

Harold Wolpe Foundation
Minutes: 26 March 2008

Welcome by AnnMarie Wolpe: Welcome, it is encouraging that so many people have arrived on the Easter weekend. I'd like to deal with house issues first. There are forms circulating for people whose names not on mailing list. Please pay into the donation pot. We'd like to say thank you for the thank you, for the second time now, to Butlers Pizzas for donating pizzas on the basis of the work we're doing.

The title for tonight's discussion is 'Discriminating by any other name?' and as it was put in the program, it's linked to the recent developments in the Free State and the k-word and the various correspondence etc. And there has been a flurry in the papers about that. It's discrimination by any other name that allows me to intro this topic. My name for those of you who don't know is AnnMarie Wolpe, widow of Harold. When I came back with Harold after 28 years in exile, I worked for the Centre for Continuing and Adult Education at UWC, which certainly gave me an insight into what had been happening in the country in over the past few years that we had been absent and been in England. Now following a workshop that was held on racism and to which I was an observer, I engaged in a discussion afterwards with one of the organisers. Quite naively, I said to her 'I don't know how you define racism'. I asked this colleague because amongst my new group of friends, there were white people who had said that racism is action by white people against black people. When I asked my colleague about this, she confirmed the definition in those terms. When I said to her 'her do you feel about the holocaust situation where 6 million Jews were exterminated?' She said that that's prejudice. I asked whether prejudice can actually account for that. At this she got extremely angry with me and said 'AnnMarie, you're interrogating me in my lunch hour', and that was the end of the discussion.

It is something that I have thought about seriously over the years. I am conscious of the importance of the topic of racism and the absence perhaps in Marxist debate to take the actions of the individual as an important aspect. But Primo Levi's writing on the Holocaust leaves little room for the finding that the experience of him and the other survivors was the outcome of prejudice. It took many years before Levi's book was actually published in Italy and then translated into English. Another survivor of Auschwitz was a woman called Simon Weig, whose name I'd always heard about and whose work, I must admit, I had never read. She went into Auschwitz at the age of seventeen. She and her sister survived but her parents and her brother died. She became a lawyer and a very prominent person in French politics and the European Union. Her comments on her experiences were the following: Every time she tried to get her work published, or had tried to have her comments about her experiences in Auschwitz heard, she had the impression of having been treated like a child, 'who when he feels that he has something important to say, or when he is about to reveal what bothers him, the parents, somewhat embarrassed, cut him off through a gesture, a word, so inappropriate or absurd that he loses the thread of his thought. This is why it would be futile for us, those survivors, to speak in a context where there is so little enthusiasm for listening to use and that we might have been so badly understood. I felt humiliation.

Now that was quoted by John Devosham, who is an ex-Congolese and is currently an intellectual currently in Maputo, but is going back to Ecuador. He has written a lot and this article which I have read recently which is in an Italian Journal with English translation. He dealt with the history and the silences. The article is about the destructive history of the past 500 years. Not forgetting the slaughter of the people through the dropping of the bombs in Japan. Now his conclusion is stark and it is, is it possible to conclude on a more hopeful note, 'Is the West and the Africa it has sought to fashion after colonisation, willing to accept the idea that its future lies in fidelity to emancipation from the shackles of capitalism. I'm taking time out to introduce to you this evening the context of capitalism, of class analysis, as they clash with the issues of race and ethnicity.

To bring it back then to the South African context, I'd like to remind you all of the article written by Harold, which appeared in the first volume of the *Economy and Society* Journal, published in 1972. In this he was arguing that continually apartheid has been subscribed simplistically to the particular racial ideology of the ruling nationalist party. It was apartheid that carried on from the segregation of the previous government that provided the specific mechanism for maintaining cheap labour power, through the elaboration of the entire system of control and the transformation of the function of pre-existing, pre-capitalist societies. In other words, it is within the same socio-economic base that this apartheid system runs and operates and it is not fundamentally based on racism. That's a point I want to make quite strongly. So whilst racism persists here, as it does in many other countries in the world, its manifestation is a highly complex process.

