in *Sister Outsider*.



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HERE'S A VIEW OF MY THOUGHTS

from a black unapologetic trans womxn on #FEESMUSTFALL & #UNSILENCEUFS.



SEOKETSI TSHEPO MOOKETSI

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE

I have noticed how I have let my Trans existence and its politics comply with the status quo of #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall & #UnsilenceUFS and by doing so that oppressed my queer trans black body, our black queer trans bodies & led to our mental health to fall too — by not critically analyzing the ways in which internalized oppression can lead to love, I as fallist of queer trans black bodies can misinterpret what it truly means to love. I saw Queer & trans black bodies disoriented within a movement not designed for trans, queer, differently able folk and a movement that is anti-queer & trans. During my participation it was extremely hard to create any safe and loving queer & trans black reaffirming spaces, when everything and everyone you come across, openly informs you to hate yourself and that you don't belong anywhere within the range of #FMF movement & #UnsilenceUFS particularly if you are a trans identifying black folx.

There ascended a commitment to exploring and creating authentic justice ideas after experiencing the physical harm to my body, wearing the scars proudly and addressing the associated mental health issues. In spite of this experience, I am committed to creating spaces and conversations that limit the risk of more victims of social injustice such as homophobia, transphobia, sexism, misogyny etc., for me, as Audre Lorde puts it, "oppression is as American as apple pie". This apple pie, if we are not wary, can clog our arteries and limit the amount of oxygen in our hearts & your silence won't protect you.

The queer & trans black body—my body—exists at an intersection. On one hand, I experience the powerful insights which come from existing on the borders, one being that the institution you attend (University of the Free State) supports the interests of white people, of white supremacy, and those pleasant to them. At the same time, my mind and body are often treated violently particularly as a black trans womxn. These encounters with violence, like being attacked by a transphobic sexist jerk, of course the list is endless. Or my powerlessness to navigate campus freely. Or when a comrade, fallist and beloved friend is stabbed in a bathroom during early hours at an female's only residence by an unknown perpetrator and taken to the hospital while bloodied and bruised. That incident left us traumatized and our mental health alarmed i.e. that others are terrified to go to the bathroom during the day and night and you realize as you sit back in your corner and cry how everything and everyone is messed up and has become victims of white supremacist, heteronormative and patriarchal systems.

These interlocking movements #FeesMustfall, #RhodesMustFall & #UnsilenceUFS read my queer & trans black body as unwelcome, criminal & worth vandalizing anywhere and anytime by anyone. These attacks on my body are normalized—warranted, even. I am deemed not worthy to contribute to any socioeconomic and political space because my body is to be used, abused, and then ignored. Hence in this system, my body—our bodies—are undervalued and are not selected agency. Queer & trans black violence is built by and upon these movements by internalizing white imperialist supremacist capitalist heteronormative patriarchy we see our bodies over exploited, tokenized and abandoned. #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall & #UnsilenceUFS perpetuated violence against our comrades, other queer & trans black folx, because I realize we have internalized the oppression that has been perpetuated against us, normalizing violence against bodies similar to our own.

This patriarchal movement I had dedicated my life to has created a mode of control by exemplifying how violence is so deeply ingrained into the very fabric of our society from rural & urban areas. Queer & trans black bodies are not valued in any space with other black queer & trans folx because of the way we are indoctrinated into anti-blackness, anti-queer, anti-trans and anti-non binary. Take the way the media hypersexualizes, eroticizes, exorcises and fetidizes Black Death, particularly looking at a queer and trans folx perspective where the conservative discourse is centered around it. Instead of decolonizing the immediate issue of violence to reduce the chance of it taking place again.

The discourse that validates the unjust death of black bodies throughout history facilitates the way that we view ourselves. The result being we internalize this oppression and exercise violence on ourselves and others. It's important to understand this issue as a state of urgency or significant.

I have been too silent, terrified I might trigger my mental health again, or that I might hurt someone in the process. But writing this, I am convinced will assist and allow us to reimagine an inclusive and intersectional #FeesMustFall. To imagine how it must look at various campuses and in our daily lives, without any form of violence and our powerlessness. To rethink the ways in which we can love without hurting each other, healing and self-healing ourselves and others. To stop normalizing the acts of violence that we, as queer & trans black folk encounter daily within spaces we deem "safe spaces". To critique white supremacist capitalist imperialist heteronormative patriarchy for perpetuating violence and promoting self-hate and overall hate amongst us and others. If I don't discuss this and actively work on eradicating this in our campus, then our hands are also bloodied.

ON THE

Critique on the classroom standard on the centrality knowledge production and dissemination.

Introduction

While the notions of the classroom have always been perceived from a structural euro-ethnocentric standard, the negation of forms of knowledge production that exists outside the parameters of institutional university Wits, UCT, TUT, UNISA and the likes are absent (Invisible). Furthermore not just looking at the institution as a building on campuses, but as the process to understand how knowledge is administered and validated by this monopoly of the Knowledge economy (institutions of learning). The critique is then about how insights of other knowledge systems are relegated to forms of non-functional application to the modern interpretation.

The dilemma that is faced by the institutions in regard of the work created by individuals not accredited by academia is then of paramount to this discourse. The effect of practitioners excluded by the standardization of institutional qualifications is the question under scrutiny due to its perception that leads to its excluded existence. From a socio-political-philosophical outlook we view the narrative of standardized academia as presented very much still preoccupied by western thought processes and its apparatus of learning and doing.

Then the need for a counter-discourse becomes even more apparent in the dealing with monumental task of the validating the epistemology(knowledges) of other ways of seeing and people. This then leads us to the misrecognition of African epistemic voice which in academia has no systems that acknowledge its contribution to the body of the knowledge economy. Many programmes that by nature are not the result of academia can then be the vanguard on opening the conversation of how for example Africans produce and collect knowledge that is then translated into a body of works constituting their epistemology. The goal however is not just to decolonize institutions but rather to create and open minded unbiased system geared to creating a body of works that speaks to notion of the creation, imagination and validation of other mediums of knowledge production and administration.

In the creation of systems that acknowledge other forms of knowledge we will then be able to revisit all that has been overlooked by this trajectory of a dominant euro-centric standard of validating information. Like we mentioned before this is a monumental task that needs critical work and engagement of how to present African thought and other knowledge in a tangible and accessible way.

We think it is of paramount importance to note that when we speak the Knowledge production of a people we speaking of a literature or narrative(story)a way in which they are seen and the way in which they see (Ontology). A system of thought that has been created and quantified over vast periods of time, pointing us to how the world is engaged and understood by a people. What this points to is the vast amount of knowledge that has been silenced from engaging with academia and the world, the literatures of Africa, Asia,

SEARCH OF A WIDENED EPISTEMOLOGY:



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Americas and some European countries that are invisible. By the silencing of all these stories and voices, essentially what was being portrayed was the peripheralization of space that gave birth to dominance a violent dominance of people and their culture locating them as otherness and all its ways of being. This thought than fundamentally gave rise to the exclusion and invisibility of the people who embody particular epistemologies (knowledges) or narratives that are absent or invisible from the knowledge economy.

Ideas on Recognition

Our point of departure is that which speaks to ideas of seeing from a Hegelian Master slave dialectic, this idea of seeing is seen as an aesthetic condition of what one encounters and from which positionality he/she is in, I will however not spend much time focusing on aesthetics within themselves. I will however point to the limitation of this oppositional stance of the Master Slave dialectic through the processes of humanisation and dehumanisation, this is a crucial point for recognition that the Hegelian thought proposed and missed in the condition ascribed to African epistemology(knowledge). I will however use the encounter itself as a set of criteria which standardises the notion of recognition or misrecognition. Jonathan Lear's take is one which is interesting for me the idea of a Re-Cognition, the notion of refiguring thinking processes that are bias in the principles to the Eurocentric position or way of doing things. The encounter being the first in the chain of processes finds itself as the determining condition of how the encounter progresses either with recognition or without recognition, the fatal turn is if there is no encounter at all due to the invisibility of the African Episteme by means of not misrecognition but abjection (made invisible, disgusting). The idea of a Re-cognition or to take it further a widened cognitive thinking ability or what I call the multiple-cognition(thinking) which implies on a precondition(need) for multiple ways of seeing (concepts of being) which then spill out in to epistemologies (knowledge or embodied concepts).

Let's stick to the encounter as the struggle for recognition, this notion of struggle becomes telling in the concepts surrounding power and its ability to see, name, locate and refigure. Now focusing on the struggle to be recognised within the academic space is my point of referring to the dislocated ways of seeing, which presuppose a way of seeing and being in the pro-European world that is makes otherness invisible by means of its production. These dislocated or invisible ways of seeing have standard in them among other things prejudices from known knowledge (epistemologies), Ideas on the racialisation of ways of seeing standardises racist epistemologies (knowledges) which by affect engendered ways of being in the world which produce violence and injustice to the invisible otherness.

The ideas of recognition from a stand point of familiarity of that which is been seen posits aspects of acknowledgement and validation. When lending this idea directly to knowledge or epistemology posed as education we see that its production and accumulation centred on the dominant groups outlook and way of being and doing .Education seen as Eurocentric ,racist conceptualisation tilts towards abstraction or reason purported by Europe to be its own construction and the only civilizing aspect which by way of humans creates human progress, or taking it further a suggestive aspect that says only by this way can one only be human, follow me on this trail of thought because the idea around methodology vs. Case study, universal vs. particular become a system of privileging and promotion of class divide activities which fundamentally point out to human and non human activities. The idea of the universal code of learning than becomes our critique to point to the violence of exclusionary actions than incubate such a stance ontologically (in ways of thinking) and epistemologically (knowledge).The resistance to universality as presented by assimilation is the problematic of these racialised processes. Which become systematically incorporated racist processes of testing and grading in education and work place. It places contested identities under violent exclusions and the

extreme case renders them abject totally INVISIBLE. The embodiment of dislocated Invisible ways of seeing by effect become objects of systematic violence which reproduces itself in all that is negated, rendered invisible, inhuman.

