

**UWC Fees Will Fall Movement Intelligence Report Part 1.  
Free Education Now or Never!**

**Released on South Africa's Human Rights Day, 21<sup>st</sup>  
March 2016**

"Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it" – Frantz Fanon

## **Introduction**

Student protests for free education are no different from service delivery protests that characterises South Africa's failing state. Free Education is a promise that must be kept, just like free housing, and the return of the land. These are the promises of the ANC that must be kept. A promise is a promise. Students want Free Education as promised by the ANC. People living in shacks want free housing as promised by the ANC. People want land as promised by the ANC. 21 years of democracy should have been enough for the ANC to fulfill these promises. There will be relentless protest action, until all these promises are met; it is inevitable, and evident before our eyes, that these protests will never end until all these promises have been met.

This report is an attempt to document the 2015/16-student rebellion as it unfolded at the University of Western Cape. It is not a mainstream research report, or commentary, nor a journalistic account of what happened on each day of the students' protest but more of a high-level intelligence report of the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement. The report tells the story from the students' perspective and glorifies the national Fees Must Fall students' movement as a timely effort in the history of our democracy, against the backdrop of political contradictions such as corruption that has evidently swayed the attention of former liberation fighters from self-sell service to the people, to self-interests, and luxurious living against the backdrop of appalling poverty levels amongst the majority of black communities in many parts of the country.

This report is a gentle reminder to the ANC government of the power of young people to make progressive change. It is a gentle reminder that "the future belongs to us" (Mzwakhu Mbuli, 1986, *The Day Shall Dawn*). After reading this report, the ANC government of looters should cease to take for granted the intellect of the Fees Must Fall Movement. Furthermore, this report is a firm statement to erstwhile politicians such as Dr Blade Nzimande, that as young people of this country, we can no longer breathe under the leadership of current politicians who care less about the futures of younger generations, but themselves, cronies, and families. We will forever remain disgusted by wasteful expenditures of our politicians and government officials best manifested in the Zuma administration of looters, sycophants and mafias in bed with the ANC. The looting of state coffers by sycophants is completely unacceptable given the poverty levels in our country. As students we argue that there is enough taxpayers money to fund Free Education. Right wing economists know this very well, but will never admit that Free Education is possible because they stand to benefit from the capitalist system that continues to fail our black communities, the poorest of the poor in townships of the Cape Flats, rural communities, rural towns, urban slums, and former homelands throughout the country. The fact is, our current government is failing to use the state in benefit of the people; instead the state has turned against its own people, through institutionalized violence, especially directed to those who take it to the street in protest for better service delivery. Free Education is service delivery, as this report will show.

This report is divided into 8 chapters as follows:

Chapter 1: *“Narrow conceptions of violence: student rebellion lenses”* challenges narrow conceptions of violence in the context of emancipatory politics, which strongly condemns ongoing police brutality in South Africa, against the backdrop of human rights enshrined in the constitution of the Republic of South Africa. This chapter shows some images of institutionalized violence which is manifested in police brutality – some of the pictures are extremely gruesome, and have been excluded from this report for ethical reasons, but available on request, and consent of the victims of police brutality.

Chapter 2: *“Criminalization of student protest action”* connects the struggles of students to popular dissent in the country at large such as the infamous Marikana mineworker strike action for example, and municipal service delivery protests, including the killing of Andries Tatane by the state police in 2011. Andries Tatane will forever be our hero because he openly challenged the government of the ANC, and paid the high price for it, death.

Chapter 3: *“Politics of victimization, humiliation and paranoia”*, draws the attention of the reader to what seems like authoritarian practices of the South African state in its attempts to dampen popular dissent by targeting key individuals (or so-called ring leaders) or those who appear as key allies to protestors in general, and student protestors in particular.

Chapter 4: *“Eviction of students from on-campus residences: The politics of racialised geographies”* is an attempt to lay bare the racial underpinnings of the eviction of students from UWC residence in November – December 2015. This chapter takes the reader through some history of racialised socio-spatial engineering of the past racist regimes, and how such narrow thinking has been a painful residue or hangover inherited from apartheid, and how it shaped conceptions against the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement.

Chapter 5: *“SASCO, ANC & Politics of independence in the (black) student movement”* is an attempt to lay bare the political contradictions of SASCO, and how that student movement has been co-opted by the ANC. We argue that there is no SASCO, but the ANC, and we explain why we strongly believe so.

Chapter 6: *“Militarisation of UWC by state and private security forces”* uses UWC as a lens to raise questions about the nature of our state, and the nature of our democracy in the age of surveillance of activists by our paranoid state.

Chapter 7: *“The politics of containment: Anti-student rebellion negotiations”*, takes the reader through the negotiation processes that occurred between UWC Fees Will Fall Movement and UWC Management from November – December 2015. In a nutshell, this chapter argues that such negotiations were merely attempts of containment of the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement by UWC Management.

Chapter 8: *Workers’ struggle against outsourcing at UWC: “The beginning of the end”*, takes the reader through the efforts of UWC workers’ struggle for the end of outsourcing, which coincided with the 2015/16 student rebellion in that university. This chapter explains how these efforts reached a deadlock when it

became apparent that there are strong allegations of (undeclared) self-interest, and collusion (if not corruption) between some members of UWC management and the outsourced companies at UWC. Chapter 8 concludes with a proposal for investigative journalism to probe into these allegations of undeclared conflict of interests and collusion between some UWC personnel in the upper echelons of the university, and outsourced companies which have “shareholding” links implicating some of the most influential political leaders of the ANC, such as Cyril Ramaphosa. Chapter 8 makes it vividly clear that the dynamics that unfolded at the Marikana massacre were invoked at UWC, in terms of very similar political contradictions that are laid bare by this chapter in particular.

## Chapter 1 Narrow conceptions of violence: student rebellion lenses

In reporting on the 2015/6 student protests at the University of the Western Cape, the media appeared to have had a moralistic and sensationalizing approach in condemning the 'violent' nature of student protests. Against this backdrop, this chapter focuses on narrow conceptions of violence. In their reporting, mainstream media repeatedly justified police brutality. Statements such as: "the police had to use rubber bullets, water cannons to disperse protesting students" were commonplace. Such statements implicitly antagonized, demonized, and condemned protest action. These statements are part of a larger narrative; the language of authorities of various sorts, and ordinary people, mainly in the upper echelons of society. In other words, it is mainly the upper middle class, and the rich who condemn any form of protest action by the poor, and lower middle classes of society.

