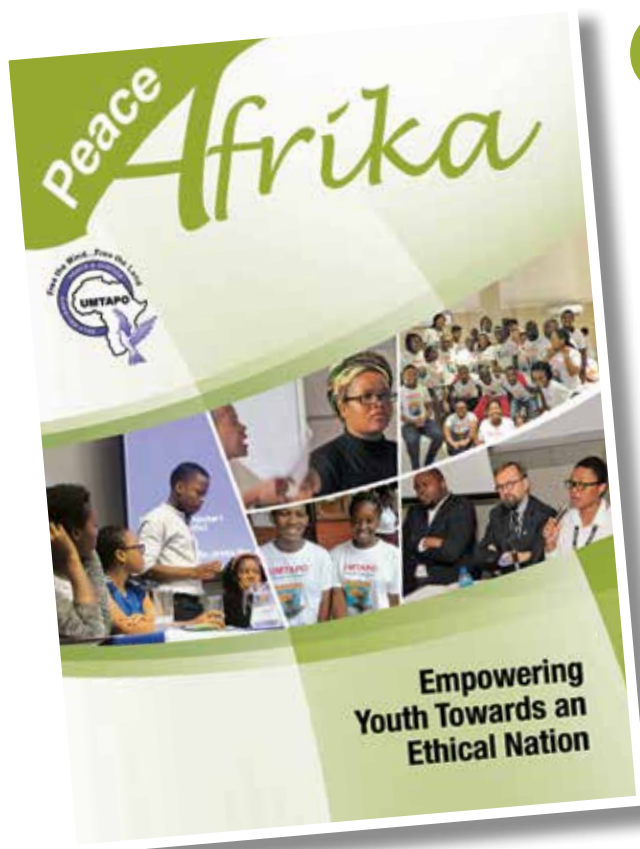


Peace Afrika



**Empowering
Youth Towards an
Ethical Nation**



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Published by UMTAPO and funded by the CS Mott Foundation

Articles, information and comments are welcome and should be submitted to:

The Director,
P O Box 37674, Overport 4067
South Africa.

Deena Soliar
Tel: 031 309 3350
Email: info@umtapocentre.org.za
www.umtapocentre.org.za

Design and layout:  Artworks | www.artworks.co.za



UMTAPO'S PROGRAMMATIC WORK

DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ANTI-CORRUPTION (DHRAC)

Strengthening Civil Society Towards an Ethical Nation

Funded by the Embassy of Finland, the main purpose of the project is to build an effective civil society, particularly a youth leadership, for future governance that will be based on a democratic, human rights-based culture.

The specific objectives of the project are:

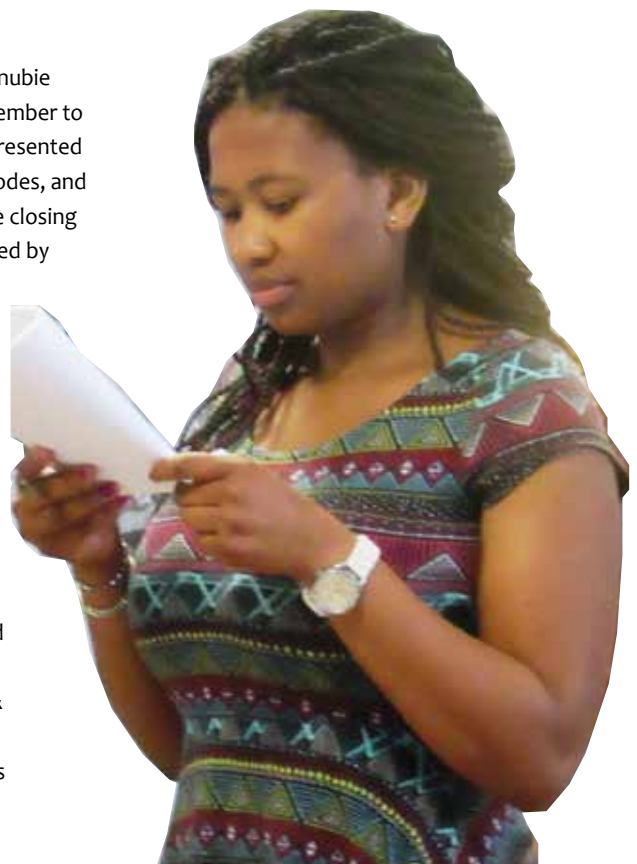
- Conducting intensive training and capacity-building courses in citizenship, human rights, and good governance for youth from tertiary institutions, who are potentially future leaders;
- Raising awareness in communities through information and awareness-raising community workshops;
- Facilitating inter-school debates on anti-corruption, democracy and human rights;
- Providing a platform for sustained anti-corruption advocacy in support of ongoing efforts by both state and non-state actors;
- Utilising ICT/social media for monitoring, accountability, and mobilisation at the national and local level; and
- Setting up an advice desk for human rights and anti-corruption.

Eastern Cape took place at the Gonubie

Hotel in East London from 30 November to 6 December 2016. Universities represented were: Fort Hare, Walter Sisulu, Rhodes, and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan. The closing function of the event was addressed by guest speaker, Dr Kim Porteus of the University of Fort Hare.

The objectives of the training course are to:

- Examine the root causes of peacelessness in Africa;
- Reach consensus on a definition of democracy & corruption; and
- Critically explore issues related to corruption and its impact on democracy, human rights & governance;
- To identify and embrace values



Democracy, Human Rights, and Anti-Corruption (DHRAC) Training Courses for University Students

The unique DHRAC training course that has been devised and drawn up by UMTAPO reached a peak during this period. Between December 2015 and April 2016, the six-day training course took place in three provinces, involving 14 university campuses.

After many last-minute disruptions and changes as a result of the #FeesMustFall campaign, the **Training Course in the**

EASTERN CAPE (responses from students at the end of the course)

"I have learnt that I exist as an individual in an indivisible community of human beings. That I have to start by changing myself and then the others will follow by example."

"I have personally learned a lot and want to pledge myself to be a foot soldier for the organisation and I am wishing for it to grow."

"Having learnt so much in such a very short space of time gives me hope. UMTAPO deserves a whole lot of hundred Umeme's."

"I was falling slowly but surely into this corrupt system because I was like 'why should I care'. This has been a revival."



The **Training Course in KwaZulu-Natal** took place at the Pumula Hotel on the south coast of KwaZulu-Natal from 25-30 January 2016. Students came from almost all the tertiary institutions in the province: University of KwaZulu-Natal (Westville, Howard, Edgewood, and Pietermaritzburg campuses), the University of Zululand, and the Durban University of Technology.

A unique experience on the course is that participants, after engaging in an examination of various definitions of democracy and corruption, develop their very own definition of these concepts. The definitions developed in each province will ultimately be merged into one definition to capture the inputs of students from 18 universities around the country. This becomes the authentic definition of the students of South Africa. For UMTAPO, not only is this exercise an example of democracy in action, it is a belief that only when people define things for themselves, there is a sense of ownership and a commitment to protect and defend such ideas or concepts.