The Marxian notion of alienation is still not befitting to this category of the abject self(invisible being) and his/her way of being but Fanonian zone of non-being is this category of abjection(invisibility and disgust) a position of non- positionality , a causal position Being- through-another(the level of abjection, the feeling of being as total disgust something that should not be seen ,flushed away ,so fundamentally Black thought or African thought which is not only misrecognised but invisible from the European standard is site that needs excavating for it lays deep in the ruins of history. The historical European accumulation of ideas of progress particularly in scholarly activities has in turn suggested the inferiority of all knowledges that are not of the European standard, pointing to a fundamental thesis of this recognition or misrecognition being essentially a former or latter of identity. Back the Lear's point before diverging to the politics of identity the idea of Re-cognition and the prefix is suggestive of the Sartrean pre-reflective consciousness activity that operates on the conscious/unconscious self reproductive cognitive (thinking) processes but not only that privileges them but also arrest any other development outside this frame of thinking, which if I borrow a Hegelian terminology is the 'determinate condition' of its engagement and understanding.

A crucial point also is focusing on how this privileging is systematised and normalised as the only and universal way of functionality particularly focusing on education. The contested identities that are unexpected encounters don't just struggle for recognition but are invisible, merely to go on as unaffected but affected, and the existential anguish is the collapse of the interiority of a being with the external rejection of itself as otherness. This power relation which is what fundamentally drives how we see things creates a social subjectivity of functionality tied to ways of European culture and the negation of African and other knowledges. Whence the line of thought in this paper seeks promote or point to the idea of African and other epistemologies (knowledges) need to be revisited and reinterpreted in their own ontological (ways of thinking) standards that allow for their full realisation and fundamentally their reinstitution to the knowledge economy in their proper representation.

The Need to Resist Representations of African Epistemologies

This is a crucial point of departure and I take bell hooks as reference on this and of course the broad work of Stuart Hall but for now I would like to focus on Deleuze's genesis of Representation when he points to prejudgement and sub-representation which are ontological (thinking) categories leading to the notion that transcends the seeing, meaning that its judgement is pre-reflectively made. This character of pre-conscious activity pursuits the master signifier line of thinking (the idea of the absolute), which purports a particular thought as a universal. The Danger of this is what is experienced pedagogically by all institutes of learning, the prejudicial process of knowledge production and validation. The classroom as the space of transference is what systematically is in need of transformation and as a consequence the institution as a whole. The classroom as the physical embodiment of knowledge finds extreme attention in our analysis of how the concepts and processes can be altered or completely disregarded from the present a rigid engendered existence of education.

The idea of a racialized educational apparatus is scary and it points to the need for a decolonised institutional pedagogy. The symbolic order is its violence, it is the very nature of how it asserts itself and by which is normalised by mass obedience to its systematic problem. Capitalistic cultural production of knowledge tied to industrialisation is what we are also opposing by asking these fundamental questions of knowledge as an intellectual vocation (activity) of every culture. This point leads to the insinuation of these cultural intellectual activities can produce knowledge that functions in the medium that can mobilise to collapse the institutional prejudices and engendered processes, which

will inevitably collapse industrial production affecting production and selling costs of any product by doing the following:1 it will open the market from the monopoly it exists in 2 : It will enable a reduction in pricing due to variety of products available 3:many more points directly linked to knowledge posit the how to tied to production and economy.

This widening of the epistemological (knowledge) scope will intern disregard the cultural material representation of the Western dominant hegemony. The undialectical approach (unmediated seeing) yields the privileges' of itself, inevitably ends up as a prejudicial undertaking of self privileging activities. Education in the western format, engendered common sense being one of the virtues of ascribing this self privileging activity, prescriptive reason also seen as western reason viewed as the formative characteristics of civilisation (humanity). This representation of the west as humanity is standard of the prejudicial attitudes to Africa and idea of the other, the evangelist tradition of conversion is the founding principle of dehumanisation and the total disregard of African ways of seeing and epistemologies (knowledges).

This idea of the Hegelian universal or Kants Noumena as a socially contractual engagement is where we find the problematic of racialisation and racism as a supporting totalisation of systematic apparatuses within which prejudicial activities flourish. The project of reconstructing African knowledge systems is paramount to the quest for justice for the African persons, the historical conditions that are the standard of its perception are in need to questioning, for they too are in need of being free from themselves to be concepts that can be dynamic and change. This Hegelian Idealist construction is the root of all misrecognition for it only recognised itself through the other and misrecognises the other through its own self. The resistance will hold up only by means of reconditioning gendered roles and identities that arrest a particular way of seeing and being.

The need to go beyond the pedagogical representations of African knowledge represented in the oral traditions is the work I have explored in another paper I named "An appreciation or the aesthetic limitation" I explore ideas of widening the perceptual spectrum to a wider spectatorial position or to take it further to create a multiple positionality and comparatively using it in widening of the pedagogical framework that can lead to multiple-ways of seeing equipping the cognitive abilities with multiple epistemic voices in problem solving, also borrowing from the jazz orientation not tradition of creating other connections with presented nodes.

The plea for a free and Decolonial Africanised education is the proposition which can no longer be Invisible and by means of the reconstruction of the Black self to human subjectivity and agency for its own formulation Being-in-itself can be attained.

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE



STUDENTS PROTESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A few days after we wrote a response to an article vilifying a black woman professor, the waves of protest at South African universities reached a climax as students at universities throughout the country rallied to protest against the outrageous fee increases set by the Minister of Education, Blade Nzimande. The resulting action taken by the police can narrowly be construed only as acts of police brutality in similar ways to the partial understanding of Marikana, with this of course distorting the real situation, which is the role of the state (and the underpaid police force as its instruments) within a system dedicated to maximizing profits for a national and international elite, protecting politicians from all responsibility and accountability, ruthlessly quashing civil society protest and moving in angrily to repress sites of intellectual activism among many of the new potential sources of South Africa's (real) democratization: students. We do not in this article claim to present definitive truths, or to reactively align ourselves. Rather, we want to open up some of the difficult conversations about current relations between the state, universities, the plight and present status of students and the betrayal of transformation and redress in our universities.

What are our theatres of cruelty?

The representation of Cheryl Potgieter in last week's Sunday Times is by no means a random or isolated pattern. It exemplifies ways in which black academics, especially a small group of black women academics have routinely been disparaged, trivialised and vilified both in apartheid-era universities and, indeed, in current ones. With universities being taken over by new guardians of market-driven intellectual work and committing themselves to branding universities' "excellence" and outputs in a neo-liberal South Africa, academics and university administrators who threaten to rock the boat by condemning homophobia, elitism, classism and racism are in positions not very different from what dissenting academics were in decades ago. Both within and beyond universities, they have been painted as, among other things, enemies of free speech and association, intolerant, dictatorial and, in Cheryl Potgieter's case, cruel orchestrators of mayhem at UKZN.

Theatres of Cruelty for Students

The demonizing of certain academics is being echoed in the current demonizing of students. Except that with students demonizing has been accompanied by the kind of repression we assumed we would never see again in South Africa. As demonstrated in the recent protests against fee hikes and the action taken on students in response to their protest, universities' theatres of cruelty have been manifest in ways in which students, at the most basic level, have been betrayed, abused, and largely abandoned within the overall HE education environment which has barely changed. Several academics, certain rectors and particular administrators have worked as hard as they can to support students, environments of critical and democratic education, practices designed to ensure all students access to resources and benefits, and the entry of more poor and working-class students to universities. Pumla Gqola, Elaine Salo are two of the many black women academics who have been highly proactive on social media. Shirley Walters at the University of the Western Cape has struggled for decades to ensure that older students gain access through recognition of prior learning, while an administrator such as Judy Favish at UCT played a pivotal role in driving deeper transformation at UCT and struggling to support students' demands for changes at this university.

But the efforts of individuals and groups cannot radially alter the deep imbrication of our universities in a vortex of cut-throat and elitism. The hype around introducing more black faces has of course entailed a small class of black (mainly male) leaders taking up places of "leadership" at both hbus and hwus. But entrenched class, gender and racial inequalities have meant that formal rights to education are totally belied by the de facto situation of universities and students operating in a classist, neo-liberal environment, one that discriminates against many black students, but also, as the protests demonstrate, against all average South Africans who seek to study at University. This has meant that South Africa, compared to countries such as Namibia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania in their decolonizing process has seen very very small changes in its student enrolment patterns and in state funding for students and universities' transformation. The introduction of GEAR several years ago also meant that any nascent efforts to guarantee the state's support for its citizens collective welfare through overhauling the educational system was rapidly eroded to allow the state to support – in a totally unqualified way – foreign capital and elite privilege both in and beyond South Africa.

The post-apartheid state has also treated universities and Higher Education with contempt, forcing universities to submit to outrageously technocratic auditing procedures in competing for funding, forcing artificial mergers between institutions with the aim of streamlining them (i.e. making them operate more effectively in the interests of the market economy) and, worst of all, positioning students as supplicants granted special favours by being admitted to that sacred of spaces, the route to middle-class privilege: the university.

Part of the process of inducting young black and white South Africans into citizenship has been an effort to persuade them that their role is unique, they are special, and they are being groomed to become the new beneficiaries of our current deeply undemocratic country. By jumping through the hoops of a largely untransformed educational system, paying exorbitant fees, locking themselves into impossible loans such as NSFAS, they will eventually be assured positions in the new South Africa as money-earning, BMW-driving, Sandton home-dwelling citizens who can then oppress their fellow citizens. The message is: "Born frees will reap their rewards if they comply".

But students have been pushed hard. And the anger and conscientizing that started with the RMF movement has led many to fearlessly refuse the outrageous demand to accept the Education Ministers' fee increase.

As has been the case with the representation of "deviant" black women academics and leaders, it is disturbing how student protests have been represented in the mainstream media. As John Higgins' study of the representation of student protest in the early 1990s showed, how South African student protest is represented by the media is a significant index of the figuring of students in the South African "popular" imaginary, and a gauge of how students are seen by the state. South African students today are seen as disobedient, ungrateful rebels, flaunting the wonderful opportunities they could have by behaving like marauding mobs, involving themselves in chaotic protest, ransacking university canteens for food, etc etc etc.

Having taught students for several years, we have become more and more aware of how complex and hard contemporary life is for many South African students. Despite having struggled financially and politically as black women students, today, as salaried academic staff, we are horrified by the outrageous costs that students presently have to contend with at most South African universities. Students pay exorbitant fees in relation to what their parents or guardians can afford to give them, many are locked into impossible loans; many work fulltime jobs which prevent their being able to commit themselves to study; and with student orientation events, department stores offer students credit facilities and trap them into ongoing financial struggles. Moreover, the growing number of students eligible for universities makes the competition for bursaries extremely difficult, and universities themselves seem to have handed their campuses over to stylists keen to market these as shopping malls. In this environment many students feel betrayed, powerless, and desperate. The peer pressure on some to put up a brave face and behave as though all were well (for example, going to class starving because they simply cannot afford the expensive snacks sold at HWU campuses) is horrific. It is of course no accident that students protesting against fee hikes in the last few days stormed canteens and took and ate food. The act is both a literal testimony of their hunger, and a powerfully symbolic indication of their deeper hunger for change.