In the context of the UWC 2015/16 student rebellion, those who stood up and condemned student protest action on moral grounds were mainly UWC management, Student Representative Council (SRC) members, conservative members of academic staff, some alumni, and some administrative or support staff. Let us pause, to consider that most of the above aren't members of the lower middle classes, or the poor for that matter. In other words, it is the nature of a class-based society for different classes to be *detached* from the everyday lives of the other, which makes it quite difficult, for example, for the upper classes of society to sympathise with the poor, who often take it to the streets, burning tires, breaking windows of particular buildings such as municipal offices and university buildings.



UWC student activist dragged by private security at UWC, October 2015

Some commentators have publicly portrayed such *simple* condemnation of protest action as the criminalization of the poor, of protest action, and demonization of protest action in general. The latter is the subject of the next chapter. In further commenting on narrow conceptions of 'violence', let us draw from a short think piece authored by one of the researchers of the UWC Fees Must Fall movement. May the reader take note of the importance of the emancipatory notion of 'police brutality' in the short think piece inserted below for analytical purposes.

### **UWC Fees Will Fall Movement Reflections on Police Brutality**

"The struggle is protracted. But there are certain moments in history where a day is like a decade and if we don't measure up we miss the historic moment" (Joe Slovo).

South Africa has a very long history of institutionalized violence (over 500 years) embedded in institutions such as the state police, and of course resistance to institutionalized violence, which often take violent forms as people engage in the politics of resistance using 'weapons of the weak' such as burning tyres, barricading roads, and disruptions of various sorts – that is the nature of protest action or rebellions of various sorts. Protest action, no matter how violent or non-violent, is disruptive in nature by virtue of challenging dominant views or the status quo.

On a radio interview (Radio Islam, Cape Town) regarding 'violent' student protests (30/10/15), I had to articulate that in society, even though we condemn the 'violent' nature of protest action, we should equally question police brutality. We should also compare the degree of violence between burning tyres, breaking windows or destroying property on the part of protestors against police brutality which takes the form of stun grenades, rubber bullets, arrests, assault etc., as police respond to protest action. My question is: *Why are we not strongly condemning police brutality in the same manner as we condemn the burning of tyres or breaking windows by protestors?*

In a poem written in response to police brutality in 1986, renowned South African poet Mzwakhe Mbuli articulates that "institutionalized violence is silent holocaust by design" (Mzwakhe Mbuli, *The Day Shall Dawn*, 1986). On that note, and in the context of UWC, and other universities, it is important to acknowledge that student protests are deeply responding to the untransformed institutional violence embedded in violent exclusionary policies of their universities and government at large. Within universities, such violent policies are manifested in different ways including academic or financial exclusion, and expulsion of students for challenging the status quo to name a few.

Some commentators on the Fees Must Fall Movement have observed that protesting students from historically black universities such as UWC, Fort Hare and Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) have faced much more

severe police brutality amidst protest action compared to historically white universities such as Stellenbosch University for example.



UWC, 15/10/15



UWC, 11/11/15  
Rubber Bullet Injury,

Much the same can be said about a march embarked upon by the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement to Cape Town International airport on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 2015. In that march UWC students faced rubber bullets, stun grenades, water cannons, tear gas, and fled into the nearby Bishop Lavis community to seek refuge. It is important to note that the UWC SASCO-led SRC was not present in that march following a political instruction they received from the ANC, their mother body. Later in that evening, some prominent ANC-YL members boasted about the 'incapacitation' of members of UWC Fees Will Fall Movement by the police. Such statements were telling about the underlying politics of police brutality on protesting students who are basically perceived as anti-ANC. It was (and still is) unsurprising to painfully watch SASCO celebrate the 'incapacitation' of FMF Movement through ongoing police brutality. Above are some pictures of UWC students injured by police amidst protest action..

The ANC appears extremely challenged by the FMF Movement, and it seems, by responding with violence. The ANC is trying to defend itself from swelling youth discontent, especially with regards to unmet promises of the liberation struggle such as free education. Responding with violence and military operations will not help the ANC in any way besides provoking the youth to retaliate in self-defense as we have seen happening more recently, and that will not take us anywhere, beyond dead corpses. The ANC-led government can implement the Free Education policy in 2016 given the resources at disposal.



UWC's "Extra Man Power" Private Paramilitary Forces, November 2015



Police Brutality, UWC, Published by Cape Argus, Nov 2015



SAPS Stun grenade after explosion, UWC, Nov 2015





UWC's "Extra Man Power" Private Paramilitary Forces 22/02/2016



Are universities 'gun-free zones'? Or not?, UWC, 22/02/2016



UWC's "Extra Man Power" Private Paramilitary Forces Ready for Combat 22/02/2016



UWC Lawyer & SAPS Colonel, UWC, 23/02/16



Private security retreat to 'on campus' camp after assaulting students, UWC, 16/03/16

Nonetheless, in as much as we can question police brutality, we should also think about the “masculine” nature of the police force, the masculinity that goes back to the training camp, as we know that non-performing trainee police officers are generally called ‘*sissies*’ (Afrikaans for little girls) in a degrading manner. The police service needs to be changed in such a way that it is freed from its colonial and patriarchal hangovers—related to its attitude towards blacks in particular. As we know, the state police have historically been used to defend racialised capitalism from popular anger for over a century in South Africa.

The police service can probably benefit from the intervention of feminist scholars, psychologists, and political analysts in particular so that it can serve the needs of a post-colonial society in a just manner, without violence. Such intervention is perhaps most needed in the training camp. On the other hand police unions could perhaps have some role to play in this regard, or be trained as well by feminists for example.

At the time of writing, police brutality was ongoing at UWC. For example on 16<sup>th</sup> March UWC Fees Will Fall Facebook page published the following statement:

One of the outsourced workers was shot with a rubber bullet by trigger-happy private security on her neck this morning, UWC.

The "extra man power" paramilitants are denying this but as students we take the side of the victim.

We need no further proof that these paramilitants should get out of UWC because they have no respect for human rights. Their continued presence on our campuses is a violation of our freedom of movement, freedom of expression, and freedom of association. Black bodies are no punching bags nor targets for trigger happy paramilitia.

The lady who was shot by a rubber bullet this morning has just seen a doctor & will formally open a case of assault at Bellville South Police Station.

We call upon all students, academics, & human rights defenders to unite against the deployment of paramilitants on our campuses<sup>1</sup>.