With this in mind, I would now like to introduce our speakers:

- Tseliso Thipanyane: He is an advocate of the Supreme Court of South Africa and also Lesotho. He is currently CEO of the Human Rights Commission, and his work has focused on human rights, democracy, and good governance.
- Adam Haupt: He is Senior lecturer at UCT in the Centre for Film and Media Studies. He is the author of 'Stealing Empires'. He has worked on peer-to-peer platforms (as in Napster) – he has worked on youth culture.
- Andile Mngxitama: his book on Steve Biko is forthcoming. To quote him: he believes in the 'post-apartheid state as a white supremacist country' and likes to be identified as a black person living in South Africa. I, personally, like to be identified as a South African, happening to be white.

Tseliso Thipanyane:

I'd like to start by thanking the Wolpe Foundation for inviting my commission and I to take part in this very important discussion. I'd also like to say that unlike my colleague, I'm just a human being that happens to be in South Africa.

Issues of race are nothing to me but social constructs that people make, because at the end of the day all the issues boil down to power and greed. Those who want to dominate others will use anything that allows them to maintain oppression over others. You see this when you look at the means that were used in colonisation and apartheid, and so forth.

Coming to the issue at hand, we've had many incidents in our country recently. We have the University of Free State, Ivan Khosa calling a journalist 'kaffir', the Forum for Black Journalists excluding white journalists from their meetings. All these incidents highlight the need for us to reflect on the progress we've made as a country in the last 14 yrs. We need to ask ourselves really hard questions, such as what progress we've made and whether we could have done better, what mistakes have we made in our country in our effort towards nation building?

I thought I should give a context to our country going forward and then my colleagues will come with all the radical ideas. As a country, and reacting to our past of institutionalized racism, we are struggling towards a better country. We are inspired and are working towards a non-racial society. We are inspired by documents like the Freedom Charter, we are inspired by wanting to be free, living in a land where our children are judged and treated on the basis of their characters, not on the basis of the colour of their skin. I think that this idea is still a South Africa which we are committed to working towards.

The incidents bring all sorts of different reactions to this issue. The conduct of the black journalists' forum towards white journalist and the number of white colleagues who wish to move to Australia because they are sick and tired of this, the number of people who complain about affirmative action.

Now, these aspirations are entrenched in our constitution's provisions, which say that all South Africans should be treated equally regardless of sex, language and colour. In addition to the constitutional provisions, we have the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Inequality Act. In the preamble of the Act, there is the provision which says that we are working towards a democratic society which has a great deal of diversity and is marked by human relations that are caring and compassionate and are guided by the principles of equality, human dignity etc.

In terms of this Act, if we wish to meet these aspirations, if we hope in time to achieve a non-racial society, we must set ourselves as an example for the rest of the world. South Africa is not the only country which is facing serious racial challenges. The entire world has those problems, be it in America or Europe, in one form or another. Therefore, we must make it very clear that any act other than affirmative actions which constitutes discrimination on the grounds of race, will be deemed as unconstitutional. Anyone who conducts that discriminatory act has the onus of proving that what they've done is not unfair, but is fair and justified. So, when the Forum for Black Journalists excludes white journalists, in terms of the words of the law it is clear that that act constitutes unfair discrimination. However, they still have the opportunity to convince the HRC that what they did, although on the face of it it seems like discrimination, it actually was not unfair discrimination.

The HRC has a very clear mandate to promote and protect human rights and to find appropriate redress where human rights have been violated, including violations through

acts of unfair discrimination. Of course we have done a lot of work over the years relating to these issues. The Act also has very important provisions relating to hate speech. The Act doesn't allow any publishing or propagating or communication of words based on various grounds including race that can reasonably be construed as demonstrating the intention to incite harm. Of course that is why the Human Rights Commission asked Mr Ivan Khosa to apologise, even though the incident was in a private setting. We felt that the words were not in line with the values of our constitution. Naturally, we are glad that he did apologise. Again, today I saw an article of a white man calling a black man a 'kaffir'. What should the Commission do? Call on the man to apologise or let him off the hook. Of course, there is the political side of things to consider too. But again, it raises the question: why are people continually using these words and conducting themselves in this manner when it is clear that our constitution has provisions about working towards non-racial society.