We have also over the years become increasingly aware of the huge disparities between "black" students' needs. A Zimbabwean student, on the evening of the student march on parliament, said to us that there are so many invisibilized demands and needs evidenced in the student protests and the general "dissatisfaction of students". One relatively unacknowledged need, she said, concerns the plight of migrant African students, expected to pay full fees that are totally out of synch with the exchange value of their local currencies. Even within this group, of course, students from SADC countries do not fare as badly as students from, for example, Nigeria, Cameroon or Ethiopia. Such students also often have to struggle with xenophobic administrators, staff and other students, struggles to access funding from the NRF which supports only South African students, (even though South African universities advertise themselves to foreign African students and benefit financially from this), and generally battle to pursue education in this country in ways that are massively different from the battles of South Africans. Yet their presence at universities is what gives South African HE institutions superior status on the continent and globally: as postgraduates, research assistants and undergraduates they bring in points and fees to enhance our rating and boost our economic clout. Rarely, of course, do they benefit from this.

There are layers and layers of cruelty in South Africa's current higher education system, not only because of what happens within them, but because of how they are located in a broader socio-economic system and form of state control. By exploring the situation simply as a clear cut matter of student's vs police, student's vs the minister, or students versus certain rectors, we miss the necessity to make sense of and to act on extremely complex challenges to democracy. South African universities are theatres of cruelty. We have to understand how and why and we desperately have to do something about this.

THE PEDAGOGICAL & PUBLICATION, PUBLICA[C]TION: REFLECTIONS ON PROCESS

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i. One of the persistent conversations that has thread its way, consistently, throughout the whole of the publication's year-long process has been around the idea of what we were thinking and speaking about as a pedagogical device. The idea came from early discussions conceptualising and planning the project, trying to imagine how we might be able to do publication differently to the way it is done normally - where the printed and published document represents the end, the climax, or pinnacle of the publication process. Trying to think beyond this form of publishing, we wanted to imagine how a publication could, itself, be a collective process (in actuality, a publication almost always requires some form of collective process but the nature of a published document very often tends to hide or obscure the actual relations, and the various contributions and conditions of its production). We wanted the publication - the process and the thing - to be able to do pedagogical work: to be part of, and contribute to critical consciousness work in the context of movement-building - specifically in this instance, in university student activist spaces.

ii. Initially the collective had been thinking about the pedagogical device as a document separate to the main publication. The device would attempt to put various pieces in the main publication into conversation with each other and try to highlight questions that would facilitate deeper discussion on, what we thought were, the important issues that the student movement had raised. It was imagined to be a lesson-plan of some sort without trying to be too didactic (teaching from a moral or intellectual highground), and textbook-ish. Our idea was to provide some kind of potential road map for people who were interested in engaging the movement/s in a more systematic way than was encouraged by the media and academia. The media's limited coverage, and the many academic books and papers that have written about, not from, the movement/s, have provided very little opportunity to engage with the mo(ve)ment on its own terms.

iii. One of the key moments in the process thus far - of thinking through the questions of pedagogy and making things public - was in our very first workshop at the verkrampste university of NWU Potchefstroom. The students WHO joined us in the workshop stressed that Potch is still an apartheid institution. As a Black person you can palpably feel that whilst walking through the grounds which seem, today, still so staunchly and resolutely rooted in Verwoerd's dream. In spite of the lack of Black air, some of the most forward ideas around reading, writing and publishing came out of the workshop with Black students there. Genius, one of the contributors said something simple but with radical and profound implications. In the discussion critiquing neoliberal, corporatized publishing, he said that publishing is, or at least should be, about sharing.

Thinking about publication as sharing recasts it as a collective process. But, importantly, it also forces us to take seriously the questions of access and the various barriers and

obstacles that prevent knowledge, particularly in the written form, from being shared and circulated. For example, there is a way that a poetry reading achieves far more than most book launches if we think about publication as sharing...

iv. Another key intervention took place in a workshop in Durban. Here we started our discussion in our hired kombi outside UKZN but later, thankfully, graduated to a warm Ethiopian restaurant. Over injera and alcha wot, we were challenged on our conceptualization of the pedagogical device. One of the contributors to the publication, Shabashni, questioned the idea of the separate documents. She suggested that the separation could be seen as a ghettoization of 'experience' or 'raw data' in the main publication, and 'analysis' in the pedagogical device - an old trick of the academy. While that was definitely not what our intention was, and some of our responses were, on reflection, perhaps quite defensive, the critique made us think through what the device was and what it was for, from a different angle. Additionally, that critique exposed the different ways in which we as individuals in the collective were imagining the device and how we hadn't sufficiently thought through this potentially dangerous idea. Following that intervention, along the long road between Durban and Umtata, we had some quite intense discussions regarding this thing which we all felt strongly about but were thinking about quite differently.

Having hashed out the potential dangers of the separation in the many hours in the kombi, we thought that we would go ahead with the device because we thought that the pedagogical project was too important to leave to chance the reader.

v. If you are engaging the publication now you will obviously notice that there is no pedagogical device as such. This is because what you are reading now represents one moment of a longer process, and had it been a different moment, you might well have been holding two documents. After more long reflection and discussion the question of the pedagogical device we decided that the pedagogical device should live in the main publication, which, we realized, it already does. The pedagogical potential of this collection pieces in terms of engaging with the conditions of South Africa's universities as well as the critical thought of those of us populating the institutions is, quite frankly, immense and is also unprecedented.

It is also an experiment and while we have improvised answers to many of the difficult questions posed by the radical project of decolonization, all the questions, particularly those around pedagogy and language, remain unresolved and require continued experimentation with/in the form and process. The publication is the pedagogical device but what happens beyond printing (and you reading it) will continue to give shape to publication the process.



---> CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

CHECK THIS OTHER SHIT OUT! [CONTINUED]

- STRATEGY AND TACTICS**
- A Force More Powerful, Nonviolent forms of protest <http://www.aforcemorepowerful.org/resources/nonviolent/methods.php>
 - See Pathways to Free Education

- VIOLENCE AND FIRE**
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 - James Baldwin, 1962, The fire next time
 - Max Roach, 1960, We Insist: Freedom now suite
 - Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 1988, "Can the subaltern speak?"
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- INTERSECTIONALITY**
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- bell hooks, Marci Blackman, Shola Lynch, Janet Mock, Are You Still a Slave? Liberating the Black Female Body, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rjK0hNR0vzs>

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- Ngugi Wa-thiongo, Decolonizing the mind: The politics of language in African literature
- AC Jordan, 1971, Towards an African literature: The emergence of the literary form in Xhosa
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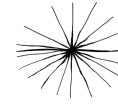
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- 9 Songs that perpetuate Rape culture <https://www.rawstory.com/2014/10/9-songs-that-are-rape-ier-than-you-realized/>
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INTERSECTIONALITY IS, OR PERHAPS INTERSECTIONALITY AS

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I was recently asked to speak about identity politics on radio with another scholar. The discussion was timely, coming after a series of meetings I had sat through concerned with students, activism, inequality and power. During these discussions, I noticed a habit of speaking about identity that was beginning to grate. That is, that someone could refer to “gender politics,” and assume to capture all at once something total, clever and that we might already presume to know.

In my kindest voice, I read these gestures as moments of recognizing that gender, or race, or class are not essential categories:

Essentialism refers to the belief that things have essential properties, for example that the biological sexes in a male/female, or m/f distinction are naturally different, and naturally people in this m/f distinction will become men and women respectively. Essentialism further implies the belief that all who are women share common and universal characteristics and properties.

Thinking about sex, gender and desire as social, historical, contextual, relational and changing helps us to dismantle this set of beliefs. Thinking about the differences between women offers us the same. When we are cautious about the risk of essentialism, when we speak of ourselves as “women”, we do so to make a political claim. This is something that Gayatri Spivak describes as “strategic essentialism”¹.

I understand “the politics of identity” as an ongoing, engaging, difficult projection of recognitions and misrecognitions. Rather than the claim of our sameness, instead it refers to the scenes or sites of intensity around which we recognize aspects of our experience that are shared. If I come to realize that other women experience marital rape, we share the possibility of even beginning to describe an experience that previously had no name, that I felt was my own failure and misunderstanding. Once it carries a name, I am now able to say to another; I share your experience, it has a name, it is connected to social forces and it is about power. This is the politics of identity.

And yet, because when we are thinking anti-essentially, all meaning is put in crisis and “scare quotes”, then people can open their

mouths quite cleverly and tell us that we are “so-called black.”

Rey Chow offers the term “referentiality”² to describe what happens to terms such as “identity politics,” or “intersectionality” once they enter the terms of western theory. These terms emerge as oppositional politics and practices under specific conditions or relations of power and specific conditions that inform their enunciation, but experience a temporal displacement to become “universal” or recognizable as theory. As such, it becomes possible to lump together a range of wishes or oppositional grammars to such a phrase as “gender politics” in a single breath.

Intersectionality is a term coined by US-American legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw who used the term to demonstrate how black women experience discrimination in ways that cannot neatly be described by either racism or sexism, as they experience a combination of both and possibly other scenes or sites of difference which shape or influence the nature and extent of that discrimination³. This term emerges in a vast and contested genealogy of attempts to describe the place of difference, or said another way; these are debates that ask if the subject of “woman” can take the heat as the scene or site for feminist organizing⁴.

One term that I would locate in this multiple, contested and non-linear genealogy is the “double bind,” used by Pinkie Mkgwe to describe the relationship that African feminisms have with regards to ‘Africa’ and the project of decolonization⁵. We could project this term on to the ways intersectionality was articulated during Fees Must Fall by black womxn who directed it towards black men and white women on the question of inclusion. In that breath, they pointed to the assumption that black men/white women carried that their strategic locations as “Black”, or “Woman” meant a stable and inclusive position from which to speak on behalf of the collective.

Intersectionality had a similar impact on Euro/American feminisms, by rupturing whiteness as universal. In some of those debates emerged a concern that intersectionality would draw attention to difference after difference after difference, since we are all uniquely multiply located by the various axes of difference that shape our coming into the world. In this line of thinking, intersectionality poses the risk of exclusion (exclude white men, exclude black men, exclude white women, exclude heterosexuals, exclude binary people, exclude able-bodied people, exclude the rich and so on). I have a small suspicion that when some of our contemporaries refer to categories of difference as “so-called”, or “identity politics” they are articulating something densely felt about the risk of this exclusion.