Furthermore, in the evening of the same day, 16<sup>th</sup> March 2016, UWC's "extra man power" private security assaulted, tortured and detained 4 UWC students. UWC Fees Will Fall movement published these events on its Facebook page, including video footage showing UWC's private security assaulting and torturing UWC students. The following is a statement published on the same Facebook page on the 18<sup>th</sup> March 2016<sup>2</sup>, after the 4 students appeared in the Bellville Magistrate court, and released on bail (R3000 each student), after spending 2 nights in prison:

Thanks to all our supporters who donated into our account today. We received more than R8000 in a matter of hours. Our students are out on bail. Thanks for all the support. We're all happy. We're sure that the parents of our students feel the same way!

We reiterate that the students are innocent, they attacked no one, in fact it was UWC's private security that assaulted, tortured and arrested our students for no reason - we have evidence of this and we have laid charges.

We demand the immediate withdrawal of paramilitary forces from ALL our campuses, so that peace prevails. We further note that these paramilitants on our campuses are former soldiers and mercenaries

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<sup>1</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=1060119514011326&id=985851094771502&ref=notif&notif\\_t=like](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1060119514011326&id=985851094771502&ref=notif&notif_t=like)

<sup>2</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=1061617207194890&id=985851094771502&notif\\_t=like](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1061617207194890&id=985851094771502&notif_t=like)

<sup>3</sup> Article in the City Press, January 31 2016 entitled "ANCYL leader: '#FeesMustFall is treason'"  
<http://city-press.news24.com/News/ancyl-leader-feesmustfall-is-treason->

<sup>2</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=1061617207194890&id=985851094771502&notif\\_t=like](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1061617207194890&id=985851094771502&notif_t=like)

who have no knowledge about human rights. Two days ago one of these paramilitants carelessly shot at one of the outsourced cleaning staff for no reason on her neck. The lady is in pain till this day, yet UWC denies such human rights violations by its paramilitary forces camping on our campus. No one will silence us. We will continue to expose all forms of evil, without fear! A luta continua

The above are some of the incidences that question the nature of democracy in South Africa, against the backdrop of ongoing police brutality orchestrated by a very violent state inherited from the apartheid era. The next chapter analyses these political intricacies in some detail.

## Chapter 2 Criminalization of student protest action

The criminalization of student protest action cannot be analysed in isolation, without paying attention to the broader trend of service delivery protest action in many parts of the country. Of particular importance is the response of the state to service delivery protests and the current student revolt.

South Africa is rich with cases where political leaders of service delivery protests have been tortured by the police. One infamous example is the death of Andries Tatane in the hands of the police in Ficksburg, Free State province of South Africa. Such torture or police brutality appears to be informed by high levels of insecurity and paranoia on the part of the police and their instructors. The response of state police with rubber bullets, tear gas, stun grenades, water cannons to protestors seems to be the 'order' of the day, as the state responds to maintain 'law and order', so that business continues as usual against protest action, often without taking the protestors very seriously in terms of attending to their concerns.

Perhaps this level of paranoia on the part of the state is best manifested by the charges of 'high treason' issued against student protestors who protested outside parliament on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2015, demanding free education. These charges were later withdrawn by the state, but they still reveal the high level of paranoia and political insecurity on the part of the state. By virtue of laying charges of high treason against protesting students, the state appeared paranoid in such a way that we were led to believe that the state is of the view that some organized groups of people are planning, or have planned to overthrow the government. This is where the notion of 'third force', or apparently a 'dark force' as the ANC-YL calls it, comes in<sup>3</sup>.

Such invocations of a 'third force' by politicians and government officials appears part and parcel of the paranoia and insecurity referred to above, but more specifically this 'dark force' refers to the belief that external or foreign forces come into the country to destabilize the 'political order' of a country for geo-political gains. This can refer to the overthrowing of a ruling political party by local opposition forces aided by external force, the 'third force', that provide various forms of resources to opposition forces. Take, for example, how Zimbabwean President Gabriel<sup>4</sup> Mugabe viewed the Movement for Democratic

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<sup>3</sup> Article in the City Press, January 31 2016 entitled "ANCYL leader: '#FeesMustFall is treason'"

<http://city-press.news24.com/News/ancyl-leader-feesmustfall-is-treason-20160131>

For an example on the conjuring up of the notion of the notion of "dark force" see Article in the Times Live, January 25 2016 entitled '*Dark force' sabotaging universities, says Nehawu*

<http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2016/01/25/Dark-force-sabotaging-universities,-says-Nehawu>

<sup>4</sup> The name Gabriel is invoked here in a humorous way for its spiritual meaning: "Angel" in the Christian Bible, and used here quite sarcastically in an emancipatory manner in solidarity with Zimbabweans living in exile specifically

Change (MDC) as externally funded, and a puppet of the West. In South Africa, we're witnessing similar dynamics in the manner in which student protestors are viewed, and responded to, by the state<sup>5</sup>.

Furthermore, take for example white student protestors who were assaulted by the SAPS outside parliament on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2015. Under normal circumstances in South Africa, the SAPS does not act in the same manner to white protestors as they respond to black protestors. This is undoubtedly the reason why some white UCT students and progressive white academics formed a human shield and protected protesting black students outside parliament on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2015<sup>6</sup>.

Having that said, it seems that the white human shield was not enough to stop police from assaulting white students; something rather taboo to white supremacy. White students were also charged with 'high treason' on that day, possibly because of police and state paranoia surrounding the notion of a third force. This recalls an old video clip of Julius Malema, then the flamboyant leader of the ANC-YL, in which he calls a foreign white journalist a 'bloody agent.'

At the time of writing, it had only been the ruling party (ANC) or at least its members or comrades that had publicly referred to protesting students as 'influenced', 'guided', or 'mis-guided' by the 'third force'. For the purposes of analysis, *not humiliation*, let us name a few ANC affiliates who have publicly pronounced on the 'third force' in antagonizing terms: Blade Nzimande; Jeremy Cronin; Mthunzi Mdwaba, Collen Maine. Jeremy Cronin and Mthunzi Mdwaba have both pronounced specifically about a 'third force' at work at the University of Western Cape. The Fees Must Fall movement at UWC suspects that such reasoning has something to do with the closing or freezing of the UWC Fees Will Fall movement's bank account<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall at UCT expressed similar worries related to the freezing of their bank accounts as well.

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as a result of state police suppression, and state violence directed specifically to Morgan Tsvangarai who was living in South Africa at the time of writing this report, and of course, other Zimbabweans living in exile.

<sup>5</sup> See the following link regarding the invocations of the "third force" in Zimbabwe <http://theconversation.com/five-lessons-from-zimbabwes-game-changing-student-protests-50141>

<sup>6</sup> Article in The Citizen, October 20 2016 entitled 'UCT protestors call for 'white human shield' <http://citizen.co.za/827670/uct-protesters-call-for-white-human-shield/>

<sup>7</sup> The petty reason behind the closing of the UWC Fees Will Fall bank account – apparently, i.e. according to Standard Bank, the account was frozen because UWC complained about having the name "UWC" on the account's name!