KWAZULU-NATAL (responses from students)

"I have learnt how to deal with people on a level of trying to engage with them and how to use what I have at my disposal to effect change."

"I found direction... I believe it'd be very difficult to forget what we learnt here."

"I am excited to see us grow with UMTAPO – our new family."

**"Leaders are not born. Leaders are made.'
UMTAPO has made us leaders during this training."**

The Training in the Western Cape from 18-24 March 2016, brought together students from the University of Western Cape, the University of Stellenbosch, the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, University of Cape Town, and Cape College.

WESTERN CAPE (responses from students)

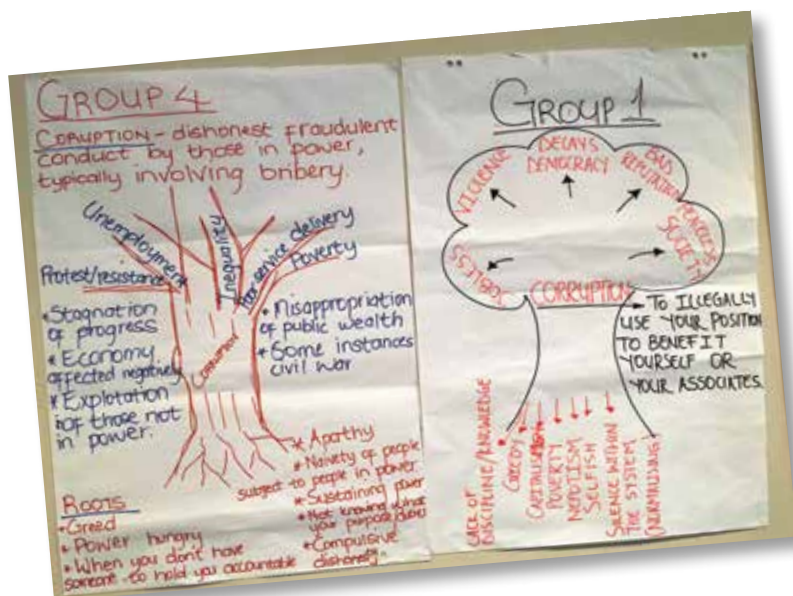
"I can't help but feel inspired by the work of UMTAPO and the energy and minds of the students who are a part of it."

"I am 100% ready because I have learnt so much and I want to make a difference in my community and country."

"This course is really essential and I know many others in my department would have wanted to join."

"Henceforth, I will be more analytical with problems and more strategic with solutions because of UMTAPO."

“ I want to thank you for the opportunity and I feel blessed and honoured to be part of this family.
I love UMTAPO and I am UMTAPO. **”**



Debates on Anti-Corruption

The debates on Anti-Corruption continued around schools in the targeted provinces. In September 2015, debates were held at Imiqhayi Secondary School (Mt Coke) in the Eastern Cape and Kwa-Manzini Primary School (KwaNdengezi) in KwaZulu-Natal. An interesting feature was the introduction of the debates to primary schools, which proved quite successful.

In early 2016, debates were held in the Eastern Cape involving three primary schools: Sakhingomso, Qeto and Lujiko. The children got to understand the connection between corruption and their rights, including how School Management Teams (SMTs) misuse resources that are supposed to benefit them and also how parents misuse children grant funds.

In Limpopo, Kutuma and Tshiawelo secondary schools hosted the anti-corruption debates in March 2016, with a focus on anti-corruption and ethical leadership.

On 17 February 2016, a debate (below) took place between Masakhaneni and KwaMakhutha high schools. Masakhaneni High School hosted the debate on “Will an anti-corruption campaign have any impact on the majority of the people of SA?”

Educators from Masakhaneni High School were inspired to restart the Peace Club as they used to have a very active one. It has also encouraged UMTAPO to engage other high schools in KwaMakhutha to get involved in the programme.

On 29 April 2016, a debate was organised for two schools, Egcekeni and Edamini combined schools, both of whom have Children’s Peace Movement branches. Edamini Combined School hosted the debate and it was done in the assembly area where most of the learners (150) were present to listen and participate.



The topic for the day was: “Is the society responsible for corruption in our country?”

The team that was on the positive side started off by saying that it’s not only politicians, the president or powerful people who are corrupt and people should bear in mind that these people who also form part of the society. So the whole society is responsible for corruption.

In the community, people are buying stolen goods and others are selling drugs to children. The community is fully aware of such activities but they are not doing anything about it; they are either

participating in the crime or just turning a blind eye. And people who work in the public sector are involved by generating illegal documents.

The opposing team said that corruption is Government’s fault because of their poor system that does not deliver good services to people. The team stated that corruption is an individual choice and that even the constitution allows people to be free to do what they want.

In closing, it was accepted that involving the whole society in fighting corruption will benefit the country.



National Symposium on Anti-Corruption



UMTAPO hosted a national symposium on anti-corruption with the support of the Embassy of Finland and the Durban University of Technology to provide a platform for individuals, civil society organisations, academic institutions, the public and private sector, and all anti-corruption groups to gather and plan collective, sustainable action in order to create a caring and ethical society.

The symposium exposed students, government officials, social movements and civil society to the dire need for defining a new set of values to create a more humane society.

UMTAPO brought together relevant stakeholders and experts to address the symposium and to provide the foundation upon which the beginnings of a strong anti-corruption movement could be built.

While it is no longer shocking to hear that South Africa currently rates as one of the most corrupt countries in Africa, the question is: **Are we as a civil society and concerned citizens willing to act? Are we ready to act?**

The symposium provided a platform to address corruption at universities, local and national government level, and in society, and looked at the role of the media in perpetuating corruption.

The programme directors were Ms Tanusha Govender from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (USM) and Ms Luyanda Lubepe (Lulu) from the University of Johannesburg (USM).

Professor David Macharia from the University of Nairobi, Kenya and Patron of UMTAPO, officially opened the symposium. He said: "Corruption is eating right into the bones. Resources meant for the people are going into private pockets. Together we must say **No to Corruption and Yes to Working Together** to root out corruption wherever it rears its ugly head."

Speakers at the symposium included Deputy Public Protector, **Advocate Kevin Malunga**, who stressed that a high standard of professional ethics must be embedded



Ms Tanusha Govender (right) from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (USM) and Ms Luyanda Lubepe (Lulu) from the University of Johannesburg (USM).



Professor David Macharia

in the fabric of everyday life, influencing the nature of everyday interactions without predetermining their outcome.

Civil society, he said, needs to take responsibility for continued collective action against bribery and corruption. He added that South Africa has almost 30 pieces of legislation dealing with corruption that need to be tested. In his opinion, proper remuneration of civil servants, access to information and transparency, whistle-blower support, proper use of legal frameworks, adherence to the Batho Pele principles, and political will would help to curb corruption.