I'd now like to look at the challenges we face as a country which may affect our efforts of working towards a non-racial society. Firstly, one challenge links to what I have said about power and greed. Some see apartheid as a racial system, but some of us see it as an economic system. If you don't understand that and think that the only way to overcome our problems is to ensure that we see people as South Africans regardless of their colour, then you won't make much headway. One of the challenges in our country is the failure to address the systemic inequality and unfair discrimination which still remains deeply embedded in social structures, in practices and in attitudes. One of the problems of our country over the last 14 years has been our inability to honestly and vigorously address issues of race. It is no longer a fashionable thing - black people feel ashamed to talk about it, and a number of people in the white community have guilt. Basically, everyone is trying to pretend that we don't have a problem, and this is probably contributing to our slow progress in really dealing with these issues. To what extent do we discuss these issues in our homes, our schools, our churches, our mosques etc. Why are we doing this? Why aren't we talking about race. Maybe psychologists and sociologists can explain. Why should a 18 child who is regarded as a freedom child, born after 1994, still perpetrate this conduct which is no longer part and parcel of our culture? Why do our colleagues in FBJ want to exclude white journalists from their meetings? Why do students at the UFS, who I assume are intellectuals, still behave in this way?

Secondly, I don't think that our government has taken this issue very seriously. The Equality Act was passed in 2000, but today the promotional aspects of the Act have still not been put into operation. Why are the NGOs not screaming? Where is the media? What can we say about a government that purports to be promoting non-racialism when it does not bring into full operation the Equality Act? In addition, we have the International Covenant on Non-Racial Activity. In terms of compliance and reporting duties under the covenant, our track record as a country is poor. Two years ago the Committee for local government passed an order saying our government must pass hate speech legislation. Our government hasn't bothered to respond. We will be having a World conference in a year. In 2000 there was a declaration that govt must pass a national plan. Where is it? Where is the government's commitment?

In the next 3 minutes, I want to say that the slow pace of transformation in SA and the ongoing racialism may be a serious threat to our country. One need only look at Kenya. We never would've expected violence from the Kenyans, their being so smart, and having been around for long. It just shows that we aren't out of the woods. If you really want to start a racial war in South Africa, you just have to go to the township and kill a few hundred natives. We have not done enough to entrench a culture of respect for humanity. We still see each other in our thing covers and call each other all sorts of things. If we don't deal with these instances we'll see more of these types of things. Especially in a country where there is huge inequality of wealth and land. In Kenya it was the poor people that were fighting each other, not the rich. The same thing happened in Rwanda, due to poverty, poor people are much more prone to be manipulated.

Another issue in South Africa is that of xenophobia. This is where black South Africans are xenophobic towards other black Africans from the continent. There is also the issue of ethnic tensions which haven't been addressed – Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana etc. We are now seeing the situation in Pretoria where a number of homeless or squatting people are saying chuck out the Xhosa's, they must go back to where they came from.

Need to address all these issues in order to have a functioning society. As I said in the beginning, there needs to be a lot more done to address unequal distribution of wealth in SA or 100 years from now we will regret it.

Adam Haupt:

See the chapter in his forthcoming book.

Andile Mngxitama:

Let me start by saying that what I'm going to say here is my view alone, not that of any of the organisations that I'm associated with.

The problem with the power of whiteness is that whenever we talk about the problems of blackness, it shifts blackness from the centre and we end up talking about white interests. You see, people talk a lot about the holocaust. Jewish people and Irish people for a long time weren't seen as white people. But over time they became white people and were protected entirely because of the colour of their skin. What the holocaust does is that it's a momentary position where white skin is minimised. What we as black people experience in our encounter with whiteness, white people experience in this particular moment. In 1911 already the Germans were doing the same thing with black people. They don't mention this. They experimented first with black people here in Namibia and then they subjected white people to it. Now I'm doing the same thing, start with black people and end up talking about white people