### Chapter 3 Politics of victimization, humiliation and paranoia

Throughout the 2015/2016 student rebellion, we have seen conservative and reactionary university administrations use court interdicts, police brutality, arrests and other forms of victimization and humiliation against students, workers, and their allies, within and outside universities. Let us use the UWC case for its illuminating dynamics in terms of the theme of *victimization* discussed in this chapter. However, some of the contours of the discussion have been outlined in the preceding chapter, so there is no need for repetition here.

Let us begin with the banning of Pastor Xola Skosana from UWC. Pastor Skosana was banned from entering UWC on allegations that he was an instigator and ringleader of the student protests. Soon after that, on 14<sup>th</sup> November 2015 Skosana was fired or dismissed as Chaplain at the Air Force. A concerned group named Friends of Pastor Skosana published the following statement on social media after Skosana's dismissal:

Pastor Xola Skosana silenced

2015-11-26 06:00

Spiritual leaders have always been a constant feature in trying times.

During Apartheid, it was such leaders that became moral anchors to young people.

During the recent wave youth resistance re: #RhodesMustFall and the still raging #FeesMustFall movements, the students have found solace in Pastor Xola Skosana as their moral compass and spiritual beacon during their hour of need.

His position and purpose is made precarious by sinister powers who are out to thwart and demonise the student resistance.

It can be confirmed that Pastor Xola Skosana has been suspended, without pay, from his job as chaplain at the Air Force and has also been banned from the University of the Western Cape where he was commissioned as mediator by the Western Cape Religious Leaders Forum with the support of its patron, Archbishop Thabo Makgoba.

On both occasions there has been no written correspondence to Pastor Skosana stipulating the grounds on which such drastic measures were taken.

Like some of the spiritual leaders of the mid 80s who dared to speak truth to power, Pastor Skosana finds himself under the scrutinizing eye that paints him as the instigator of violence and anarchy, accusations aimed at giving credence to some 'third party' conspiracy.

A leaked email doing the rounds on Facebook speaks to the smear campaign against him and against students rising up against fees and the oppressive nature of them to their academic progress.

Credit for these historic student protests that are taking place at UWC, and across the country, is due to the courageous and selfless students of the #UWCFeesWillFall, #EndOfOutsourcing and #FeesMustFall movement.

Theirs is a just and noble cause; the struggle for free quality education and the end of outsourcing.

The role of Pastor Skosana has been to give spiritual sanction and moral support to the worthy struggle for equal access to opportunities and the end of exploitative labour conditions.

These restrictions against Pastor Xola Skosana are not only a violation of his constitutional rights and an unsubstantiated defamation to his character but seek to undermine the efforts of young people calling for their emancipation in a similar vein between the apartheid South Africa of the 80s and the Youth of the day.

It comes as a psychological blow to the youth in a country where education is at a high premium and is not accessible by all at tertiary level and rates of literacy leaves the country still talking of scarce skills 21 years into a new dispensation.

The restriction of Pastor Skosana undermines the Black Struggle for emancipation in a similar way that undermines Blackness throughout the globe.

Places like West Papua are in a perpetual state of Apartheid and the youth speaking out against academic Apartheid are met with violence and incarceration.

We, the friends of Pastor Xola Skosana will not stand and watch while state institutions are used to silence and victimize our progressive leaders. We call upon all truth, peace and justice loving South Africans and people of the world to join in this call #HandsOffXolaSkosana. That the right of freedom of expression and freedom of movement be respected in adherence to our constitution.

(Nkosivumile Gola Friends of Pastor Skosana via email)

Xola Skosana's banning from UWC and his subsequent dismissal from the Air Force followed after he was accused of being at the centre of student protests at UWC. Such accusation came from prominent ANC members in the Western Cape



of South Africa—and UWC SASCO SRC in particular—that went as far as publishing a statement on their Facebook page, which reads as follows:

Campus has also seen the emergence of a theological parasite, an ecclesiastic conman and a spiritual opportunist in the form of a pseudo-Pastor, Xola Skosana “an unscrupulous Monk-Rasputin” who abuses and vulgarises the word of God by preaching sermons in a manner that fuels the violence and instability on campus. SASCO condemns this clerical dwarf and we call upon genuine Pastors to intervene not individuals who want to rise to stardom by deliberately misinterpreting the Bible<sup>8</sup>.

Furthermore on Xola Skosana’s humiliation and victimization, the following statement (believed to have originated from the “ANC Chatroom”) was leaked on social media, and also published by Xola Skosana himself on his Facebook wall on 18<sup>th</sup> November 2015, a day before the above quoted statement was released by UWC SRC:

CONVERSATION ON THE ANC CHAT ROOM WHICH INCLUDES SENIOR  
MINISTERS-UNBELIEVABLE

The main instigator of anarchy of UWC is some Pastor Xola Skhosana who is a Chaplain in the Reserve Force section/unit of Defence & Milvets dept.

This fellow is AZAPO to start with and seems very angry towards govt hence agitating through all these student movements who are anti-PYA & anti-ANC.

He has been consistently visiting UWC for some time now and yesterday he went to meet these hooligans driving a state vehicle.

After the ring leaders of these hooligans got arrested last night and appeared in court today, he hired lawyers and paid bail for all of them.

Kumnandi.

Vetting Vetting Vetting!!

He just paid 15K for bail

For what is worth Mdepa the Rev consistently comes to campus to meet with your Rector. That might be the challenge of whatever u are working on.