I knew that some day people would ask us: “Where were the queers; the women; the Trans people during the Rhodes Must Fall struggle?”, and History would tell them we were there, as we have always been. - Kumkani Sivu Siwisa

Intersectionality has become this catch-all for a failure in projects and processes of inclusion because of this stickiness, but also in ways that miss out on a close reading Crenshaw’s intervention. Crenshaw relates a scene in traffic, where various things intersect – something we might think of as an event that is specific, at the point of its very own enunciation. All identities carry this potential or being an event. Just as it is the case that when something difficult “comes up” in a situation about difference and ongoing lacking-inclusions predicated on the assumption of what we share, we are experiencing difficult potentialities.

On the subject of knowledge/power there is a lot that we do not share due to ongoing, constitutive processes of dispossession that make race, sex, gender, class, ability, desire not simply discursive, but historical, social, relational, contextual and material.

Jasbir Puar offers a tremendously useful reading of intersectionality that I consider to do the work of “intersectionality as”⁶. That is, that we take from Crenshaw and others the idea of an approach to difference that accounts for race, class, gender, nation, sexuality, ability and so on as co-constitutive processes that shape our experiences of the world. The scenes of these co-constitutive processes can be revealed through aspects of experience, which in Crenshaw’s case is that of gender based violence and ‘black women’. It is not simply that we can recognize/ misrecognize what we share in that scene, attendant to our sticky differences – we are also made able to speak about power as structural and relational. This is not to say, “intersectionality is black women,” it is a move to read “intersectionality as” an approach, an argument, and assemblage, a wish, a gentle reminder, love-making, the path to war and a politics.

¹Spivak, Gayatri C. 1984/5. “Feminism, Criticism and the Institution,” Thesis Eleven 10/11, 175–187.

²Chow, Rey. 2002. “The Interruption of Referentiality: Poststructuralism and the Conundrum of Critical Multiculturalism,” South Atlantic Quarterly 101 (1), 171–186.

³Crenshaw, K. W. 1991. “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against Women of Colour,” Stanford Law Review 43(6): 1241–1299.

⁴See Ahmed, Sara. 1998. *Differences That Matter: Feminist Theory and Postmodernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. And Mama, Amina. 2001. “Challenging Subjects: Gender and Power in African Contexts,” African Sociological Review 5(2), 63–73.

⁵Mkgwe, Pinkie. 2006. “Theorising African Feminism(s): The ‘Colonial’ Question,” *Quest: A Journal of African Philosophy* XX(1–2), 11–22.

⁶Puar, Jasbir K. 2012. “‘I Would Rather be a Cyborg than a Goddess’: Being-Intersectional in Assemblage Theory,” *Philosophia* 2(1), 59–88.



WHEN THE POOR ARE BLACK, THE BLACKS ARE WOMEN- AND THE WOMEN ARE QUEER



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In March 2015, during the infancy of the #RhodesMustFall (RMF), when student activists at the University of Cape Town had occupied Bremner House and renamed it Azania House, I was invited to engage with student activists on patriarchal masculinities¹. The brief was to facilitate a shift of views and behaviour given reports of sexual harassment at the House. The invitation came via a well-known critical African female social psychologist based at the University who was closely involved with the #Fallists. In light of reports of sexual harassment by female student activists, and given my interest in profeminist² work with men, she had asked me to facilitate a discussion on patriarchal masculinity with men and those who identify with the category of masculinity among the #Fallists.

The invitation was a solicitation to support black women and other black genders in the long search for the natural right to enjoy all of their identities as fully as possible. It was a call to contribute to the creation of a safe space within the #Fallist movement to assist in thinking on, playing with, and materialising commodious blacknesses, black genders and black sexualities within institutions. I interpreted it as another invitation to work with black men specifically to scrutinise their feelings and thoughts to realise life-enhancing solidarity with black women and other black genders to strengthen the fight against unjust orders.

The search for the realisation of a safe space for black gender and sexual relations extends beyond universities to communities across nations. This is the very search that stimulated the African American legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw's³ development of intersectional thinking, which began decades prior with other black women. The quest of black women around the world for a consideration of the fullness of their existence as co-constituted by different identities-as-experiences is informative for anyone searching for an intersectional decolonised praxis.

And yet, from the very beginning, while some within the #Fallist movement grasped that identities and oppressions overlap, the movement as a whole may have minimised the fact some men and women are attached to monistic explanations of the structuring of our institutions. In contrast to intersectional thinking, monistic explanations that focus on only one aspect of our lives – be it our economic, race, nationalistic, gender, sexual, disability-focused explanations or any other single-view explanation – are incomplete, and may even be oppressive to some of those involved in the movement. Could there have been a better appreciation that a critical awareness of different oppressions as entangled with each other does not simply bubble up from the unconscious just because we have experienced one or other form of oppression in our lives? Was it taken for granted that everyone within would readily concede that intersectional thinking offers one the best devices to think and act against the colonial and apartheid university? Shouldn't there have been more assiduous conscientisation⁴? Above all, why is there one or other form of oppression within the very spaces aimed at challenging colonial orders?

Where there is desire to decolonise education, conscientisation is a must. Consciousness-raising is intentional, protracted, work. Without raising awareness about the intersecting forces that mutually constitute identities, and transforming consciousness about the different elements that make up the oppressive social system, campaigns to overcome colonial, economically unjust, racist, patriarchal and homophobic domination are likely to remain marginal, contradictory, and short-lived. When the poor are black, the blacks are women, and the women are queer, what is required, it seems, is a decolonising intersectional consciousness and practice. A decolonising consciousness and practice is one which aims to cleanse and repair the self and the world in which that self exists of colonial ideologies and structures. Colonial ideologies and structures refers to those notions, relations, and formations that organise life as one between those who control and those who are controlled, the master (or boss) and the servant (or minion), the dominant and the inferior.

So did all male students within the #Fallist movement identified with heterosexual masculinity recognise their behaviour as harassment? Only some male university students conceive the oppression of women and queers as affecting their own lives. Not all

students see their own day to day rage against poverty, for free and decolonised education, against racism, or for simple human recognition as overlapping with the others' struggles.

The most ample and authentic of liberation of black men is inextricably bound up with the liberation of black women and other black genders. But one comes to learn that expecting men to readily accompany women and queers in their struggles – in the way liberation psychologists define accompaniment – is bound to end in disappointment. Usually, it is when girls and women in their lives are violated by other men that some men come to grasp that violence against women affects their lives. Many a male, not only university students, usually screen out women's everyday gender or queer sexual oppression, unless they have feminist mothers, politicised female and queer friends or are conscious themselves.

That night in March in 2015 I failed, even though I should have prepared for failure. Even though I was invited to facilitate thinking and action against sexual harassment, I would fail because I expected that in that space aimed at decolonisation I would find most of the university men ready for freedom, ready to see the intersections of the struggles of men, women and other genders. Although I left Azania House with a sense that the night had been instructive, I failed because I did not manage to shift the most vocal heteropatriarchal masculine voices in that space. Although, as always, some young men wanted to understand why some forms of masculinity might be oppressive, I failed because I forgot to remember that the struggle to liberate black male university students, like all struggles for liberation, takes work, long and complex, and never follows a straight line.

Under ordinary circumstances many men are quietly complicit with patriarchy, even if they may not be violent themselves. And in those specific cases when they feel compelled to confront their own complicity or violence, their possibility of men challenging violent and heteropatriarchal attitudes and practices is low. So I harboured some anxiety before I agreed to facilitate the discussions among the #RMF students. But I agreed to facilitate the discussion because I am persuaded by the view that with work, men, women and other genders who have been dehumanised by economic, sexual or racism structures can come to realise that they will not be humanised by hurting others. I am also aware that our society tends to neglect violence against black men, including their experience of trauma and fears. Thus my own engagement with men arises

from the intellectual and practical experience and understanding of the nature and effects of socio-political oppression and psycho-social pain. I appreciate that structural power permeates subjective relations and the self. That appreciation includes the knowledge that individuals can and do deal with their own distress and insecurities by wounding others.

It is true that globally, there is a tendency for black male lives not to matter. The neglect of black male lives, fears and trauma may be due to a genuine lack of awareness to others' pain. However, consciousness of the structures of imperialism, colonialism, racism, gender, sexualities, and capitalism reveals that compared with white little girls, big black men tend to be thought as less injurable, meaning less than human and, therefore, less deserving of our sympathy. Perceiving violence to some social groups as more violent, a perception generated by a preference for monistic explanations of violence, cuts off an appreciation of the structural violence that permeates a world founded on imperial, colonial and capitalist exploitation.

To consider men as oppressed and needing liberation can be seen as curious. Liberate men from what and to do what? No doubt, not all men are oppressed. But some men do need liberation because they can never simply be men, because some men may be socially dominant over women but they may experience oppression as sexual minorities or part of the racialised underclass. Some men need liberation from coloniality, racism, heteropatriarchy, and vampiristic capitalism. Many men need liberation from the structures that induce them to support the very ideologies that injure them, impoverish them, marginalise them, and treat them as not fully human. Most men may enjoy their oppression of women and children, but many men work at jobs – if they do have jobs – where they are treated as disposable cogs in the vampire money machine, without potential to create something meaningful, and earning barely afford to send their children to school. Although men might enjoy their social position as a gender, some of them are treated as less human because they are gay, black and poor. Freedom is found in with being part of collective struggles against homophobia, racism and neoliberal capitalist commodification.

A decolonised intersectional consciousness and practice brings forth the view that being poor does not in and of itself make one supportive of the struggles of the poor around the world. Being black does not in and of itself mean one will love other black people. Being a woman does not preclude patriarchal consciousness. Being lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or intersex in and of itself does not make one not homophobic. Poor people can and do hurt other poor people. Black people can be violent against other black people. Women can be oppressive against other women and girls. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or intersex can hate other queer people.

When there has been no insistent work towards decolonised intersectional consciousness we should not be surprised that those who have suffered one form of oppression can support other forms of oppression. The history of our society shows that poor white people have preferred to stand with nonpoor white people instead of poor black people. Whilst black men and women have been oppressed by racist regime, black men can act in oppressive ways against black women. Even though they may have experienced male domination by white men, women who identify as heterosexual white women can stand with men of their racial group to discriminate against nonheterosexual women and men. And although they may have experienced invisibility and violence under a heterosexual regime some of those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or intersex can sustain social-psychological discrimination against the poor.