He concluded by saying that the future depends on the actions we take today in pursuit of our collective destiny. The key to combating unethical governance does not lie in lone crusades by institutions such as the Public Protector, but in a national quest for ethical governance by all of us.

Dr Pearl Sithole of the Public Service Commission spoke on the theme: From Apathy to Corruption: A wrong, yet logical, trend. Why is corruption endemic?

She indicated that we deal with corruption merely as crisis management. Good governance, she said, goes beyond clean audits and oversight measures. She reiterated the trend of most of the speakers that we need to live by example. She bemoaned the lack of moral values.

We have to start from the kind of society that we are, she emphasised. It is a society that is plagued by three issues:

- Damaging historical patronage – with culprits still manoeuvring processes (odd sense of superiority and entitlement by certain forces);
- Spatially skewed planning; and
- Land and capital non-reform.

Currently, to get things happening, the strategy is either ‘ill’ (i.e. nepotism, bribery, buying favour) or protest (toyi-toyi).

She added that the concept of leadership needs to include more than “some ahead and others following”. Moral vision is missing.

She pointed out that Public Service Values and Principles, Chapter 10, section 195 (1) states that people’s needs must be responded to and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy making.



Advocate Kevin Malunga, Deputy Public Protector.



Public administration must be accountable and transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information.

Ms Namhla Tengwa of the UMTAPO Student Movement noted that dishonesty has turned ordinary people into thieves. The thrust of her speech is reflected in her words below:

“In order to tackle the problem of corruption and to defeat it, our society needs to be one that is characterised by the ideal of Ubuntu, which recognises that no person is an island, entirely by himself/herself. We are all connected by a thread and that thread ties us to one destiny as a nation; this means that the fight against



Dr Pearl Sithole.

corruption must be one that is fought by our communities and not just individuals.

Further, ethical leadership needs to be the order of the day; its needs to be the criterion that transcends all social division. This means that we need to place it above cultural, ethnic and tribal loyalties; ethical leaders are transparent and accountable leaders – just the sort of people this country is lacking.

Most of all, civil society and communities need to speak in one very loud voice, a voice that says we do not tolerate corruption in any shape or form. Not just corruption at the highest levels but even corruption by a lowly clerk or someone who conducts driving tests”.

Ms Bongzi Mlangeni of the Social Justice Initiative stated that the starting point to positively transform our society is to begin with transforming ourselves as individuals because it is easy to see the corrupt as the ‘other’. Are you saying no to corruption, not just in words, but in the way you behave?

Leaders come from our communities, they are shaped by the values that we collectively create. When we deliver more value, she said, we can demand more.

One’s personal understanding of corruption is theft of public dignity – aimed at devaluing the lives of others at all cost. There has to be a point when we say ‘enough is enough’ to those who say ‘it is our turn to eat’.

Bongzi raised pertinent questions as we interrogate the way forward:

How can we use the wealth that is in limited hands to contribute meaningfully towards restoring people’s dignity?

How can the privileged use their position to benefit others in a manner that is fair and promotes dignity?

Young people have a chance to rewrite the script of our society. What do you hold dear – accumulation at the expense of others? A society that is caring, sharing, and safer for you today and for posterity?

For the older generation, what can we do with the time we have to support young

people’s efforts in building the society that is envisioned by the Constitution – one that is fair and just to all?

David Lewis, CEO of Corruption Watch, said that corruption is a crime against the public. He highlighted various campaigns and activities organised by Corruption Watch.

Corruption Watch has just released statistics of the predominant forms of corruption in our society, he said that abuse of power constituted the bulk of corruption reports at 38%, followed by bribery at 20% and procurement corruption at 14% of the total.

The Ambassador of Finland, Mr Petri Salo, who wrapped up the panel



Ms Bongzi Mlangeni, CEO of the Social Justice Initiative.



David Lewis, CEO of Corruption Watch.



Mr Petri Salo, Ambassador of Finland.

presentation, said “Corruption is like cancer. It rocks the system and kills it slowly.” This, he said, is destructive and democracy cannot thrive. He quoted the example of Georgia in Russia where the whole police force was fired and half of them then reemployed on condition that they be retrained – this drastically reduced corruption. His message essentially highlighted the fact that in order to strengthen a democracy, good governance, rule of law, and an efficient police force is needed.

Plenary discussion after the panel presentation led to robust discussion.

The group discussions in response to tackling corruption at universities were:

- Human Resources must monitor the process to avoid nepotism during recruitment;
- There must be proper accountability and checks and balances by an elected body;
- There must be strengthening of the tender committee; and
- An Ethics Committee must be put in place.

Other recommendations in terms of dealing with corruption at governmental level included education towards ethical leadership and the revival of Ubuntu.

Group discussion on the role of the



media was quite illuminating and identified the following ways in which the media plays a role in encouraging corruption:

- Glamourising the lifestyle of the rich and famous, which does not reflect the material status of the majority of the population.
- Perpetuating this reality of a few privileged people with fake personalities;
- Reporting is often sensationalised with regard to corruption – increased reports of corruptions normalises this situation; and
- Failing to report the truth and false reporting in the interest of sales.

“In order to tackle the problem of corruption and to defeat it, our society needs to be one that is characterised by the ideal of Ubuntu, which recognises that no person is an island by himself/herself.”



Young Voices Being Heard at the Symposium



A Watershed Moment in the History of UMTAPO

THE UMTAPO STUDENT MOVEMENT (USM) IS BORN!

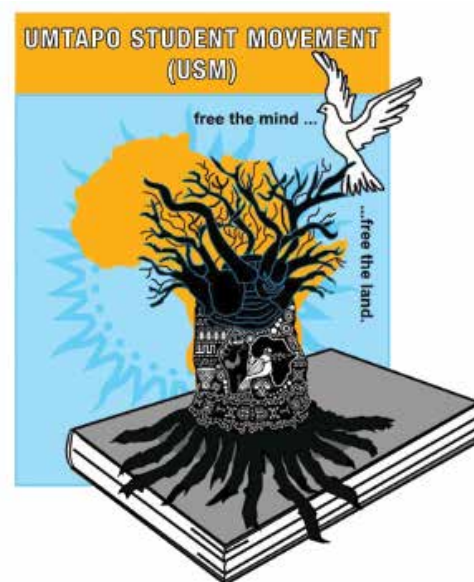
At the end of 2010, a group of tertiary students, who had previously been involved in the UMTAPO-driven Peace Clubs at schools, gathered at a strategic planning workshop to articulate a vision, mission and plan of action for the establishment of Tertiary Peace Forums (TPFs). In March 2011, the first of the TPFs was established and launched at the University of Western Cape (UWC).

In 2014, discussions around the issue of the name change began to give new impetus to the TPF. Most of the founding members had graduated and the momentum was being lost, with student formations that were linked to political parties predominant.

Subsequently, in early 2016, students

who had been attending the DHRAC training courses and who had become committed to the UMTAPO student project, agreed to a change from the Tertiary Peace Forum to the UMTAPO Student Movement, giving it a more solid identity and foundation.