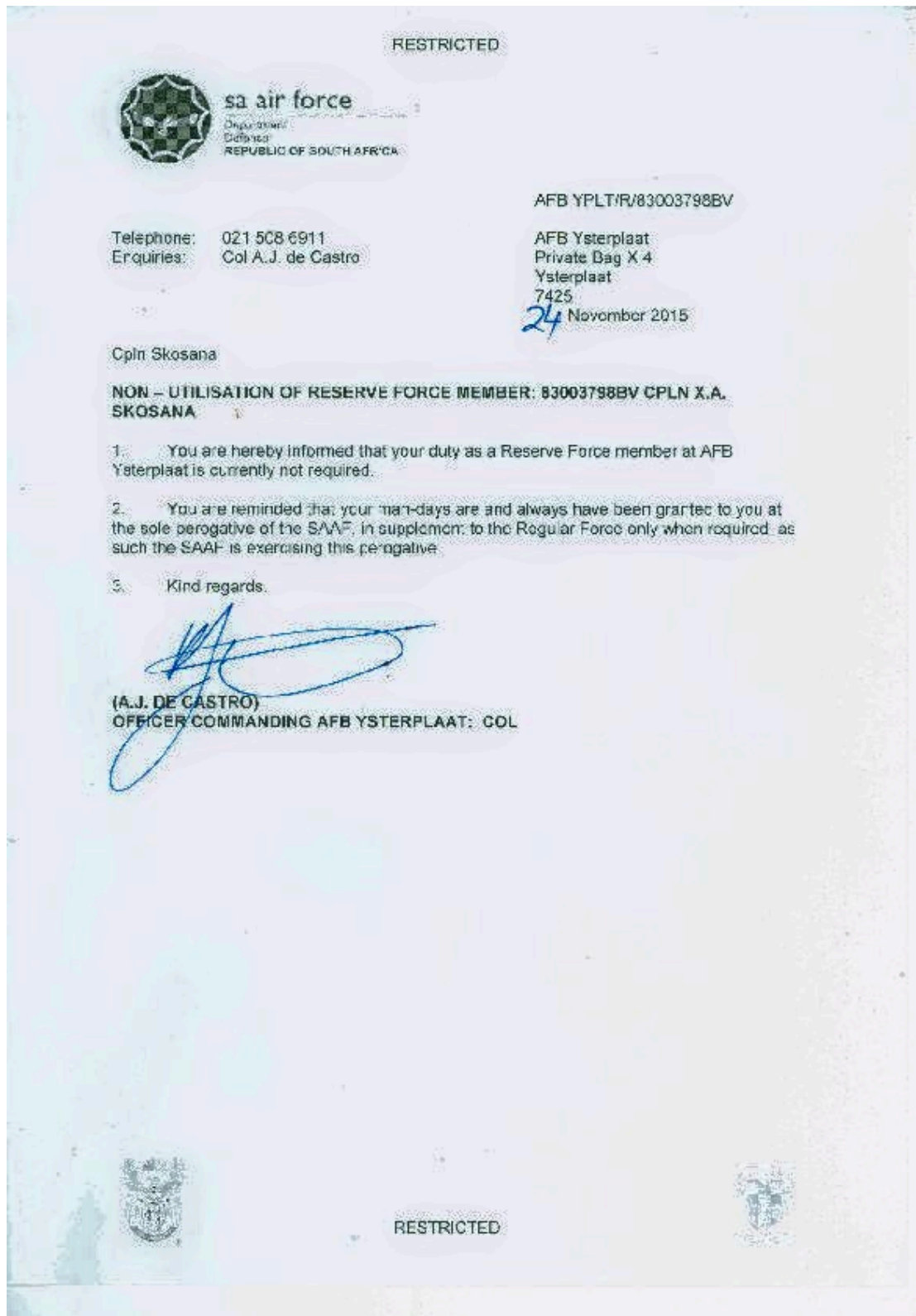
That's actually the reason why pretorius has been entertaining those boys He is AZAPO. How did he get to be in the Defence unit of the Republic

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<sup>8</sup>SASCO UWC statement 19 November 2015

[https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=832974963481883&id=439158142863569](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=832974963481883&id=439158142863569)

It was, therefore, perhaps not surprising that Xola Skosana was banned from UWC and fired/dismissed from the South African Air Force. Below is his letter of dismissal, published by Xola Skosana himself on his Facebook wall.



Xola Skosana published the above letter of his dismissal to keep his followers informed about his humiliation for being outspoken about the things that matter. Below is a statement he issued on 14<sup>th</sup> November 2015 against police brutality at UWC. May the reader note that the following statement was issued prior to his dismissal from the South African Air Force i.e. exactly 10 days before his dismissal from the Air Force.

#### 48 HOURS OF HELL ON EARTH-THE UWC STORY by Pastor Xola Skosana

Tuesday morning we woke up to a somber mood at UWC, created by a reckless email from the chairperson of the council, a Mr Mthunzi, rubbishing everything that the students had negotiated for since the beginning of the student's national call for free education and the end to outsourcing. When the email came the previous night, it set the stage for an irrevocable tidal wave of protest which was likely to be violent.

At the rector's office that night, I pleaded, "I am afraid, if something is not done to assure the students that the reckless email sent by the chairperson of the council will not deter the ongoing negotiation process, we might wake up to a regrettable day. The students have been pushed between the rock and the hard place, their back is against the wall, this email has thrown the negotiation process off the rails and angered the students. Can I meet with them and put you on speaker phone so you can assure them that as far as the rector is concerned, the process is on and the agreements reached so far, the R1000 allowance for the workers, the extension of the shuttle services to far flung crime ridden areas, and a whole list of items creating a conducive environment for students to succeed in their studies, the rector stands by them?"

Well, what followed the next 48 hours speaks to an inability of management at UWC to provide leadership during conflict. UWC erupted into violence that left 16 students languishing in police cells. The day began with the arrest of five students who are alleged to have assaulted a security. Students gathered together with the workers at the student centre demanding the immediate release of the five. The head of legal services agreed to assist with this immediate release. Something critical happened at this moment, surrounded by angry students and workers, in a heated exchange of words, a Mr Raji, the head of the legal services at UWC, a close ally and advisor to the rector, said the letter committing the university to paying an extra R1000 to the workers was available. The students asked him to bring the letter. When he left for his office, some of the leaders of the FMF accompanied him only to be turned at the door outside the building. This sparked what was already a volatile situation. When I heard what happened. When I was informed of this, I immediately called Mr Raji. He opened the door to what seems like Hitler's bunker these days, and led me into his office. I was accompanied by one of the leaders of FWF.

Little did I know that news had travelled into the student centre that Mr Raji refused entry to their leadership and would not bring the letter he promised. For some strange reason, Mr Raji could not produce the letter, either it was being typed in another office or some other lame excuse. At this moment we agreed that the student leader would wait for the letter and that Mr Raji and I would attend to the release of the students at Belville South police station. It was too late, the anger of the students had reached boiling point, and as we came out of his office, UWC was a war zone, with police chasing after the students and students breaking every window they could lay their hands on.

We walked back to the student centre surrounded by very angry students carrying bricks, stones, sticks and every thing they could use as a weapon. Mr Raji has no clue how close he himself was from being stoned to death by the students. He does not know that at that moment an object directed at him, landed on my back. I did not want to panic or even look behind me to the students who wear using every Greek curse word and calling him names. I whispered at him, "don't say a word, let the leadership of the students do the talking"

Emotions were very high. We were allowed by the students to leave and for the police station on the premise that we are bringing back the five arrested students. Mr Raji must thank whoever his God is that he walked out of the student centre alive. We left for the police station and news kept coming that the exams were interrupted and the university was burning, an exaggerated language that people use in those circumstances understandably.