Ultimately, what is needed is to educate one another towards a recognition of all social and economic oppressions are structurally founded. Equally important, what is needed is to continually conscientise each other that people are never only poor, or black, or gendered, or sexual. To say the poor are black, the blacks are women, and the women are queer⁵, is of course to indicate that oppressions feed off each other, may shape-shift but are always encoded with the purpose of exploitation, can change colours but



#RMF Radical Feminists leading a march across campus to the RMF Exhibition that was disrupted by the RMF #TransCollective, 9 March 2016

not their DNA. What all that means is the imperative to appreciate that even while they fight against capitalist exploitation and exclusion, or racist structures, or homophobia, or any other category via which they are oppressed or marginalised, the people also have other identities which they bring to their struggles. The struggles against injustice therefore cannot but embrace intersectionality. The struggles against vampire capitalism are not disconnected from the struggles against colonialism and racism. The struggles

against colonialism and racism are enriched when waged alongside struggles against sexism and gender oppression. The struggles of women and girls against patriarchy and male domination can draw strength from seeing connections with struggles against heterosexist, homophobia and transphobia. The struggles for recognition of sexual and gender diversity are made stronger when they recognise struggles against poverty and economic inequality.

¹Patriarchal masculinity means beliefs and practices that endorse the control and subordination of women and girls to men and boys. Patriarchal masculinity is not necessarily violent as it can depend on discourses of protection of and providing for women and children. More often, it depends on laws, policies, religious beliefs, social norms, and cultural ideologies.

²Profeminist work with men refers to work aimed at entrenching egalitarian masculinities and opposing gender and sexual oppression. Profeminist men support feminist ideals.

³See Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," University of Chicago Legal Forum: Iss. 1, Article 8. Available at: <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>; A TED Talk delivered in 2016 by Kimberlé Crenshaw can be accessed here: https://www.ted.com/talks/kimberle_crenshaw_the_urgency_of_intersectionality

⁴Conscientisation, which means raising critical awareness, is a tool famously associated with the Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire. See, Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Bloomsbury Publishing. Available at: http://www.msu.ac.zw/elearning/material/1335344125freire_pedagogy_of_the_oppressed.pdf

⁵Of course, sometimes the oppressed is a man, and he is queer, poor, black, disabled (and marginalised in other ways: the point here being that people's suffering usually is the effect of intersecting patterns and dynamics of oppressions).

SUICIDE AT UNIVERSITY, *a black students' perspective*

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University is a very scary place, even though they say taking that first step and applying is the scariest but being in the space, and having to deal with new environments is overwhelming. I remember as a first-year student, I was quite older than most students in my class which was supposedly an advantage as I did not or was not in the slightest danger of peer pressure or falling victim to the dropout statistics, or whatever it is that students go through at university. As much as they say, maturity comes with age, I do not think there is an age that prevents you or protects you from falling victim to the struggles of a university student.

In this piece, I would like to explore some of the things I went through as a student; my goal is to possibly provide insights into why students regard suicide as an answer to all the problems they might be facing.

I come from a family where I am the first person to attend university, as that is not the biggest thing, I am a woman, born from isithembu (polygamous) family, and you might just want to think of my father as one of those parents who disregards education for a girl child because it is the same as throwing money away but to keep us busy what else could he have done but to send us to school.

It can be argued that a lot of men still think sending a girl-child to university is a huge mistake unless it is a bit of an investment into how much lobola they are going to get when this young woman finally graduates and marries. Now having said all this, why do students feel pressured so much?

I can tell you, being a woman is really tough but being a man is just as tough. I come from a background where as a woman you constantly have to prove your self-worth; it is even more demanding for men because you are only 'permitted' to succeed, failure is out of the question. This year we have had four students commit suicide at DUT and they are all male students. This brings me back to responsibilities the students are faced with especially black students.

As a first year student, I checked myself in because of anxiety attacks and I still do have them when I am overwhelmed or panicking. In the black community anxiety, stress, depression is almost non-existent not because they do not exist but because we are ill-informed about these diseases and the dangers they pose and are contributing factors to a lot of major diseases and suicide. In my community if a person kills themselves we say they probably had a disease they could not live with like HIV just like when someone is going crazy we say they have been bewitched.

These are some of the things that make youngsters

unable to communicate with their parents, siblings or close people because these things are easily laughed off or seen as a form of weakness especially if it is a man. Men don't cry, remember?

One of the things killing black societies is the belief that crying is a sign of weakness, talking about your issues as a man is a sign of weakness and yes, nobody wants to be identified as weak. This is further exacerbated by adult men who sarcastically ask young men how they are going to take care of their families if they are 'softies'.

Home has its own pressures, once you move away from home regardless of whether you are a university student or not, everyone expects you to have money, to be rich and to be a certain kind of person and you're recognised in the community for having enrolled and then the expectations start rolling in, not only from your family but your neighbours and sometimes the whole community.

A sense of belonging, the community is a vital part of the African culture as it is said that it takes a whole community to raise a child. Thus, an African child does not only 'answer' to his immediate nuclear family, but to the entire community. What this does is to further put more burden of performance on African students, particularly male ones.

It has been said that there are a lot of factors that contribute to a person deciding to end his or her life through suicide. Often, it starts small and with the background of a lot of black students, small things build up and end up becoming unmanageable and that is when it gets too much and students cannot handle things.

I remember after I had checked myself in, I was made fun of by a few of my close friends, they would say 'you suffer from a white man's disease/syndrome' and it is this kind of mentality that discourages young people to be open about the challenges they face, judgements, comments, and negative attitudes towards, making them already feel weak and different.

Financial support is said to be one of the most contributing factors of students committing suicide at universities, as mentioned above, the pressure of a student from the community and when financial aid decides to kick you out, going back home without the qualification is unacceptable, regardless of people in the community not understanding or knowing the whole story, you are already labelled a failure, you went to university and came back empty handed.

Another pressure that I faced was fitting in, a Zulu girl from an all-black township school going to university where people have that "twang" and twist in the way they

pronounce words, I seriously thought I was going to fail, not because I did not know English nor understood what was being said in class, the pressure pretty much found its home in my mind and I could not hear anything in class. I felt and already put myself in a box, and I was sure I was going to fail.

Student residence are very cold spaces, I remember being a resident student during my second and third year, I did not even know my neighbour nor my residence advisor (RA), I also did not know when to approach the RA, as in their job description, their operating hours, and their entire existence in the structure of the university. The paranoia kicked in, I had been hearing a lot of things about residences, rape, failure, boozing all night and bullying to name but a few. As a student who had been going through a lot especially in my first year of university, going to a space where I spent most of my time alone, cooked up in my room when not on campus, adjusting was very difficult and the freedom of being away from home took its toll on me as it does on everyone, the comfort of being home was no longer going to be my place of shelter.

Being a first generation student, pressure kept building, anxiety, financial aid, language issues and not to mention fear of failure. I could have failed, just because I feared failure not because I was not capable of passing, in fact I had already failed myself. See, I already disqualified my capabilities because I could not speak like the other students nor dress like them, understand their backgrounds and yes being older had its own pressure as well. I could have committed suicide had I been alone, far from home and no one to talk to since my friends at the time laughed at my anxiety issue. I could have just decided to end my life but thankfully for me, I was a commuting student, I would go back home every afternoon and be reminded of why I was at university.

I understand these pressures, I have been through them myself and I managed to keep afloat but it took the whole of me and a half to get myself in check and I could not have done it alone. The support from the nurse was overwhelming and that fear of failure was what kept me going, I did not want to go back home having no certificate. I had survived.

Being a university student, is very challenging, being a global being, someone who is firmly grounded in their belief and aware of others, always trying to be politically correct. Overall the culture shock becomes too much and as individuals from different backgrounds, it affects us differently.



Excerpts from an interview with Bonginkosi "Education" Khanyile (BK) (DUT) by Leigh-Ann Naidoo (LAN) (WITS):

LAN: How did you end up in prison?

BK: So it was with Fees Must Fall (FMF). I participated in a FMF campaign... in DUT, whereby it began on the 26th of September. Because we were opening - we were coming from 10 days' holiday. So we opened on the 26th of September, and that day we then had a shut down on campus, and the FMF campaign continued on the 27th of September. That's when I was arrested, around 11 -

LAN: In the morning.

BK: Ja, then I was taken to Berea Police Station... I was injured by rubber bullets. So they first took me to Berea Police Station, then before they could charge me they took me to Addington (hospital)... I got six stitches, then I came back in the afternoon. I was then charged, then kept in a cell in Berea. At night around 10 I was transferred to C R Swart. I was then in C R Swart... On that night I slept... Then I woke up on the 28th. On the 28th I was supposed to appear in court... Another police office came and then took my fingerprints, then he said we are going to appear 9 o'clock in court. Then ... I was taken - I was transported. Two... investigation officers by the name of De Beer and other... his colleague... I don't know his... I didn't catch his surname. Then they came, they said they were looking for FMF activist ... Then the officers, they pointed at me and said, "Oh this is the one, he is appearing in court today." Then they told them that this one, he must not appear in court today, we are sent by the provincial government to take up his case... He must be kept in custody... We still want to do some investigation on him, so he's not going to appear today.

LAN: And were you alone at this point ... or were there other students with you?

BK: No, I was arrested alone... They just came, 4 Quantum's, no 2 Quantum's and 2 police vans, then they picked me up, then they took me away... When I went to hospital, I was taken there by 2 officers because I was under arrest ... [they] took me to Addington hospital, where I was treated, then they took me back to Berea police station where I was charged and kept in a cell. So in the cell where I was kept

LAN: OK

BK: So then, I then came... Came from... that night they took us to C R Swart where we were supposed to spend the night so that the following day we can appear in Durban Central Court, Magistrates Court. So when I was then supposed to appear, the other guy, he had a private lawyer so everything with him was very much fast, ... they took him and he went and appeared. So when I was supposed to appear then De Beer came and then said they were instructed by the provincial government that ... they must check out my case. Then they instruct - they told the police officers that I can't go to court today, they still wanted to do some investigation on me before I could go to court. And they told the police officers there that they must put me back in my cell, also they must not allow me to have any visitors ... from now on no-one must come and talk to me.