I want to make three outrageous claims. One is that Post 1994 South Africa remains a white supremacist country. The last part of Adam's talk kind of went to this argument because I'm arguing that there has been no rupture, what happened is that a few black guys sacrificed and went to Robben Island, but the state of affairs simply continued. I think you can have a long discussion about that. It's strange that after 350 years of racial

discrimination, we're unable to talk straight about this question. Ivan Khosa tells some guy he behaves like a kaffir and the HRC jumps and tells him he must apologise. How does a kaffir behave? Ivan Khosa says, 'I see what happened in the Free State and therefore I apologise'. But the point is that this construction of kaffir necessarily relates to black people. When someone says 'my nigger my nigger', someone outside of that community can't go and say 'my nigger'. So Ivan Khosa has been asked to apologise for telling some black person he behaves like a kaffir but when we ask what a kaffir is no-one knows. The problem is that the terms of debate have shifted. White journalists who claim to have been excluded from the FBJ claim are victims of racism. So they have appropriated black suffering.

The third of my claims is that the constitution is being used to black suffering and to legitimise and perpetuate white privilege. If a white person says that he is a victim of racism, we have a national crisis. What happens there is that a very specific term that relates to the encounter between white and black slavery, or today's imperialism where white oppresses black, has been used inappropriately by white people. They use it basically to claim that blacks are racist. But I don't think that this makes sense. It doesn't make sense because a table is not a chair. We need conceptual fidelity to make sense of things as we discuss them. But historically racism refers specifically to the repression of black people. Now if use term for white people, then you make nonsense of the word. IN addition, you allow the appropriation of black suffering to be used by whiteness and so perpetuate it. That the thing about progressive white people is that they don't want to be reminded that they're white. This is because if you do that you are suggesting accounting for privileges that comes with whiteness.

Finally, black people can't be racist. To say that black people can be racist because that's what they believe may be true. But some of my friends believe that they are trees and every morning my friend goes and hugs trees. But when we're with her we simply say 'you're not a tree'. I don't think it's sufficient to say that black people can be racist if you accept the historical meaning of racism. There are three processes that create a black: land dispossession, dispossession of labour, and dispossession of the African being. We can argue that the development (industrialisation etc) of South Africa happens because of the dispossession of the black. I don't know if you have it with Marxism but with it you have the whole ideology and education etc because these two things are linked. So you have a white supremacist reality in this country. Who dies from HIV, who dies from the lack of medical attention and so on. All of this is predetermined.

Walter Wolpe makes a good argument when he says that the underdevelopment of Africa was for the development of Europe. I argue that the development of South Africa happened as a result of the under-development of Southern Africa. In a sense I'm ready to open the border and allow all black people from this region to come in because the wealth that was created here is responsible for their poverty.

I'm going to talk about the third dispossession now, that of the African being. That has to do with the missionary project, Christian education, white gods, white desires and white beings. The missionaries were very clever. They sent white beings to educate them so

that the black people could represent their interests. The whole post-colonial reality is a confirmation of the victory of colonialism as those that were left behind upheld and perpetuated the over colonial structures.

Let me talk quickly about two related concepts: whiteness and I'll mention blackness. There are two complexes created, the superiority complex and the inferiority complex. Mbeki likes quoting Irish and obscures western quotes. What this shows is that the black man wants to prove to the white man at all costs the richness of their thought and their intellect. The new BEE people do this, but not in intellectual sense. They use Johnny Walker Blue Louise 14th Special Edition. South Africa is the biggest importer of this whisky. It is a desperate attempt to show that they're civilised and sophisticated.

Regarding whiteness, there's the argument that whites are taught not to recognise white privilege as males are taught not to recognise male privilege. I've come to see white privilege as an invisible package of assets which I can count on cashing in each day but about which I remain ambiguous. White privilege is like an invisible rucksack of provisions, maps, visas, and blank checks.