Because I am a chaplain, I was allowed to see the five students and got to talk to these young people who have never seen the inside of a cell in their lives other than what they know from television. There was very little we could do to help the release of the students early, they were being processed and had already been seen by advocate Ngculu. The students could not hold their emotions, they appreciated the visit and were encouraged to hear that the student movement was calling for their immediate release. Little did we know that before the end of that day, more arrest would be effected. It was now all in the hands of the student's legal team.

Mr Raji and I drove back to UWC and there was not a student in sight. He then drove us around the different departments, feeling sad and surprised by the amount of damage that had taken place in such a short time. After he dropped me I ran to the residence where a stand-off between a heavily armed police unit under the command a gentleman who must be very close to retirement, backed by five to six security companies on the one side and determined stone throwing students on the other side. Some student shouted and alerted me to a student leader who was arrested, hand cuffed and was being used as a human shield by the police to block the stones the students were throwing at the police. There was an outcry

by all the spectators when this happened. The colonel in charge was visibly shaken by the fortitude of the students.

After much persuasion the colonel allowed me to meet the students. The police retreated and a catastrophe was averted. After a brief session with the students I then rushed two casualties to Tygerberg hospital and that is when I heard that a third wave of violence had broken out which led to the arrest of the sixteen students. By now it had been almost 12 hours of absolute terror at UWC and the management and the SRC were nowhere to be seen.

The student that was being used as a human shield by the police disappeared with the police for over three hours with his parents frantically looking for him only to show up in one of the police stations much later. What started out in the morning as a case of assault had escalated to damage of property and vandalism. Forces on both sides went to work to bolster their efforts, those who wanted to crush the students and those who did not want the students to spend a night in jail. Progressive forces lost and the students spent the night in jail only to appear in court in the morning.

After hours of waiting by the rest of the students, parents and sympathizers, an announcement was made that each student would need R3000 bail. In less than two hours parents, students, NGO's and the religious sector had successfully raised almost R50 000. A press conference was held just before the release of the students and parents expressed themselves, students gave their side of the story and the religious sector gave support. The responsibility of what transpired at UWC in 48 hours was laid squarely at the feet of the police, the rector, the chairperson of the council and the SRC. They found themselves on the wrong side of history.

## REDEFINING VIOLENCE

A metaphor that can be used in depicting Black Pain is one of a "House On Fire". If a house is on fire, can you falter people who are trying to escape with their lives for breaking down windows to escape the choking smoke, run away from the approaching flames. Anyone who does not understand the debilitating state of Blackness in Black society will not understand the desperate measures Black People resort to when they feel no one is listening. Before you pass judgement to the students, think about this:

INSURANCE COMPANIES WILL FIX BROKEN WINDOWS OF INSTITUTIONS BUT WHO WILL FIX BLACK LIVES THAT ARE SYSTEMATICALLY BROKEN BY VIOLENT POLICIES WHICH DENY THE POOR THEIR RIGHT TO EDUCATION?

In response to Xola Skosana's dismissal from the South African Air Force, and his humiliation in social media by conservative forces that demonized his role in the

Fees Must Fall movement, AZAPO issued the following press statement in his support:

AZAPO

November 21, 2015 ·

AZAPO strongly condemns the harassment of Pastor Xola Skosana, @pastorxola, of the Way of Life Church by the senior leadership of the ruling party as evidenced by their leaked chatroom conspiracies. The whole saga would have been easy to ignore if the conspirators did not include powerful Cabinet Ministers and NEC members.

The conspiracy content reveals that Pastor Skosana is accused of being, among other things, an "instigator" behind the #FeesMustFall struggles of the students in the Western Cape. As if Pastor Skosana does not have the fundamental rights of freedoms of association and expression as contained in the Bill of Rights, the conspirators wonder how they have allowed him to work with the students when he "is a Chaplain in the Reserve Force section" of the Department of Defence and Military Veterans.

Consistent with the ruling party's "Cadre Deployment" policy, the conspirators blame the weakness of their "vetting" processes for employing in a government Department a person they claim is "a member of AZAPO". But who said only ANC members are eligible to be employed in state departments? This authoritarian tendency is informed by deliberate machinations by the ruling party to at best conflate party and state, or at worst substitute the state with the party. A recent outrageous statement by President Jacob that "the ANC comes before the country" is indicative of the extent to which authoritarianism has taken root in the body politic of South Africa. Terms by ruling party politicians that refer to the South Africa government as "ANC government" instead of an ANC-led government can no longer be laughed as ignorance of how politics function.

This authoritarianism is the one that compels the authorities that be to abuse the intelligence services to find the hand of a "third party" every time the struggling masses exercise their constitutional rights of engaging in protest actions against corruption and abuse of state power. It is this dictatorial tendency that has occasioned the Marikana Massacre and the coldblooded murders of Andries Tatane and Mido Macia by the state agencies.

AZAPO calls on the state and its agents to take their strangling hands off the neck of Pastor Skosana. South Africa does not want to see another Tatane and Macia. We will do well to remember that Pastor Skosana's Lord was crucified by those that were paranoid on hearing of the God's Kingdom that was destined to replace their evil kingdom. There is no need for Pastor Skosana to suffer the same fate.

Furthermore on the victimization and humiliation of students and their supporters and/or allies, let us now consider similar events at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, right next door to UWC for its illuminative dynamics. Of course, these trends of humiliation have been evident elsewhere in the country, but for the purposes of analysis, and time, let us limit the discussion to UWC and CPUT.