LAN: Sjo

BK: ... Because they still want to do some investigation. So they went away. They then came back... they then came back around midday and they took me... they took me to their car and they took me somewhere - I think their offices... Offices around some mall... I was not able to see where we were or [where they were] taking me to respond to some questions.

LAN: And have they got you in the back of a police van or are you sitting in a car with them?

BK: They took me in a car with them, but I was sitting at the back. And they kept my, ... they put this thing - what do you call this thing?

LAN: The handcuffs?

BK: I think it's the leg cuffs, what do you call it?

LAN: Ah, the leg. So your legs are cuffed but your hands are free?

BK: Ja. The hands were free, but the legs were cuffed. It was very humiliating. You walk by the mall, now you're wearing these things - everyone is looking at you... like you...

LAN: So they're taking, they're taking you through a public place with shackles on your legs and supposedly going to question you. When you're driving in the car with them, are you worried at all, did they tell you very clearly where you're going? Are you worried because now you're in a car, you're going somewhere, you haven't even seen a judge yet?

BK: Ja, of course I was worried, you know... I was worried because even the questions that they were throwing to me, they were very uncomfortable questions that - yoh... "Are you

EFF? You are burning schools. Today we are going to throw you out the window - we are going to throw you 11 floors. We are going to kill you today."

LAN: Wow. So they're making these kinds of accusations. Yoh.

BK: So they are saying those things so I, obviously you might feel a little bit uncomfortable -

LAN: Of course

BK: - or should I say... You might even be scared but you know as a revolutionary you must always... You can't just apologize or stand in a good spot. So I was... I... I pretended... I took a very comfortable face. I was wearing a very comfortable face and pretended that I was not hearing anything. I just said no it's fine. If you're throwing me then it's fine. Do whatever. Then they took me back... inside. Then, when we arrived in the office inside, he was wanting the guy - I think he was an investigation officer also - maybe there were 2... One white guy, and 2 African guys who were sitting there. They were also dealing with other cases. There were a number of other discussions that they had, was to say they will be covering the case of others - there were some other people which they were investigating. I think it's the common... the common prisoners. Something which had to do with theft and robbery.

LAN: Ok

BK: So they were compiling their dockets, then the other... made some comment to say, no, when we're compiling such a big document, this one will not even get a bail. Because you know, they come with these... What you call it... Legal-aid... Legal aid lawyers. And most people there they are clueless so when I present this document, tomorrow these guys will not get a bail, I'm sure, but then they all laughed, you know... Then from there, they asked me questions, when I was, in that office of theirs... why did I participate and what did I do exactly... who's funding me? That was the first question. How am I studying, where do I get money for my studies? Then I told them that I'm studying under the Premier's bursary - Premier of Kwa-Zulu Natal... they verified that I'm registered... they came back and told me all the information that they made verifications. So they asked questions - why are you, because you are under a Premier's bursary, why do you participate? ... the FMF it's a revolutionary call, you know. So if you say because I'm under Premier's bursary then I must not participate, then you are missing the point because when you are going for FMF it's not because you are fighting for a cause which is only an individual based cause, but the cause which ought to benefit the general public... because when we speak on the question of FMF and the question of free education, we are not saying it must be free education only in terms of its monetary value but we also have to look at the question of content, the content must be decolonized. The content which we are taught in classes must be a free content... It must be people's education for people's power. You know, we believe that African problems, they demand African solutions... so the question of FMF also speaks to those issues... So I tried to explain to them with an aim of trying to make sense and probably win them over, and make a point with the intention of participating in FMF and the importance of FMF. But when I gave them responses, they seemed not to care.

LAN: Ja

BK:...for your response. So then they took me away into a car, they said, now we are going to where you stay because, do you own any laptop? I told them that I don't own a laptop, they said I was lying. But I told them that I don't own a laptop, I'm from a very disadvantaged background, I don't have such gadgets... Then they said, ok, where's your cell phone, I told them that it was taken by police officers... Then they took me to a car and they... showed me that they were carrying a 9mm pistol gun that they were carrying so if you attempted to organize your guys to stop the car so that you can escape we are going to shoot, blow your head off. Now you must show me, show us where you stay and don't take us through the routes whereby we know that you are keeping a trick on us. Just check that the route you are taking us is a safe route whereby we are not going to have a problem of students who are going to try and stop the car and organize your escape.

LAN: Ja. I want to ask you - thank you very much for sharing all of that with us - so you [were] in prison for a long time, and you applied for bail and it was denied at different levels; you're now going to the Con Court. Can you tell us a bit about, you've told us how you've been treated and in some instances you've been threatened, you've been humiliated by taking you through public places... The questions that you've been asked have been in some ways problematic. Do you think that they were treating you differently, do you see yourself as

a political prisoner? And if so, why?

BK: there was a change of attitude, ... in relation to prison warders. But initially when I arrived, ne, so when I was taken to Westville the first time, on the 29th, I came there like any other prisoner, then we slept, then the place which is called the box where all new prisoners, they are taken there.

LAN: Awaiting trial prisoners?

BK: Ja. When you come from court and you are new, you just came from outside, they will take you to the box but all of you who came on that day will sit together there. Then on the following day you must wake up and you're going to be allocated on your section. Because you are allocated on the basis of which court are you attending. Those who attend Durban Magistrate's court are put in their section, those who attend Pinetown, Pietermaritzburg and so on and so forth... Then on the following day... I then tried to, to explain my case to prison warders, to say why was I arrested, and can I get a place - because there's a protection service, there's a protection centre here - Not a centre per se, but protection cells whereby those whom perhaps are police officers who, are not like, hard-core criminals, are kept... So I explained my case then I requested - because... those who attend at Durban court are kept which is, in Westville prison, it's the most feared place because you know, Durban Central, it's a place whereby hard-core criminals are actually found there. So I explained my case to say, can I be taken to a protection cell, he didn't want, no, they refused, they said no we can't, we can't take you. The initial one I spoke to sympathised with me and tried to speak... The others said no, we can't take him there. You students, you are messing us up. There were students in 2016, they were arrested and we kept them on the protection side and it means you are telling each other that you are staying nice in... We are going to put you there with some hard-core criminals so that you can learn your lesson. Then, I was then taken there... Then when I went there I stayed with 26. You know in prison there are numbers ne, you know this thing of numbers? Hey Leigh-Ann.

LAN: Ja, the numbers gang, 26, 27, 28, ja.

BK: Ja so I stayed with 26.

LAN: Ok... How long were you in before they, ... did they move you eventually to a protected cell?

BK: ... So in 26 I stayed for a month then I was identified by the head of that section when I was, he looked at my ticket and asked me why, why, are you a student? I said yes, and he said why are you still, are you staying here? I just explained my case that no, I'm staying here because the prison warden said that I must stay here, but he said no you're supposed to report them and so on and so forth. Then I did not waste his time, and put these guys in trouble because they can make your life very difficult if you put them in trouble... Then he took me to a protection side where I stayed for 3 days then I was taken up to isolation* [when we say isolation we mean a single cell section, which is isolated from the general prison] where I am now.

LAN: Ok, so you spent a good month and a half... in the hard-core criminal system, learning how to survive in that very difficult state and then they move you across and now you've been in isolation. Tell me, have you managed to do any of your studies while you've been inside? ... what are you studying and which year are you in? Tell us a little bit about that?

BK: Ok, so... I was able to write my exams, my final exams.

LAN: Your final exams? What are you studying?

BK: It's Public Management and Economics.

LAN: ... And you wrote your final exams from inside a prison?

BK: Ja, from inside prison. They, they transported my... exam papers, then I wrote. there's a school for prisoners here, so the prison made an arrangement with the institution, so they brought the papers then I wrote, then they took, they transferred the papers back to university for marking.

LAN: And did you get your results for that yet?

BK: Ja, I did...

LAN: How did you do?

BK: No I passed all of my subjects.

LAN: From inside. With all the stress and no bail being given to you. That's...

BK:Ja... I couldn't believe it but I was able to write, I wrote, but I never trusted that I was writing correct things. Because the last time I saw a lecturer was before holidays. And after FMF they were engaged in some recovery... A programme which I had to do self-study. The conditions were not conducive but I was able to get a distinction so it's fine.

LAN: That's fantastic. And have you, tell me, what's been your biggest frustration inside? Besides the fact that you haven't been able to get bail and you're also inside a system where

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you've got to be very careful because of the different power dynamics from fellow prisoners to warders, etc.; what's been the biggest frustration for you?

BK: The biggest frustration which I would say is the question of survival, especially when I was staying... in general section with general prisoners, ne. It was very difficult because then you, must fall in a specific category. So you can't just be a nobody and say no, I'm not a 26, I'm not a 28, I'm nothing. So there's a problem whereby you are harassed by the 26 guys and you are harassed by the 28 guys. When you are transported to court, you know, you get transported with these big cars, the truck, these police trucks, whereby there to sit, you must fall in a particular grouping. They say that to choose your grouping it means that you are going to be harassed by the 26 when you sit down, the 28 when he comes you must move up, you know. And there are these things - the new recruit, they want to get promoted in this thing of numbers so you become vulnerable because if you want to be promoted you must complete step 1, you must stab somebody with a knife who isn't belonging to any thing of numbers. So I think the manner in which the prison, the level of transformation here in prison, is a problem and this thing of trying to deal with thing of numbers, is a problem. But secondly there was another incident which also, I was very frustrated with. There was a time before I was writing my exams, ne. So I go out, I write my exams, I finish, I requested for a letter from the Head of prison to say when I come back from writing my exam - because the school where prisoners write, it's just... directly opposite the prison. So when you go out you must be escorted, when you come out you must also be escorted, and they must check your finger prints. It's a problem, to go out of prison it's a huge problem. So when you come back you normally sleep by the place which is called the box and then tomorrow morning you are taken to your place where you actually stay. So I wrote, I made a request to say when I'm writing can I please be escorted straight to where I stay so that I can prepare myself for the following exam. So immediately when I come, these people, there's still this thing of power dynamics here, Black and white, the other white guys still claim they can't be led by Black guys because they are promoting each other. So prison warders, white warders, they normally work at night because generally at night, there's no boss. you just work alone, unlike during the day. So when I come and produce the letter at around 5, I say the prison Head has said when I come from school I must be taken straight so that I can come back the following, I can also prepare myself for the following exam. Then he denied, he said no you can't, you are going to go to the section with all prisoners, sleep there, then you'll go to where you stay tomorrow. This letter, I don't recognise it, I don't take instructions from this guy. So now I tried to explain, no tomorrow I'm writing, I must prepare for my paper tomorrow, please take me. He said no I'm also a warder, I don't recognise your letter. So I still tried to explain. He then assaulted me, took me inside with the general prisoners and locked the door. So I then... the door was locked, I had to sleep, wake up tomorrow early, speak to the warders when we were counted, because we were normally counted around 8. Speak to them, go up and take a bath, come back and go and write my...