When you go to Ever-Ridge cemetery, Jo Slovo is the only white person to be buried there. He didn't ask to be singled out in the way that he has been singled out. The point I'm trying to make is that the colour of your skin is remembered even in death. I was arrested with 100 colleagues. We were processed and there was a shift change so after a while there were 7 of us left. This included a white comrade standing with us wearing a t-shirt of my movement. The policeman who came to process the last of us counted three times and got to 6 every time. He just couldn't see a white person in that position. Her whiteness made sure she was recognised differently.

We can talk about xenophobia, but why do black people attack other black people from the continent? There are no white people in the squatter camps. You hate the thing that reminds you of yourself, particularly in that position. You have to go there to explain this.

Let me tell you why South Africa is a white Supremacist country. BEE is a question of white capital. If you look at the role of the Afrikaners going into the deal in 1994 - the educated upper middle class enter into deal with white capital they make the deal 'we take parliament, you take the economy and look after it and we'll get BEE deals'. The white supremacist needs a bit of melanin, a bit of black. The position of black people won't change in those countries. Harold would've said that you can't deal with one without dealing with the other i.e. you can't deal with capital without dealing with racism.

Let me conclude by quoting Steve Biko. He says 'would be possible to create a capitalist black society if whites were intelligent, if the nationalists were intelligent, and that capitalist black society and that black middle class would be very effective. South Africa would succeed in putting up a front to the world of a pretty convincing, integrated picture with 70% of the country still being underdogs.

I have a list here of people that have died in today's social struggles, for water and electricity etc. Black people are still struggling to find ways that will undermine the white supremacist nation.

Questions:

1. The third speaker said that in South Africa, when we discuss an issue, it always goes back to whiteness. Hearing that a thought struck me. When I left university, I worked for two companies and have been a consultant. When you enter these institutions you are immediately confronted with language and culture. This country has not changed. We black people have to assimilate into a culture that is not African and not our own. Nothing has changed. I don't see anything wrong with excluding white people from the FBJ. This is because Africans must realise that they can do it by themselves. This is a psychological issue. But we don't have to appease whiteness, we can just be human.
2. I'd like to concur with Andile and respond to the question of Tseliso of why blacks are behaving in such a manner. Are blacks racist? No, we are not. It is history that has built the concept and the experience from whites. The other point I'd like to mention it that it is economic racism. It is not only about racism. When we try to deal with these issues, whites become scared of talking about racism because they know that they have benefited from the racist government. The question for Tseliso is this: Are we near to equality or does SA society qualify to be called a democratic society?
3. Tseliso, we are seeing that the HRC commission is there when whites are excluded from the Forum for Black Journalists, but when black journalists have trouble in the newsroom, the HRC is not there. There are various instances, which you might have mentioned, such as that where a white man killed a black man and associated him with a baboon, I didn't hear the HRC. Was it because the white people that control the media were affected? To me, saying black people are racist makes me want to vomit. To be racist you have to have the power of subjugation, but we don't have the power to subjugate. As blacks we don't have economic power. Can you define black racism, and how do you define a non-racialist society where there are imbalances and inequalities?

Answers:

Tseliso: Let me start with journalists. In 2000, we had a national enquiry into racism in the media. We were alone in the matter and received a number of attacks, many by black journalists. We made many recommendations involving racism in the media and what the media people should do to address those issues.

We need to look at the broader context. For the last 13 years the HRC has served the nation with 150 staff members dealing with a 40 to 45 million population. Of course we can't be everywhere. I think over the past years the HRC has done a lot given the apartheid legacy. Last year the deputy minister of justice said in parliament that the HRC likes doing sexy issues like racism and need to do more on issues of poverty. The HRC has done a large number of enquiries into racism, one need only look at the news and our

website to read about it. It is not acceptable for South Africans that can read not to know about work of HRC.

On the issue of equality and democracy, we are nowhere near where we are aspiring to be. That is why institutions such as the HRC are established in order to help move towards such a society. After 300 years of exploitation and repression, we can't expect to be living in an ideal society immediately. There will be a number of challenges that will require all our efforts to resolve.