In the midst of the 2015 student rebellion at UWC, two UWC Council members were suspended on 24<sup>th</sup> November 2015 by the UWC Council for being '*implicated*' in the student rebellion<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, at the neighbouring CPUT, an academic staff member was suspended for being implicated in the student rebellion at CPUT<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, in late December 2015 we learned that another CPUT academic was to face disciplinary action for his alleged role in supporting the Fees Must Fall movement at CPUT. However, it is important to note that at UWC, even though no academic staff member was suspended in that university, some academic staff of UWC felt threatened to speak their minds regarding student protests; those who spoke out in staff meetings and signed petitions trying to persuade university management to allow UWC FWF to sit on an emergency council meeting received a great deal of criticism from UWC management and the SRC, tentatively accusing them for being implicit in the student rebellion at UWC. Of course no academic staff had been suspended at the time of writing this report. However, the threat of victimization of academic staff is worrisome in terms of academic freedom, for both UWC, and CPUT, and any other university for that matter. Furthermore this raises problems around freedom of association. The latter invokes Prof. Archie Mafeje's experiences of victimization for his support of the liberation movements in Southern Africa in the 1960s, and how 600 students (1968) at UCT occupied a building (Bremner building) for nine days when UCT (under pressure from the apartheid government) rejected his appointment as academic staff in that university. The 600 students demanded "that the UCT Council reconsider its decision to withdraw Mafeje's appointment"<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> see News24 article authored by Amanda Khoza, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/uwc-suspends-to-2-council-members-20151126> accessed on 5th February 2016

<sup>10</sup> see IOL online newspaper article, authored by Yazeed Kamaldien <http://www.iol.co.za/news/academic-suspended-over-cput-protests-1952021> accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> February 2016

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.uct.ac.za/about/management/vc/installation/mafeje/>

## Chapter 4 Eviction of students from on-campus residences: The politics of racialised geographies

Before going any further on the eviction of students from university residences at UWC during the 2015 student revolt, it is important to first allude to the historical racialised spatial engineering inherited from apartheid. Let us first consider that UWC is spatially located in a former 'coloured' area, as defined by apartheid racist spatial reconfiguration. According to racialised spatial engineering, the University of Western Cape was more appropriate for the 'coloured' community of the Cape Flats, hence it has historically had 'coloured' students as the majority of its student populace. However, to be sure, there have been black students throughout the history of UWC, unlike some other former white universities where black students' intake is fairly recent.

Before going any further with this discussion, it is important to note that the separation of students as 'black' and 'coloured' is problematic for our analysis, if not vulgar. Such racial segregation is part of the race problem at UWC in particular. In trying to make sense of the race problem at UWC, or any university in South Africa for that matter, let us consider the following quote from Gillian Hart (2007:51) drawing from Stuart Hall and Frantz Fanon, in stating that:

.....there is no 'racism in general'. Instead, it needs to be shown how race comes to be inserted historically, and the relations and practices that have tended to erode and transform – or to preserve – these distinctions through time [and space], not simply as residues or holdovers, but as active structuring principles of the present organization of society and the forms of class relations (with emphasis)<sup>12</sup>.

*So what does the eviction of students from UWC residences have to do with race?*

In the above section we have evoked the history of racialised spatial engineering, and the location of UWC within that history. In a nutshell, we are trying to draw the attention of the reader to the roots of the problem of race at UWC. The legacy of racialised historical segregationist spatial engineering of South Africa is reflected in everyday language, in questions such as: 'Where do you come from?' It is no coincidence that blacks living in the Western Cape are often confronted with the "*Where do you come from?*" question.

According to racialised spatial engineering, the Western Cape 'belongs' to whites and coloureds<sup>13</sup>. Blacks living in the Western Cape are generally perceived to be

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<sup>12</sup> Hart, G (2007) Changing concepts of articulation, *Africanus*, 37(2): 46-65.

<sup>13</sup> This is highly problematic and contested in many ways, including the recent call by some coloured organized groups to be recognized as a "traditional authority", which culminated into the "Traditional and Khoisan Leadership Bill", which has been contested by some academics on the grounds that it will re-enforce the tribal divisions of the apartheid era. See IOL Article, October 2, 2015 <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/khoisan-bill-a-continuation-of-apartheid-1924469>.



originating from the Eastern Cape. Of course this is a myth, but there is some truth in it. This 'eastern cape origin' notion is also part of everyday language, in taxi ranks, townships, at UWC, CPUT etc. Helen Zille, former Mayor of Cape Town and former president of the Democratic Alliance, was quoted saying that the Western Cape has an influx of 'refugees from the Eastern Cape', during her term of office for the above mentioned political positions. Of course Helen Zille may have said so in a particular political moment for that political party she represented and spoke on behalf of. But embedded in her statement (perhaps unintentionally) is the legacy of the history of segregationist spatial engineering of South Africa. So there may be some truth in the "*eastern Cape origin*" myth i.e. as scholars we do (critically) accept that some people generally strongly believe in the "*eastern Cape origin*" myth, our role is to lay bare what that means, and to expose the dangers of such thinking in post-colonial South Africa. The so-called Eastern Cape origin myth is only true insofar as it is a direct outcome of apartheid spatial engineering. While these apartheid policies have disappeared, their logic remains. So black people are still seen as 'foreigners' in the Western Cape. In other words, these stark racial differences are an engraved reality in Cape Town and the Western Cape in particular, and elsewhere in South Africa for that matter.

There is some truth in that some 'coloured' students of the University of Western Cape, or elsewhere in the country for that matter, do not see themselves as blacks. But we would like to believe that the majority of the coloured student population do see themselves as black, especially in the context of the solidarity of the Black Consciousness Movement that united anti-apartheid forces. The history of UWC reflects such Black Conscious history, especially during the 1970s, and 1980s—during the times of Prof. Jakes Gerwel—the 'free political prisoners' slogan was in everyday language by both coloured and black students then.

The notion of "refugees from the Eastern Cape" can perhaps be only vulgar to such a history of political solidarity. Nonetheless, the notion of 'refugees from the Eastern Cape' is telling of the fact that there is a great degree of backwardness embedded in such statements. This problem of race proved extremely problematic in the unfolding of the 2015/16-student rebellion at UWC in particular, and to some extent at CPUT. At UWC the majority of coloured students didn't participate in the 2015/16 student rebellion. That was directly in contrast to the anti-apartheid student movement at UWC of the 1980s that composed both coloured and black students who were together, fighting the same struggle. Such unity, which was so evident in the 1980s, was clearly absent in the 2015/16 wave of student protest action.