LAN: So let me just get this straight:... the head of the prison is a Black person, writes a letter, gives you permission, you go, but the white warder doesn't recognise the letter. When you appeal to him he assaults you and throws you in the box where you've got to sleep with everyone else. This is the night before you must write your exams?

BK: Ja. I was coming from my other paper; I was going to write another one.

LAN: Wow.

BK: ... there was a time when I was coming from court, ... 6th of October, ja. So I'm coming from court, after a bail hearing. So when you normally come from court you are searched. Immediately you come inside the prison, they search you, they check whether you are not carrying any unwanted items, the likes of cell phones, money or food. And they take your fingerprints then you go inside, you know. So when I was escorted to where I stay there were 4 guys... staying at the hospital... and 2 of us are staying in isolation. So the other white guy comes in, now not the Vermaak, the one who assaulted me, the other one who works with Vermaak, comes in and says you, you are this thing of FMF, come here, I want to search you. He takes me inside of the small room there. He says take off all your clothes. No, I refused. I said no I can't take all my clothes. he said

take all your clothes, I'm telling you. It's prison, I have permission to search you in and when I feel like and I'm authorised to do so, take off your clothes. Then I said no, he said you'll see, we're going to show you prison. the other prisoners came to me and explained, just do because here, they are going to assault you like nobody's business. And the prisoners who are telling me are those ones who are already sentenced, you know the ones who wear orange?

LAN: Yes

BK: ...They clean public areas inside prison, they are the ones who give us food, who cooks by the kitchen, they said no just take off all your clothes, be understanding, don't be stubborn here. Then I took all my clothes. then he said go up, go down, go up, go down. You know this thing of prisoners, they have a tendency to put cell phones inside their ass and then push it inside?

LAN: Ja.

BK: So he said go up, because he thought maybe there's something inside. Then he took my bag and threw my stuff out and left me when he couldn't find anything. he left me there, I had to pick my clothes. Then when I lodged a report to Vermaak... he said no... you must understand, he has a right to search you at any time. I said but this thing of, when I came here I was told by other prisoners that the years before, during 2014, this thing of telling prisoners to take their clothes off was made an illegal thing towards prisoners so why is he saying I must take off my clothes? He said no he has permission if he suspects you, he can search you any time... So I think the question here it's a question to say the prison itself, the manner in which it operates, this thing of transformation is something which is very slow here inside. They still use the old tactics in a democracy today, in a so-called democracy. But the question of transformation, they are still very backward here. There are things which are not allowed inside prison. This thing of brown bread, you



can't have water, you can't buy water from outside, you know, stupid things. their diet is a very poor diet. So there are those things which I think are problematic.

LAN: And tell me, the prisoners that you have interacted with, they've known that you are from FMF or you've managed to speak to them? How do they respond to you?

BK: In the general section, I was able to win the over when I explained my case, you know... The question of the importance of FMF. They were able to say no, we do support this cause. In fact, most of them, one thing that I realized, is that common prisoners are not people who are fools, they are very smart, they are people who are talented in many aspects. But the question of them having opportunities, ... So when I came here in isolation then I tried to open a political class. You know here in prison, each and every Sunday those who are Christian are allowed to go and gather in their fashion. Those who are Shembe they are also allowed in their fashion. So I came here in that spirit to say also there are some of us who believe that beyond any religious commitment, we also have commitment around issues which are concerning certain prisoners. So I wanted to open classes which were declined, you can't take that fashion. Because what I was able to pick up, is that where I'm at now- because in isolation it's either you are kept with people who are public officials, police officers, some who are pastors... some who are working in some big corporate company, or some who have some certain problems, let's say if you have for instance incurable cancer, you are kept here so that you don't have any problems there surviving with common prisoners. So normally when I interacted with some people they were very interested, they want to know more about the struggle, so on and so forth. Then I would borrow them books - some read but would not have time to digest what they have read, so when I tried to say can I

organize, maybe one per week, so that I am able to announce issues and provide them with proper documents that they can read, they said no, that is not allowed.

LAN: So Bonginkosi, why do you think they put, why do you think they allowed you to stay there because you're not a state official, you're not a policeman, you're not a big businessman, you don't have cancer, why do you think they allowed you to stay in that section?

BK: I think the soul reason it's when they realized that my case is gaining public awareness they ... got to ... ensure that I live in different conditions than there are in the general section. There are many things which happen in the general section. The prisoners smoke drugs, they smuggle drugs, they stab one another, ... the manner in which they treat prisoners there, like literally treated like dogs, when you come here inside prison, they are literally treated like animals, not a human being. It's better here, the manner in which they interact with us. They show that you are a human being. But there... they don't want any person which might have an outside link to interact there with general prisoners. They don't want anything to be known. In fact, even the head of prison, he will come from time to time and check-up whether I do have any complaints, and further instruct the other guys that they must ensure that nothing happens to me because we must not dent the image of the prison.

LAN: Ok. So explain a little bit about the [prison] conditions.

BK: ... Where I was, it's just a small cell, with a bed, and a TV, and a toilet, and a table and a chair which I made a request. I had to write a formal letter. This table arrived early January. After I wrote to the Head of prison requesting because prisoners are not allowed to have tables and chairs so I wrote specifically that I do study, I do lots of studying, I read many books here so sitting and sleeping on the very same bed the whole day can be very straining, can I get some chair and a table. Then the Head of prison took my request and he approved it. The head of section refused, I had to appeal to the head of prison then I was granted, so I also got a table which in the whole prison where I am, it's a celebrated thing to have a chair and a table...

LAN: Are you having access to books? How did you get access to books or did you only have books to study and otherwise you don't have access?

BK: Ja, I just make a request when I was writing my exams. I explained that because I'll be writing my exams, I wrote a letter to Head of prison that can I please be allowed to have study materials, because books are not allowed in prison.

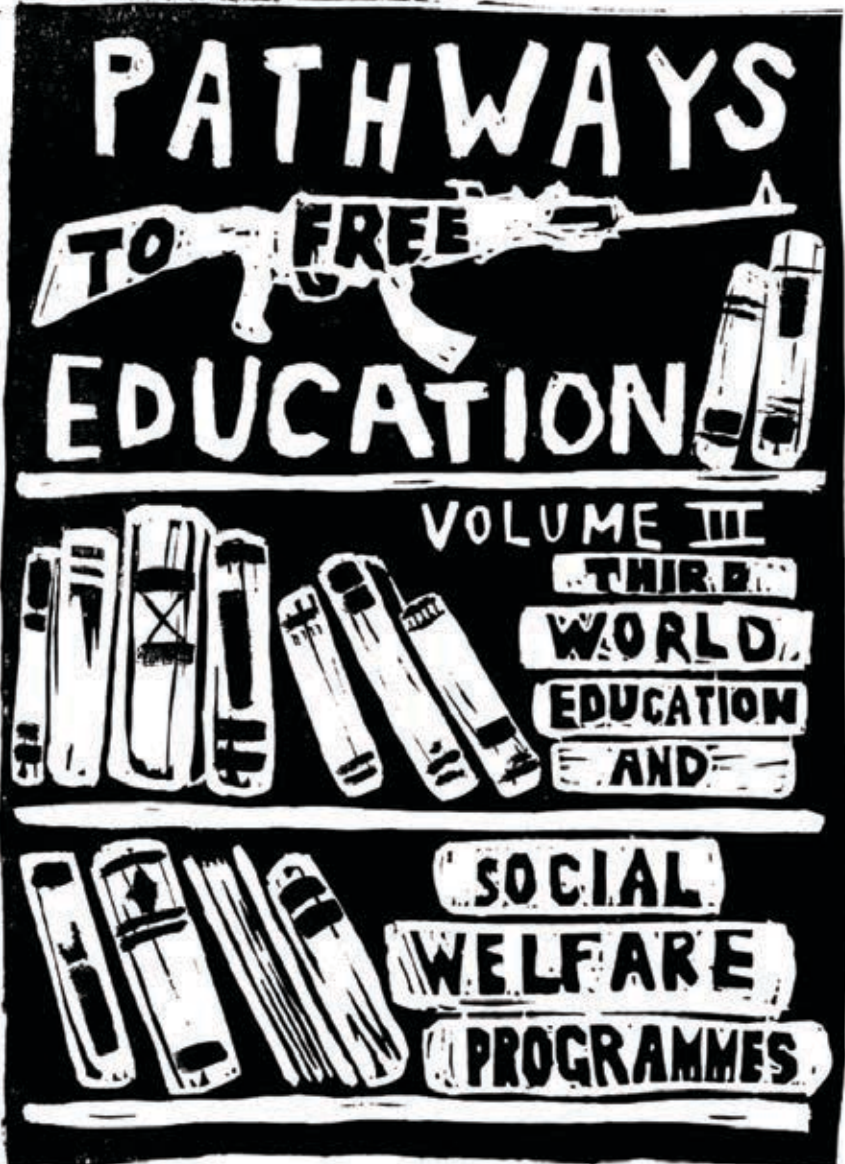
LAN: So you're allowed to have a TV but they won't give you a book?

BK: Ja, they can't give books, they're not allowed to. The TV, you pay R120p/m and then they install the TV in your room, if you pay that R120p/m.

LAN: Ok. Tell me something... Why do you think they're denying you bail so often? You're the only student who remains in prison. Why do you think they're denying you bail? Do you have any idea?

BK: For me, I think it's a question of doing a right thing at a right time in a wrong place. KZN is a very problematic province, generally, when it comes to activism and politics. Here in KZN, politics surpasses everything including business skills... our politics is very, I'm not sure if it's the right word but our politics is very backward in how things are done. There's a lot of barbarism which happened here, including when you look at local government elections. Here in KZN we had the most political killings across when compared to the rest of the country. A person could actually kill a person who's contesting to be ward councillor because he wants himself to be ward councillor. Including the question of judiciary. There might be an argument that judiciary in South Africa is independent for those who argue so. But here in south Africa there's no such, here in KZN there's no such an independent judiciary. Now, you have a situation whereby I'm involved in FMF and I was one of the guys who were actually working inside, organizing meetings across all campuses, being active ensuring that we have all campuses supporting FMF. Then the provincial government dictated that, in terms of political affiliation, I belong in an opposition, which makes them to keep me inside. I think that's the whole reason for keeping me inside, it's not a question of my case... But also, the president has issued a statement that you must ensure that you clamp the FMF...