On the issue of black people not being racist:

We need to look at broader picture, at the rest of Africa and the world. I'll give you an example. I grew up speaking Sesotho and we were called animals by Zulu-speaking people. Animals! Now what do you call that. Now look at Rwanda where the Hutus killed the Tutsis and the Hutus were initially oppressed. Now look at Ireland where you have the Catholics and the Protestants. In China the Tibetans are oppressed. All over the world people are oppressed. So as I was saying, in South Africa skin colour is the major source of oppression, but ours is not the only issue. We need to look at and learn from the rest of the world. I am a student of Malcolm X. At the end of the day, it is about us just being human beings and fighting for a common cause as human beings, fighting against oppression and exploitation all over the world. In Britain we see the legacy of class structures. So in the end, I believe that black people can discriminate against others on basis of race and such discrimination can manifest in many ways.

Andile –

My argument is not about who suffered more. Of course black people do nasty things to each other, I acknowledge this. But, as with Tseliso's experience of being a Sesotho speaking person who had Zulu people say nasty things, we can't call it racism, it's tribalism. Tribalism can lead to violence or to genocide as we see in Rwanda. Of course, we see that the French as colonialists were involved. The colonialists have a hand in these affairs. For example, in the Congo they fight over borders, but who put those borders up? These borders arose when Africa was cut up by the West. But my point is that it is not racism, it is tribalism. By telling us about conflicts all over the world, you're failing to answer the simple question that why, after 14 years of democracy are black people still oppressed when they are supposed to be free?

Questions:

4. Can't we look at this as the reverse of racism – that we are creating our own black journalist forums? Ivan Khosa saying that someone is a kaffir to another kaffir, by saying what he said, doesn't he denounce the word kaffir? He probably does. In terms of black forums, if SA was a one race state, we would say that we are reconstructing the lives of those who were oppressed.
5. Surely the answer to racism in SA has to be the promotion of the achievement of equality. If we're all equal the need for racism and prejudice will not arise any more. S9(2) of the constitution calls for equality. How do we achieve this if

not through a decent education system in South Africa. Twelve years ago, a million children entered the South African public schools system. Only 500 000 made it to matric and of those only 300 000 passed matric. Of those who passed matric, only 15% of them are functionally literate, 45 000 functionally literate individuals emerging from our public education system. It's a national disgrace. As long as it exists, the achievement of equal and the end of racism is impossible.

6. Tseliso - you said that white people feel guilty and shameful when they discuss racism. I want to ask you, is it not because they don't want to engage with the issues of power and inherited privilege. In order to achieve substantive privilege, they'd have to give up that inherited privilege. Black people don't want to discuss racism because they are made to feel guilty because they have been told by affirmative action that they deserve what they have gained even though they have inherited disadvantage.

Andile – oppression can't exist without the active collaboration of the oppressed because the individual oppressed needs to believe or understand that he or she deserves to be oppressed. How does one move from a state of having a population with 400 years of internalised oppression. How do we go about it. We have no African epistemology, we have universities with functionally illiterate Africans. How do we go about it?

To the activist – you mentioned that land dispossession is key to the state of Africans and South Africans. What do we do then after 14 years of democracy there is only 2% of our land redistributed. How do we then begin to redress huge resource imbalances that exist so that we can pay for those university fees etc. Do we rise up against the state? How do we force state to fulfil its promises?

Tseliso: When colonialists found colonisation to be cumbersome for them, they simply found black people to replace them and colonisation continued. When you look at African governments 50 years after independence, it is sometimes difficult to disagree with the argument that they are simply a higher level of colonisation, which still exists, and that is why capital still flows to Europe. We then also state asking about the extent to which the black elite in this country is really serious about transformation. The easiest way to address issues of race in SA is to address the political, economic and social power imbalances. Once we're all equal, for you to see yourself as superior to another race will not work. But as long as some are in a position of privilege, they will still feel superior to others. I believe many white people secretly in their hearts feel superior. If you don't address that, you'll never address the issue of racism.

On the issue of White guilt, and education which goes to the same question. With white guilt, you can say that you care about equality, but if you don't do anything material to address the underlying costs of racism, then you are just making slogans as a ruling party. That's a problem in this country, there are many slogans but few real efforts to address the problem of economic wealth distribution. It is possible that the black government is just a puppet of the colonial government elsewhere.