And so the USM was born!



FOUNDING CHARTER OF THE USM

Preamble

Even though we are students from different institutions and inspired by the broader vision of UMTAPO, irrespective of our political persuasions, we will organise ourselves to play a meaningful role in correcting the existing injustices in society and to challenge the dominant neo-liberal ideas in higher education.

Vision

We envision a peaceful society in which the core values of UBUNTU are adhered to. In this society, the education system will be free from the ideological stranglehold of any class or group.

Mission

Our mission is to mobilise students and raise critical consciousness among them. We shall do this through public discourse and people-centred development in society in general, but in institutions of higher learning in particular.

We therefore commit ourselves to fighting racism, sexism and any other form of discrimination where these may exist in our institutions while promoting and fostering unity among all students within a culture of anti-corruption, democracy, and human rights.

The movement will become an agent for social activism and a social reawakening on issues facing South Africa and Africa as a whole.

In opening the **1st National Council** of the UMTAPO Student Movement on 11-13 March 2016 in Durban, the Director of UMTAPO said that the USM is no ordinary student body because it is not in competition with any other specific student body. It cuts across all student bodies and, in fact, across the entire student population at any given campus. It is able to claim this because it is not based on promoting any political party but on issues that affect the entire student population and, in fact, the entire nation.

Having said that, he stressed that the USM is no liberal, apolitical body. **It is overtly and unashamedly political because the issues that affect students, particularly those who come from disadvantaged communities, are political. The USM, therefore, must be seen and heard to be the voice of the voiceless and the voice of reason; it must be seen and heard to be an ethical voice and the voice of humanity.** The USM, with its clear principles of anti-corruption, anti-sexism, anti-racism, and revival of UBUNTU, can and must become the backbone of a future South Africa/ Azania, he concluded.

Delegates from 14 universities around the country attended the inaugural national council where the philosophical framework of the USM was discussed and constitutional amendments were made.

Since the formation of the USM at the beginning of 2016, several branches have applied for official recognition by the universities. The University of Western Cape (UWC) USM and University of Venda USM have been registered. The University of Johannesburg held a recruitment drive during the orientation week at the beginning of the year.

The University of Zululand has had a successful recruitment drive and an induction, both held on 4 April. During



Orientation Week – University of Johannesburg.



Strategic Planning Workshop.



the recruitment drive, a station was set up with a table, banner and membership forms, which gave the student body a platform to ask questions about UMTAPO. The induction on the same day included a 30-minute session on what the UMTAPO STUDENT MOVEMENT really entailed.

The challenge that UMTAPO's Student Movement at the University of Zululand have faced was getting the movement registered due to university procedures, however, this has not stopped them from planning and executing events.

At UKZN (Howard College), the USM organised a Human Rights discussion on the link between human rights and service delivery in South Africa. More than 20 people attended the event.



“It is overtly and unashamedly political because the issues that affect students, particularly those who come from disadvantaged communities, are political. The USM, therefore, must be seen and heard to be the voice of the voiceless and the voice of reason; it must be seen and heard to be an ethical voice and the voice of humanity.”



Recruitment drive at the University of Zululand.

Steve Biko Seminar 2015

Education for Liberation: A Myth or can this Dream be Realised?

The Steve Biko Seminar was held on 18 September 2015 at the Durban University of Technology (DUT). The keynote speaker was Enver Motala and respondents were Ms Asha Moodley (UMTAPO) and Prof. Thengani Ngwenya (DUT).

Enver Motala, educationist, trade unionist and social activist, is adjunct professor at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and researcher at the Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Rural Development at the University of Fort Hare.

He commenced by saying that, “We are now in a much more complex situation than we had been.” The new process of transformation has been confusing for many.

His input was based on four issues:

1. The critical contribution of Black Consciousness (BC).
2. Education and what it stands for – noting that it is a critical catalyst for the nature of the society that we want.
3. Beyond complaining.
4. What is conceptually and practically possible.

Enver reminded participants that history was being re-written. People were being subjected to a new history as perceived only by those who considered themselves the heirs to the struggle for liberation. He urged young scholars to study history and write it in the “fullness of all its attributes.”

Enver said that the ideas that the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) has bequeathed to us, are:

- The student struggle – historically it was BC that was the greatest organising and mobilising force among students – and students/youth need to study this history.



- BC taught about the importance of critical race theory when the dominant thinking at the time around race was influenced by liberals. The ideas that we have imbibed and are dominant, he lamented, “are largely ideas that reconstitute old forms of racism into new forms of racial differences, in other words, we are still ‘coloureds, Indians, Africans, and whites’.” **“We have not yet begun to construct the idea of a common humanity.”**

He said that it was “offensive and, unconscionable” that the leadership in the universities, private sector and government continue to use the racist categories of apartheid to describe the citizens of this

country. Going beyond this did not mean dismissing the impact of racism. Describing the violence of racism, he said, did not need the perpetuation of the old racial labels.

Biko’s concept of BLACKNESS, he noted, was often misunderstood to mean a racial categorisation. Biko said that the struggle was not about whites. It was about asserting our identity as black people.

The idea of ‘blackness’ is a trenchant reminder of the processes of colonialism, exploitation, slavery, oppression and criminality in the creation of racist regimes. The distinguishing characteristic of these assertions is a claim to a counter-hegemonic discourse against the globally dominant liberal ideas about racism. ‘Blackness’ signifies not merely a colour or

a caste, but it has meaning for resistance against the defining attributes of racist discourses, policies and practices. It also has considerable explanatory value for understanding the pervasive historical effects of racism and how social relations are implicated in racialised identities and racist practices in entire communities within and across nation states. An entire body of literature about the political economy of colonialism and apartheid was developed to explain the extraordinary power and usages of the racial categories of apartheid as a consequence and justification for the particular form of capitalist development in southern Africa. Whereas classical liberals often argued that the idea of 'race' was dysfunctional to capitalism and therefore had no explanatory or analytical value, vulgar Marxists held the view that race as a category simply did not exist. Some of us were blinded by the reductive economism to the implications of the psycho-social attributes of gendered, racist and colonial oppression. We did not understand the relationship of these to the reclamation of self and identity.

Blackness also signifies our right to think and our ability to shape processes; that we, as black people, were able to develop our own strategies around liberation. We are not slaves in the master's house!

Enver went on to comment that there is very little understanding of the considerable explanatory value of blackness among social scientists, as expressed by BC.

According to Enver, one of the other defining aspects of the BCM was its idea of locally-based organising. Its activism, he said, was not about drawing people out on the streets for a day and leaving it there; its activism was strategic – it required students and others to act *in communities and with communities*. The BCM also understood the value and importance of culture in raising the consciousness of the people.