LAN: Shup.



Lessons on community organizing

Ebraheim Fourie from the Housing Assembly in dialogue with Kalila Hercules

Kalila Hercules: So, firstly thanks for agreeing to help. Can you introduce yourself and your organization?

Ebraheim Fourie: Okay, I am Ebraheim Fourie; I belong to Housing Assembly. I am currently the deputy secretary. I come from an area in Beacon Valley, which is in the Mitchells Plain district of the Housing Assembly. Our main aim is to unite all those living in bad housing conditions, whether it's a badly built RDP, in a backyard, overcrowded housing, insecure, unsafe housing. We seeking to unite all of those, in a militant campaign for decent housing for all.

KH: That's also an explanation of the Housing Assembly and what they do?

EF: I think there's more to what the Housing Assembly [does]. We seek to unite but then there's the nitty gritty, then there's the work- capacity building within communities... The Housing Assembly, it takes on the issue of housing but... it looks at the broader picture. It is not only just housing, we make the links between unemployment and housing, we make the links between a student and housing, because [of] our experience. Because we live in overcrowded conditions our kids drop out of school.

I live in a shack, which is six by three with seven kids, so where do the one study when it's necessary for them to study? Then the other one is a drug addict, he steals the one's books that's on school... All of those things. For the Housing Assembly it is about encouraging that self-activity... And to capacitate communities, they need to understand why these conditions, where does it come from? Who is in charge of these things? Who are we? What we are keen on doing when we are in communities, and when we run workshops, is the social pyramid [2:07]. You've got to understand who's at the bottom, who's at the top and why it is like that. It is not just uniting but I think it's capacity building.

KH: Speaking to the recent public meeting, you spoke of the slogan "everyone an organizer"... [We're] looking to have an explanation of that practically.

EF: That's the point that I was making- the self-activity - because we see the current problem we have with leadership, they're opportunists, they are co-opted... When we speak about everyone an organizer, we do not want that aunty sitting at home and waiting for me to come like I'm the saviour. We want everyone to be an organizer therefore they need to understand; there needs to be some kind of a politics. So, within our communities when we do the grassroots work, the door to door, we encourage

Afrikan Music. Education and Being Together: an Exchange Between Ernie Koela and Asher Gamedze

Asher: When thinking and speaking about the struggle for free education, the mainstream discussion likes to focus only on fees. My understanding, however, is that we are fighting for an entirely different way of thinking about education and knowledge and their relationships to society. We have to insist on an education process that makes sense in our context: a curriculum that helps us, as African people, to better understand our world so that we can better transform it. A central part of that curriculum has to deal with music in society and how we can use it to make our lives, as Afrikan people, better.

I have seen and felt that music has a way of opening us up to each other - allowing us to connect with deep parts of ourselves and, through that, allowing us to connect with other people. In a context where our movements are often very fragmented, where people have acted in harmful and damaging ways toward one another to the extent that many comrades have left the movement, what type of work can you imagine music doing in the process of learning to love and treat each other better as comrades?

Ernie: the intricate fabric that comprises the soul and structure of music in Afrika is its ability to allow people freedom to create - to partake in a song. So we sing,

a drum is played a shaker shakes, a group starts and ends. Before they end another group begins. Voice parts are separated, some wail, some shout, some stomp their feet while others clap their hands. If these were instruments they would all be doing different things that contribute to the soul of the song.

The songs in southern Afrika are in spirit of... and therefore to create the spirit, a body of people must sing together. This to me is a **sonic lecture** that is a site of wisdom within music.

It teaches us that, like Afrikan music with different instruments, sound textures, voice parts and rhythms that are in balance and conversation with each other creating beautiful musical moments, so must Afrikan's be with one another. The nature of the music demands it in order for it to be created!

Embedded within this is a parable about the Afrikans' identity. It is a morality in the form of sonic vibrations. The lesson is fundamentally a music frequency saying **loudly love one another you are all different but the same and therefore have a role to play.**

Thus Afrikan music is a lesson of **black** co-existence respect and love not merely a song sung but a moment and age felt that if we listen carefully to one another, songs like 'shiwela' will make you understand yourself within a collective body.

We must take seriously a culture of Afrikan music as a way of consciously identifying with parts of ourselves that we want to forget but are retained sonically. These instruments are our history books and these songs our encyclopaedia.

Nudity is a decolonizing projectile bullet for radicalized bodies that are marked by difference. It is violent; it is performance; it is activism; it is contradictory; it is indestructible. Therefore, nudity that is assembled through improvised environmental sound, along with the ashen images of the street's stun grenades and the presence of the body itself, is an act of precarious ancestral knowledge, as well as a potential ritual for reallocating gestures of protest. The naked body demands passage, whether alone or in a group. It is a recurring action that I have learned from Black women living on the street in the city of Salvador in Bahia, Brazil. Here, I present seven important points for carrying out premeditated actions so as to prevent failures and disarticulate possible police action:

BLACK POLITICS: THE BODY IN PROTEST. A PROGRAM OF SELFCARE FOR NAKED ACTION

Michelle Mattiuzzi

1. In order to act without clothing, one must be attended to and accompanied by at least one other person. Ideally, such actions should take place in a group.
2. Choose a location. Identify possible escape routes, and verify the movement of people and authorities in the place where the action will occur.
3. Risk is a principal component of the action. Pay attention to the butterflies in your stomach and keep yourself present, but make sure you control your anxiety and act carefully.
4. Wear light clothes that are easy to remove. Ideally, wear clothes with pockets where store a plastic bag to hold the clothes once you've removed them.
5. Take off your clothes and guard them in the plastic bag.
6. Walk calmly and deliberately through the location you have chosen. If you feel that your body is threatened, run.
7. When you take off your clothes, throw your nudity at the world. The naked body is a powerful weapon.

This action risks suffering recriminations or discriminations from passers-by; there is the probability and possibility of facing lynching, enchantment, or discontent from a local audience. For a body outside of accepted patterns, the adjective "naked" is a negation of patriarchal, colonial norms. The exhibition of a Black body re-stages political repositioning: it is a means of escaping a scenic narrative of pain and of exposing secrets. To continue on our path while naked is a radical performance. Being a racialized body, we lay ourselves down in the mouth of a sleeping lion; we display a sharpened knife between our bloodstained teeth.

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in the university and the world: a selected history of student action

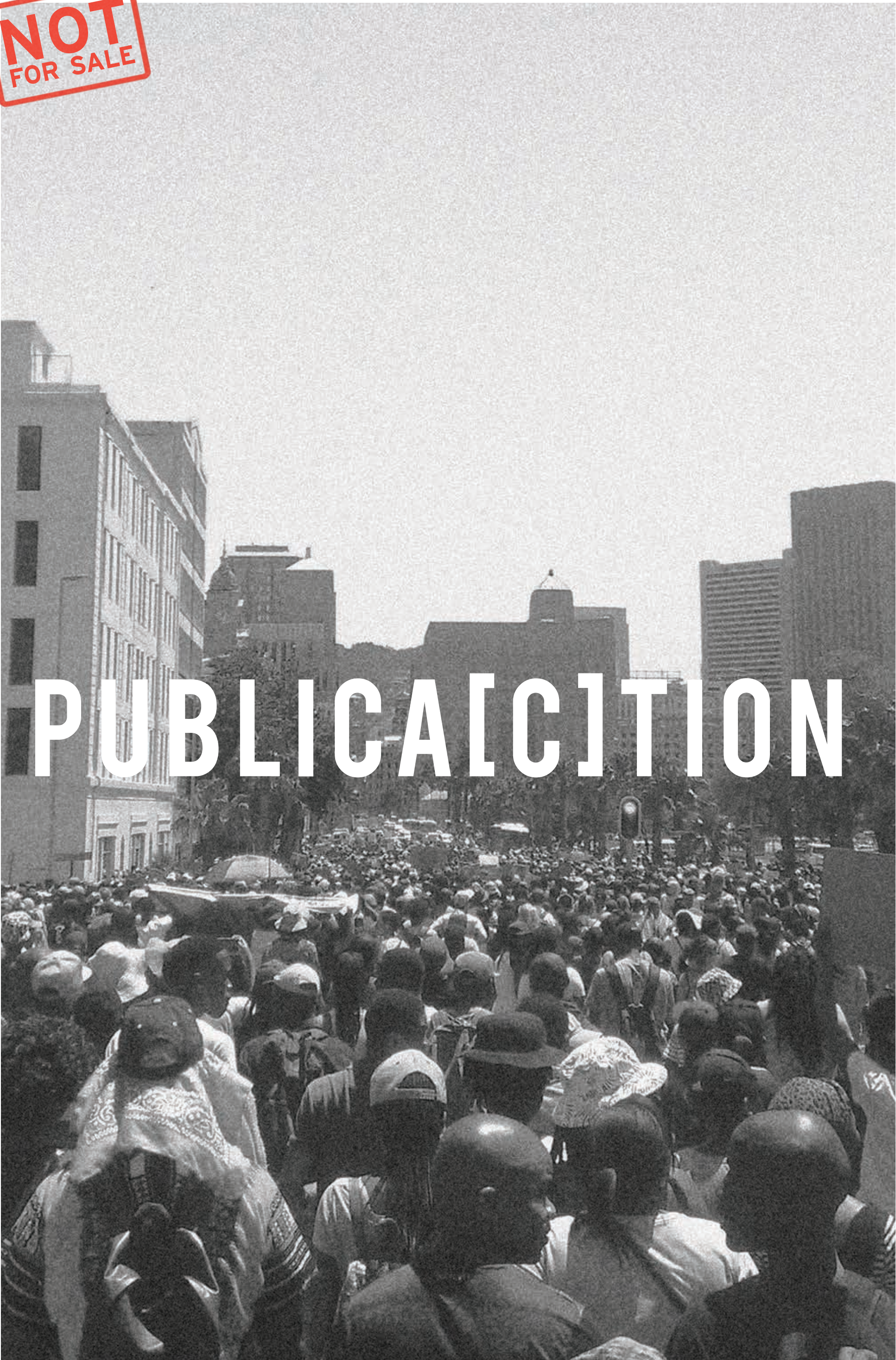


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