Adam: dealing with the internalisation of the colonial discourse: Gugu, after writing the 'Decolonisation of the Mind' switches to his mothertongue. There is a need to shift the value that we place on power-languages such as English, French and in this country, Afrikaans. PRAESA is an organisation that looks at mother tongue learning and finds students in an area doing the language at the time and grabs them.

A lot of my research looks at hip hop and how it uses non-standardised dialects of language. There are a number of groups I look at and they find and activate young people in a political and critically in a way that schooling cannot. There are a lot of activists using art in unconventional ways. The Western Cape government is looking to hip hop artists to co-operate with them. They affirm the vernacular, not just the tongue, but they affirm black identity. Formal educational professionals need to take note of that.

To make initiatives work, there is a great deal of ground work, but we also need to rethink what government is doing in economic policy and research. Is it spending enough money and intellectual energy? Investment in facilities and infrastructure decreased. A friend of mine who used to be a swimmer at a certain township swimming pool will not take his children there today. The reason why investment has gone down is that GEAR economic policy has the government servicing apartheid debt, making the space more friendly for foreign direct investors and essentially spending less on people. The reason for this is that the World Bank and the IMF after WWII engaged in programme where they advised governments to intervene in their markets to protect local entrepreneurs and markets so their economies can grow. Two or three decades later, when other countries from the south try to implement the same policies, the IMF and World Bank say that that's communism and will fail, let the market regulate. We need to push government to intervene in the country a lot more. Government needs to invest in education a lot more. For example, I was asked to help to draft the brand new creative education curriculum in 3 weeks. That is ridiculous and not possible. These are senior people in the education department, what are they thinking?.

Question:

7. The K word has been used by the chairperson of the portfolio for sport in parliament. Incidents like this take us back in the country and it reminds us what it meant to be black in the past. My second point is that in South Africa it is quite safe. We do have organisations such as Afrikaner parties that make it their business to persuade young people that affirmative action is reverse racism, which is also taking us back in the country trying to build a united nation. My third point is that if we don't confront racism based on pigmentation and use examples of oppression based on class, we are shifting the focus from the real problems and by doing that we might be fighting a losing battle.
8. I'm perturbed at the lack of critical discourse. First question is with regards to the b word. Are you aware of the case against media 24 relating to the b word? My second question is the HRC – I have read the reports. The interim report was substantial report on racism in the media, but the final report was a watered down report. I'm very concerned that the HRC is committing negligence in its duties with regards to the media. My third point is for Andile. I'm very upset that you're questioning people who've spent time in prison as a result of their activism, how many days have you spent in prison as a result of your activism?

Tseliso: As people say, a wise man learns from the mistakes of others. If you look at the continent of Africa, we need to be smart about how we address our problems. We can't act as though we are the only country with problems and as if we can't learn from the mistakes of others.

Regarding our media reports, we do not claim that they are better than all others. We are simply making a contribution for others to build on.

Andile: I'll ignore the comment about prison. I think that there's no possibility for change and rupture coming from discussions like this in UCT lecture halls. It's important to focus on what capitalism is and how it evolves the world over and where the black person is located in that process. If you don't think in terms of this process, the 70% of people that Biko spoke of being outside of the system will remain black. Regarding education, you'll find that every white kid that goes through the system will come out of the system. The majority of black kids won't. This country has stolen 12 years from black kids. There are different kinds of racism: individual racism and institutional racism. Institutional racism involves the oppression and exclusion of black people through education, RDP housing etc. The constitution is used to support white interests and the courts' thinking process is informed by racist mindsets. The majority in the country will start asking if the constitution is serving its interests.

AnnMarie – if I had time I have a whole page of comments I would've raised. I would clash with Andile about tribalism. I would question the absence of putting it in a global context. I feel like vomiting over the atrocities that I see in the world around me. I find it almost unbearable to see that the glaciers are dissolving, the crimes that are uniformly worldwide. I'd argue that we need to make analysis based on clear cut theories and I would disagree entirely with Andile.