Recognising that most people are aware of the crisis in education, he did not dwell on the litany of problems that are exposed on a daily basis. However, he stressed that the most important point to understand is that under the present political and economic system and its conceptualisation of education – its aims,



Some of the points that were raised during the group sessions were:

- South Africa is a capitalist country that breeds consumerism.
- The South African education system is structured to serve the needs of big business.
- Access to opportunities/education is still structured along racial lines.
- We need a society where colour, creed and class play no role in defining individuals in a society.
- We need more conscious individuals in society to inspire and challenge the status quo.
- The education system continues to create and co-opt the middle class and keep the working class on the fringes, on the margins for the purpose of cheap unskilled labour.
- There is a need for liberation through education and/or education for liberation more so now than before. Education has to become a liberating agent, firstly of the mind that has become shackled by fear and ignorance, and then of an awareness of one's position in society as agents of socio-cultural and political change.
- The emphasis on decolonisation in the recent upsurge is remarkable.
- The willingness of students to draw upon *inter alia* Black Consciousness and Pan Africanism in exercising their decolonised imagination is key.
- The terms 'racism', 'racialism' and 'tribalism' must be rigorously understood.
- The struggle against exclusion at educational institutions needs to be engaged as part of the struggle of the masses to write and re-write South Africa's narrative.
- The continuity between the Soweto Rebellion and the 2015 student upsurge is striking.
- Corruption is rife in the educational sphere.
- The entire operation of tertiary institutions must be interrogated with a fine-tooth comb and corruption extirpated, root and branch.

purposes, failed strategies, weaknesses in administrative and bureaucratic systems – *the education system in South Africa will continue to fail.*

Those who want to fiddle with superficial changes each year, he said, including how much is given to NSFAS, etc., will not alter education for the working class and rural poor from what they have been exposed to historically for centuries.

For meaningful change, the conversation should be about imagining a society that is different from what exists at present. His point was that **if we do not know the kind of society that we want, we will not know what kind of education is useful.**

Currently, people across all walks of life are sharing common concerns. In the past, sectarianism, particularly political sectarianism, dominated the struggle. Today, he said, people are prepared to come together to conceptualise a new form of society, and this is an important tool for the way forward.

Many share the idea that education needs to change, it must be purposeful, and it “must have real social meaning beyond the requirements of a wage relationship in the labour market.”

“All of us are concerned about the privatisation of education; about its commodification ... all of us share the view that without the involvement of communities, there can be no educational change.”

He said that in his own work, he has seen this common view about education, irrespective of political and social background. There is a common view about the need to define a new set of values for a new form of society.

He urged that we come together to tackle the problem because against us is the power of global corporate capitalism, whose reach should not be underestimated. **Education in South Africa currently talks the language of the markets. And the reality, he warns, is that the great majority of young people are going to remain outside of the formal labour market.**

At the outset, Enver indicated that he was not going to provide solutions because that was for participants to discuss and express. He, however, focused

his concluding remarks on community information gathering. He suggested that in order to understand the social phenomena better, we need to engage communities. As opposed to formal academic research, there should be socially engaged information gathering and research.

He also spoke of thinking about new forms of socially useful work outside of the formal capitalist labour market. He said that universities are not thinking about this and education “is geared towards supplying

more and more labour, which is supplying more and more unemployment.”

He suggested that nodes of collective information gathering should be set up throughout the country to elicit community responses to what is happening in society – this will generate new forms of knowledge and assist in the ongoing search for a different kind of society that will make it necessary to rethink what the role of education should be.

“*Education in South Africa currently talks the language of the markets. And, the reality, he warns, is that the great majority of young people are going to remain outside of the formal labour market.*”



Sexual Violence in Schools in South Africa (SeVISSA)

Akhona Dondashe, UMTAPO project officer in Peddie, reports:

“When we began to work in Peddie, we felt that the SeViSSA project was not relevant to the needs of that area because we noted from the dialogues we conducted there that sexual violence was not an issue of concern. At the dialogues, the participants would mention issues such as robbery, housebreaking, and theft of their pension money and their livestock as the biggest issues. I remember at our first dialogue in Cisira when one woman said, “We are old and we do not know anything about the engaging of our children in sexual activities.

However, as we continued with the dialogues and workshops on Ubuntu, people began to engage more on issues of sexual violence and realise that fighting it is not the responsibility of those who are directly affected by it or government authorities only, but the community at large.

As a result, people who attended the workshops, seminars and dialogues began driving change in their communities. I can cite two instances:

- When the Cisira Village woke up to the news that an old woman was raped, the Ubuntu Community Forum members mobilised women at a funeral to go to that home and show support to that woman and inform her that she was not alone. That was an indication that the women were beginning to unite against sexual violence.
- At Peddie Extension, the women from the women’s coalition mobilised each other to attend a court case of rape that took place in their community, to support the victim and to show the magistrate that the community wanted a long sentence for the perpetrator.”

The second Phase of the SEVISSA project in the Eastern Cape where UMTAPO is the lead organisation, began during the latter part of 2015. Three more villages were targeted while consolidation of the previous three also took place.

Successful meetings were held in November 2015 with the principals of the following schools to prepare for the Peace Club and CPM leadership camps in 2016:

- Sakhingomso Primary School
- Lujiko Primary School
- Qeto Primary School
- July Senior Secondary School
- Emfundweni Senior Secondary School

Preparatory meetings were also held with the tribal councils and three Community Dialogues were held in Qeto, Lujiko and Tuku B villages, respectively.

In the first half of 2016, two Ubuntu Community Workshops took place at Tuku B Location and Lujiko Village on 3 February and 16 March 2016, respectively.

A CPM Leadership Camp for

Sakhingomso, Qeto and Lujiko primary schools took place at Arendsness Campsite (Chintsa), East London on 12-14 February 2016 in which six learners and one educator from each school participated.

Two Peace Club Leadership Camps were conducted: the first on 8-10 April

2016 involving July and Emfundweni Senior secondary schools at Arendsness Campsite (Chintsa), East London, and the second on 15-17 April 2016 with secondary schools from the villages involved in the first phase of the project.

“UMTAPO’s SeVISSA project had a very positive and powerful effect in my life as it was such an eye-opener to what was happening in our schools right under our noses. UMTAPO has equipped me and fellow peace activists with the skills to stand up against sexual violence. UMTAPO has taught me that the fight against violence is not for certain people; children also have a voice because in my community, children are always sidelined and if I were to raise an issue as sensitive as **sexual violence** even to my parents, I’d be deemed disrespectful.

The Peace Club at my school has experienced an incident where a learner accused a teacher of touching her inappropriately, but she was found to be lying. The Peace Club was faced with the challenge of bringing peace between the two parties because the learner had put the teacher’s job on the line and the teacher was ready to put up a fight. However, thanks to the skills and abilities acquired at UMTAPO, the Peace Club was able to mediate together with the school’s safety and security personnel. UMTAPO impacted my life beautifully because I now know where to go for help and my voice is now loud and bold enough to **SAY NO TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE**”.

Litha Mphathi (Grade 9 pupil), German Village School

Formal Launch of Entlango Primary Co-operative



The official launch of the co-operative was successfully held on 21 October 2015 and according to the organisers, “This was all through the efforts and sacrifices of the members of the cooperative who decided to carry on with the launch after support was cancelled by the Department of Social Development (DSD). Members of the co-op went all out to look for donations and support to make the event a success. A cow was slaughtered and women from the community were asked to do the cooking and catering for the guests”.

The Department of Social Development, however, did help with transport and a donation of 350 cans of cold drink, and the Amatola Water Supply Company donated bottles of water.

The official ribbon was cut by the Board member of UMTAPO, Mrs Ntsiki Biko, Mr Z. Braweni and Mr K. Yekani conducted the formal tour of the garden and the greenhouse for guests.

Messages of support were read out by the DSD, Buffalo City Municipality, UMTAPO, SCAT, and the Department of Agriculture. The



launch concluded with a vote of thanks by Mr Braweni.

Unfortunately, the end of 2015 brought many setbacks for the Entlango Cooperative because of a blockage of the engine pump that supplies water to the reservoir, the greenhouse and the vegetable garden. It affected electricity supply as well, which was off for the whole month of December/January. The tomatoes, cabbages, beetroot and spinach were severely damaged as a result.

This disaster, say the co-operative, “brought many challenges including losing potential customers.” Another issue of concern was the lack of rainfall. Again, valued customers were lost.

The Departments of Agriculture and Social Development came to assist with new seedlings, fertilisers and repairing the electricity.

The tap water has been brought much closer to the structure as previously water was fetched from 500 metres away. Young people were employed from the community to do the digging of a pipeline and the fitting of pipes and tap water.

Things improved by March 2016 and vegetables such as spinach, green pepper, broccoli and cabbages were harvested and taken to Boxer Super Markets in KWT and East London, and some vegetables were taken to AA Fruit Vegetable Market and locals.



PARTNERSHIPS AND COLLABORATION

An **EVALUATION AND CAPACITY BUILDING WORKSHOP** was held on 5 November 2015 at the Amanzimtoti Civic Hall by the **eThekweni Municipality South Basin ABM**. UMTAPO assisted in facilitating the workshop and its relationship with that municipal area was strengthened.

On 25 November 2015, a Community Workshop on Anti-Corruption was facilitated by Arun Naicker at the Summerfield Multi-Purpose Centre in Bayview, Chatsworth.



Can Do Empowerment for Social Change

Arun Naicker continued to represent UMTAPO on the Erasmus Project, which involved five other countries. She conducted an Ubuntu Workshop for the Bavarian Teachers Association in Germany on 23 October 2015. She participated in a workshop with the other partners on 25-30 October 2015.

We Should all follow Biko's Teachings

by Professor Tinyiko Maluleke

“When Steve Biko was killed on September 12 1977, he was almost the same age as Trevor Noah (31). Biko was 30 years old. He was three years younger than Julius Malema and four years younger than Mmusi Maimane. And yet these young South Africans, and millions of others, owe their opportunities to the supreme sacrifice and the immense contribution Biko made.

“Dying so young leaves a life of such promise in the air,” wrote Biko scholar and biographer, Lindy Wilson.

It is not the brutality of Biko's death that captivated the imagination of the world, but his life, character, work and vision for humanity. Upon meeting the young Biko, lawyer and concentration camp survivor, Lien van den Bergh immediately recognised the leader and statesman in him.

After meeting Biko, United States senator Dick Clark quipped: “I talk to [then Prime Minister, BJ] Vorster when I want to find out what government is thinking. I talk to Mr Biko to find out what blacks are thinking.”

Similarly, Bruce Haigh, of the Australian embassy, after meeting Biko also in January 1977, passionately appealed to his government saying, “Please protect Biko.”

It was as a student, in the context of student politics, that Biko gradually came to political militancy. His wrongful, vindictive arrest by the police at the age of 16 and his subsequent expulsion from Lovedale College threw him into politics. Not that he was ever a naïve youngster.

With an elder brother such as Khaya Biko, then already active in Pan Africanist Congress politics, how could he be ignorant of the political imperatives of his day? Indeed, having lost his father when he was

four years old and noted how his mother, a domestic servant, struggled to provide for her children, how could Biko have missed the wretchedness of the black condition? With his curious and incisive intellect, how could he, sooner or later, not connect the dots between the centuries-old struggle of his people against colonialism and the political quagmire in which black people found themselves in the 1960s and 1970s?

Inevitably, for Biko, student politics in particular, and youth politics in general, was a crucial site of struggle. But his vision of student politics extended well beyond the campus and the narrow possibilities offered by formal education. In his first address as president of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), he lamented the fact that it seemed “it was a crime for [so-called] non-white students to think for themselves”. Biko put at the highest premium the capacity and ability of black students to think independently and to be self-aware.

He believed in the capacity of the youth to provide what is today popularly known as thought leadership. Whereas parents, lecturers, government and university authorities didn't exactly see the youth as leaders, let alone thought leaders – probably for the students' ‘own good’ – for Biko, university campuses were idea centres and radical thought incubators.

It was as if Biko imagined a virtual

underground university below the surface of the formal university. In that university, students recognised the inadequacy of the curriculum, the complicity of the authorities and the sheepish timidity that extended from the university campus to the remotest rural village.

And yet for Biko, independent thinking and the generation of ideas by the youth were not merely cerebral activities meant only for lecture rooms, conference halls or liquor-drenched shebeen talk-shops. If this was not his understanding, he would not have fought so hard both to establish SASO and to distinguish it sharply from the white-led National Union of Students in South Africa (Nusas).

Biko believed in the construction of autonomous institutions that would host, nurture and keep sharpening the best of those ideas. To suggest, as detractors did, that he could simply have joined NUSAS and transformed it into a black SASO is to underestimate the value he attached to self-reliance and independence.

For far too long, Biko watched brilliant struggle ideas dissipate for lack of incubation and implementation facilities. For too long, he watched black student formations hijacked, disunited and disintegrating. Indeed, he observed the same in the mainstream of black politics. He, together with his comrades, was determined to find a different approach.





Biko is therefore defined by his belief in the unity of the oppressed, the efficacy of thinking, the generation of ideas and the creation of institutions and programmes for their implementation as the engine of the struggle for liberation.

The mind boggles when one considers the number and objectives of institutions established and inspired by Biko in his short life. To illustrate, I list some (not all): SASO, Zimele Trust, Black People's Convention, the New Farm Settlement Project (near Phoenix, Durban), Dududu Project (South Coast), Winterveld Project, Njwaxa Home Industry; journals such as *Black Review* and *Black Perspective*; student formations and networks such as Natal Youth Organisation, Transvaal Youth Organisation, Border Youth Organisation, National Youth Organisations and South African Students' Movement for high schools; on the health front, Zanempilo Community Health Centre near King William's Town and Isutheng Health Centre near Tzaneen.

The creation of subversive, autonomous and alternative institutions as bearers of the Black Consciousness vision was clearly central to the Biko strategy. This was meant to ensure that Black Consciousness would become much more than an intellectual tradition, but also a developmental trajectory, complete with model programmes rooted in the most basic needs of the community.

Already at that age, like his kindred spirit, Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, Biko could have become the best president this country has ever had. We can only

wonder what crucial contribution Biko the statesman could have made to the African Union's Agenda 2063. Today, Biko's insight was missed as the nations of the world discussed and reached consensus on the United Nations' sustainable development goals that came into effect in January 2016.

South Africa misses his insight and inspiration on several levels. Nowhere is this more palpable than in the realm of youth politics and youth leadership. The fractured landscape of youth and student politics, allegedly rented student representative councils stuck in narrow institutional and party political holes, could do with a dose of unity below, above and across party political lines. They could do with a dynamic vision linked to concrete programmes.

The #RhodesMustFall movement is a good sign. The rage unleashed must be channelled into constructive and programmatic use. But that movement will have to articulate more than just what it stands against, along the lines illustrated above, with the example of Biko. It is instructive that, as a student and youth leader, Biko and his peers spent considerable energy looking inward, seeking to understand the psyche and the experiences of fellow youth and students.

The experiences of alienation, humiliation and rejection, which students encounter on campus and that more and more young people are talking about on the shop floor and in the unemployment queue, needs more eloquent articulation than we have seen so far.

The power of Biko was neither military nor coercive. The power of Biko was his ability to articulate rage with crystal clarity,

his forceful push for unity across political and ethnic divisions, his ability to embrace fearlessness and his penchant for building institutions.

Biko was determined to resist both the colonial push "to empty the native mind of all content" and destroy, disfigure and distort the past of the oppressed.

His fearlessness was on display both in relation to the apartheid authorities, but also in his analysis of the central problem in the country. "The problem is white racism," he wrote in an article titled *Black Souls in White Skins*.

The solution, he suggested then, was anti-racism and Black Consciousness, not hasty integration. In the same article, he indicated his resentment of the fact that a "minority should impose an entire system of values on an indigenous people".

Admittedly, we have seen aspects of these on campuses in recent times. But the inability to harness anger and channel it into powerful protest gestures that exclude violence and thuggery may erode the steady gains.

Our universities, too, are poorer for the absence of Biko. Instead of becoming places of vigorous debate beyond the narrow confines of formal curriculums, indications are that they are places where fear and conformity reign.

Sadly, what Biko once said of NUSAS still holds true for many universities, albeit in different circumstances: "There shall always be a white majority in the organisation," especially among the academic staff members.

In what is arguably the best statement of the main objectives of Black Consciousness, Biko notes in a 1973 article titled *Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity* that, "Blacks have had enough experience as objects of racism to wish to turn the tables".

His defiant hope, even then, was surreal. "We have set out on a quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon, we can see the glittering prize," he wrote.

He did not live to see his prize.

I am not sure that what we see around us is not the prize Biko envisaged. I fear that we are losing our way towards a true humanity."

The Resurgence of Black Consciousness

The resurgence of Black Consciousness and the legacy of Biko, particularly among radical student activist movements such as the Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall movements, are precisely because students today, like those of the 70s, have despaired at the lack of radical transformation emanating from the actions of the previous generation. More especially because the issues of race and racism, the fundamental pillars of apartheid South Africa, have not been addressed in any constructive way. The myth of the rainbow nation has been shattered and it has laid bare a society deeply divided with little advancement towards one nation or nationhood.

Enver Motala, in an article in *Amandla* (April 2016), says:

"We should be troubled by the usage of 'race' in the vocabularies of politicians, bureaucrats, business leaders, in the public media and even by academics. Parliamentarians, for example, show little awareness of the important debates around the use of apartheid's racialised descriptions when they refer to South Africans as 'Coloured', 'Indian', 'White', and 'African' (Africans often have a further attachment of an ostensible 'ethnic' or 'tribal' affiliation).

Daily we hear of 'racial minorities' and 'nations' and other such terms used to describe citizens of South Africa. Those who use these terms seem to do so without being conscious of how contentious and offensive they are. Either unconscious or indifferent, they show a complete disregard for the struggles to discredit this kind of usage in the quest for 'nationhood' and unity."

Clearly, those in positions of power lack a scientific analysis of the concepts of race and racism and therefore are unable to deal with the struggle against racism.

Charging individual racists like Penny Sparrow a fine, as suggested by Gwede Mantashe, will not make any difference



to racism in the country. No amount of anti-racism campaigns based on marches and media (including social media) rhetoric will make any fundamental difference to people's deep-seated prejudices and beliefs. Dealing with racism requires a mindset change. This entails radical training for transformation and conscientisation, enabling a real understanding of the origins of race and racism in relation to one's own identity, which would result in a significant shift in the way we see the world and other human beings – a true decolonising of the mind. Sadly, this type of knowledge is seriously lacking in many sectors of society, whether out of ignorance, arrogance or convenience. Even the recent global exposure given to the *Homo Naledi* findings in South Africa, which provided an opportunity for those in authority to raise consciousness around the origins of the human race, failed to make a significant impact because the scientifically ignorant utterances of certain politicians attracted the attention of the media, which is known for its shallow reporting and sensationalism.

The concept of race has its origins in the mid-Atlantic slave trade of the 16th century. In order to justify the trade in human flesh from the continent of Africa to the Americas, it had to be proven that people of darker skin colour and who looked different from the Europeans were less than human; were savages and non-believers in the Christian God. Hence,

the rise of the western myth of Africa as the dark continent, everything dark being evil with white being associated with cleanliness, sainthood – the white Jesus Christ. To add to the mythology, Western 'anthropologists and scientists' began to identify and provide justification for four or more 'races', with white being superior and others inferior. Thus, began the complete socialisation of the world into demonising all that was black and idolising all that was white.

It was only with the discovery of the origins of the human race in Africa in the late 1800s and early 1900s that the notion of 'black is evil and white is saintly' began to seriously come into question. Even the discovery of the 'Taung Child' in South Africa in 1924, one of the oldest fossil finds at the time, was kept a secret until much later. *How could the fact that the human race actually originated in the so-called dark and barbaric continent be revealed!* This would have meant that all human beings were descendants of Africa. It would have destroyed all the myths that had been created to justify white superiority and supremacy and black demonisation. Britain even attempted to show that older fossil finds were discovered there – this was later proven to be false.

The numerous fossil finds in various parts of Africa and finally the oldest at Sterkfontein Caves in South Africa, finally led paleontologists, anthropologists, and the scientific world in general to acknowledge that Africa is indeed the cradle of humankind. This fact is one of the most important pieces of information of the 20th century because not only does it debunk all the racial theories based, in the main, on justification for the notion of white superiority, it also provides new lenses in the way in which African people begin to see themselves and their continent. It provides proof that there is only one human race with its origins in Africa and that race,

“ Black Consciousness seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the 'normal', which is white. ”

Steve Biko

itself, is a social construct that is used for the purposes of dispossession, exploitation, and oppression of one or more groups of people by another group. The white minority regime in South Africa used the four-race classification in masterminding its policy of apartheid that took control of the minds and souls of the majority of people in the country. It was the only way in which a minority could rule over a vast majority and exploit and oppress them to the fullest.

Hence, the Black Consciousness movement's emphasis on black people redefining themselves and on psychological liberation, as a crucial starting point. Biko said: **"Black Consciousness seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the 'normal', which is white"**. Raising the critical consciousness of people was essentially the process of decolonising the mind.

For Biko and Black Consciousness, black people meant all those who were by law or tradition politically, economically, and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and **who identified themselves as a unit in the liberation struggle**. The latter qualification is an important aspect of Biko's definition of black because today's new elites of colour on social media or in the posh restaurants of Rosebank, Sandton, and Melrose Arch proudly stake claim to their own version of 'Black Consciousness' (it's cool to be black!) while aspiring to be the new capitalists of the world. This is a distortion of BC and is not Biko's BC!

To be black, in BC terminology, was not merely a matter of pigmentation. It was a way of life and an attitude of mind. BC was and is a revolutionary philosophy geared towards the creation of a national consciousness for liberation of the self and the collective in the broader interests of the common good.

For BC, not being white did not necessarily make you black. If one's



aspiration is whiteness (beyond just skin colour) but one's pigmentation makes attainment of that impossible, then that person is a non-white – straddling between white and black. Similarly, those people of colour who acted against the interests of the majority are regarded as non-whites. In the past, these would be your informers, security branch members, Bantustan leaders, etc. Today, this would extend to those who are looting public resources, those who benefit from government agencies for individual enrichment, those who are obstacles to the legitimate demands of the oppressed and exploited, etc. Basically, those people of colour who do not identify with the struggles of the majority and/or are obstacles in the path of real freedom are not **black** in Biko's BC philosophy.

By this definition, according to Professor Achille Mbembe, BC dispensed with the notion of race as a biological entity but embraced blackness as an emancipatory weapon.

Professor Lewis Gordon, academic, author, and president of the Caribbean Philosophical Association, says:

"... the blacks who now represent blackness in the South African government are clearly not based on Biko's political designation, but the old South African racial designations. But the fact remains

that the liberalism they exemplify clearly also lacks the political understanding of Black Consciousness that he offered. In effect, they have taken the reins from the whites and have presented a more rigorous means of disarming the political voice of excluded populations."

BC was a well thought-out philosophy that addressed the legitimate demands of the people at the time. It drew, from among others: Marx's humanism, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, Paulo Freire, Amílcar Cabral, and the broader philosophy of Pan Africanism. In the 70s and 80s, BC was often said to be ahead of its time, and perhaps now the time has arrived when students, not influenced by any political party or 'struggle stalwarts', take on the cudgels of BC and the legacy left by Biko, in a fresh and vibrant manner, perhaps towards a new epoch in the struggle for a liberated Azania.

As Fanon said: "Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it."

And as the discussion on race and racism and the resurgence of BC continues, it may be fitting to conclude with some remarks from the current generation of youth.

Brian Kamanzi, a Cape Town-based spoken word poet, engineer, and Pan Africanist (*Amandla*, April 2016) states that the student movement of 2015/2016 **"has claimed the contemporary relevance and necessity of Biko's inclusive definition of Black Consciousness. It reorganises arbitrary definitions of so called non-whites into a positive black identity with emancipatory ideals... it may be expedient to mobilise under the 'black experience' while explicitly invoking the language and strategies of a broader class struggle, as well as bolstering efforts to dismantle patriarchal power responsible for privileging men in society"**.

“ Dealing with racism requires a mindset change. This entails radical training for transformation and conscientisation, enabling a real understanding of the origins of race and racism in relation to one's own identity, and this would result in a significant shift in the way we see the world and other human beings – a true decolonising of the mind. ”

OBITUARY

Oshadi Mangena

(12 June 1931 – 24 September 2015)

by Arun Naicker

Dr Oshadi Mangena, patron of UMTAPO and the chief facilitator of the Women and Development Course that was hosted by UMTAPO in nine provinces over seven years, passed away on 24 September 2015.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Oshadi was the Executive Director of the Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of South Africa. She was concurrently elected as President of the Transvaal region of the world-affiliated Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). From 1974 until it was banned in 1977, she was the National President of the YWCA of South Africa.

She became a member of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa (CI) in 1968 and left her career as a nurse in 1973 to become a staff member of the institute, to which she was elected Regional Director in 1976. In the early 1970s, she joined the Black People's Convention, the political wing of the Black Consciousness Movement, and collaborated actively with the Pretoria branch of the South African Student's Association (SASO).

In 1976, Oshadi was detained after the June 1976 uprising, and spent months at the Old Fort Prison, now Constitution Hill, and was eventually banned and restricted to Mamelodi Township in Pretoria. In April 1977, she was forced into exile, first to Botswana and then to the Netherlands.

She was appointed the European representative for the Christian Institute, a position she held until 1980 when the institute closed down. She also worked closely with the Black Consciousness Movement in exile.

While in exile, she completed her BA degree in Political Science and Public Administration at the University of South Africa. In addition, she obtained a master's degree in development studies from the



Past recipients of the Steve Biko Award. From left: Asha Moodley, Dr Mangena, Marjan Boelsma and the late Dr Neville Alexander.

Institute of Social Studies in The Hague (Netherlands), and her PhD in Social Sciences from the University of Amsterdam. She lectured in development studies at the University of Amsterdam from 1984 to 1996.

In her thesis, Oshadi wrote in 1996: "It stands to reason that a redress of the condition of the African woman is intertwined with a package of compensation rather than with the burden of repaying a 'foreign debt' for the damage done to her country and her people through colonial plunder and capitalist oppression and exploitation."

Furthermore, she underlined the connection between Africa and the diaspora. In Europe, there are an estimated seven to 12 million people of African descent and black Europeans, and they are particularly affected by racism and discrimination across the European Union. So far, however, they are the most invisible 'visible' minority on the European political agenda. Millions of black Europeans lack equal access to employment, education, housing, as well as goods and services. Europe has a long history of negation of Africans and black people's humanity, rooted in the legacy of slavery and colonialism. So the struggle continues, also in Europe".

She was a steadfast human rights gender activist. Oshadi's dream was to set up a black women-led funding NGO, which she did together with other women activists. She was the former Executive Director of the Pitseng Women's Trust Fund.

Despite the sufferings that she endured from the racist regime and racism everywhere, her personal losses, and the impact this had on her life, it could not break her humanity. To this day, I find her words live on and are very inspirational to those whom she empowered on issues of emancipation. She used humour to wage her arguments. In her words: "Always call a spade a spade and not any digging instrument or you will be sure to fail in the solutions you agree on to solve problems."

Her deep commitment to the ideology of Black Consciousness was embedded in her analysis of the world we live in today. Her own struggles as a woman with young children during apartheid South Africa was her university of life. She was an example to many for her strength, her power, her never compromising stand against all forms of oppression and for the freedom and humanity of her people.