However, it is important to note that there was some presence of UWC coloured students in the 2015 student revolt, but too small to notice. That is probably why the student protest action at UWC appeared dominated by black students. For the first time in the history of UWC these racial differences were vividly present—however we might debate the extent to which there was complete racial solidarity during the 1980s, given the history of deliberate racialised spatial segregation imposed by racist regimes. Such stark racial differences and

racial tensions at UWC during the 2015/16 student revolt were very worrisome to the leadership of UWC Fees Will Fall movement, and therefore raised as a matter of concern with concerned parents who were in support of the movement, and efforts of re-union, and reconciliation were underway at the time of writing this report<sup>14</sup>. Some of the concerned parents voluntarily gave testimonies of their experiences as students of UWC during the 1980s, and reflected on the unity between 'coloured' and 'black students' back then. We draw from an anecdote from one of the testimonies from a UWC Alumni who had this to say:

I was in high school in the early 80's and joined UWC in 1985. For me it started in 1976, when I was still in primary school and saw the riots at the high schools on my way home. I was always interested in what was happening around me and constantly asked questions. I promised myself that I should get involved and fight for "justice", whether I knew what that meant at the time or not? At high school the defining moment was when the police came and tried to arrest the chairperson of our SRC. As students, we formed a barricade around him and prevented it from happening. The other moment was the day of the UDF launch in Mitchell's Plain in 1983. Due to the banning of all other formations, one had hope that this structure would assist us towards freedom. At that point I didn't define freedom as yet and was more carried away by the courage and tenacity of the comrades that I met and how they spoke about "revolution" and the overthrowing of the apartheid state. It was only later after discussions and reading that I started to question the type of "freedom" or "revolution". At the time there was a common enemy, the apartheid state that one could use to rally people, not that everyone joined in, but I guess it made it a bit easier, no one wanted to be second class citizens. I joined UWC at the height of the riots in 85 and I hardly saw the inside of the class. It was natural for me to join in, as was just a transition from my activism at school to varsity. I guess this either happens naturally (justice factor) or from a class perspective, that one joins in struggle to make things better. I also joined the union movement as soon as I became employed and this further assisted to sharpen my understanding of the contradictions that exist within an imperialist/capitalist society. I had many interactions with comrades from both Pan-Africanist and BC [Black Consciousness] backgrounds and we had many discussions on different discourses. We need to approach this new wave of struggle in a manner where we have to

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<sup>14</sup> This includes an open invitation to Andile Mngxitama to unpack the theory of Black Consciousness at UWC in an attempt to address racial differences between the so-called "black & coloured" students of the same university. In fact, at the time of writing, Andile Mngxitama, had issued a statement on his Facebook wall, which reads as follows: *the agreement we have with the UWC (university of Western Cape) students is that I shall return to give two seminars: "1.How black are coloreds?"; "2.Parliament or Revolution?": both topics are informed by current developments in the broader struggle for liberation as informed by peculiarities of the local "experiences"* <https://www.facebook.com/andile.mngxi> Accessed on 6th March 2016.

take the time to explain and unpack the contradictions, the impacts and effects for the poor and marginalised in South Africa and globally. I have lots more to say, but it will take many days. As for the songs, I have managed to know most of the struggle songs sang way back and now being remixed by the youth. I am even bold to say I can sing some of them. Hope this gives you some insight. Maybe you should organise a session with students for us to share some of our stories (Anonymous UWC Alumni, 4<sup>th</sup> February 2016).

Furthermore on the unity between black and coloured students during the 1980s, we draw from another testimony given by a coloured activist, who was a student in the 1980s:

I was on my school SRC when the rebellion broke out on the Cape Flats against gutter education; we embarked on what was a 3-4 month school boycott; the numbers grew quickly, week to week; first we set up the committee of 51 schools, then 61 then 81 schools, which included UWC. The leaders from UWC included Jonathan de Vries, Victor Steyn, Ebrahim Patel among many others; we had all outgrown black consciousness at that time; we realised that the student could only play a supportive role in the struggle; we supported the red meat strike and the Wilson Rowntree strike; one of our songs at the time was The Wall by Pink Floyd; we ran awareness programmes at schools; being a lower order leader, as time went by, as the top leaders were arrested, some of us were forced to take up the leadership positions; I remember some weeks where we sat as students each night and then each morning we would give the principal the programme for the day; our days included movies, poetry, our own plays and reading writers of the African Writers Series like [Chinua] Achebe and Ngugi [Wa Thiongo]; we made lots of mistakes in those days but the revolt was like a celebration where we learnt more than we had ever done over our entire schooling.

These anecdotes are drawn here to strengthen the unity amongst black and coloured students towards common goals in the current political moment of South Africa's post-colonial context.

But the problem remains, and has manifested itself in various ways throughout the student rebellion, not only at UWC, but in South Africa at large. Nonetheless, we emphasise that unity amongst black and coloured students of UWC can be achieved by invocations of the student solidarity of the 1970s, and 1980s on the same campus, UWC. Furthermore critical understanding of questions of identity, and current struggles of communities in the Western Cape who identify with Khoisan identities should be promoted, and addressed by vigorous, and sober academic and political debate. The latter suggestion is against the backdrop that some of the said Western Cape coloured communities have reiterated that they feel left out or neglected in black identities of post-colonial South Africa. Perhaps critical understanding of these issues of racial identities can sharpen our understandings of "Black Pain", and how white supremacy divided and ruled over "other" populations or "people of colour" in many parts of the world,

pressing on, and manipulating racial differences for cultural hegemony, geo-political gains, and economic prosperity for colonialists and imperialists such as Cecil John Rhodes, and his followers in the context of the land that is known today as Southern Africa, on which is Zimbabwe (previously known as Southern Rhodesia) or Malawi (previously known as Northern Rhodesia). The lesson from the above paragraphs is that of unity amongst the historically oppressed people. The so-called blacks and coloureds have more in common based on their histories of racialised oppression in South Africa. To be sure, both coloured and black communities in South Africa today are the mostly affected by poverty, joblessness and hunger. They are the “damned” of the earth, as Frantz Fanon puts it.

At the peak of the 2015 student rebellion at UWC, a group of mainly ‘coloured’ alumni, parents, and some academics and support staff said “Enough is Enough”, and attempted to march on campus against the student protest which they morally deemed as violent. Of course, they were joined by the SRC, and some highly politically connected UWC support staff, and those ANC comrades who were bussed into campus from various ANC constituencies such as the ANC Women’ League, Progressive Youth Alliance, Young Communist League, and of course SASCO. It was a rented crowd, more than anything else. Nonetheless, we will spell out the political contradictions that emerged out of the above mentioned ‘Enough is Enough’ event. The first political contradiction was the presence of the coloured alumni, and some coloured and some white UWC staff, who were explicitly anti-student protest. Embedded in this march (although implicitly so) was the idea that the protest was fomented by black students who came from the Eastern Cape. Here we have the ‘Eastern Cape Origin myth’ raising its nasty head once again. It is painful to note that this myth is applied to black students of UWC as well, even though we know very well that such a myth does not hold water against known statistical facts about the current diversity of UWC students.

So, the Eastern Cape origin myth, as applied to black students of UWC is part of a generalized anti-blackness that we saw on university campuses throughout South Africa deeply embedded in statements such as: ‘It is the black students who are protesting at UWC, and causing all the damage to UWC property!’ Such is not said in public, i.e. in public statements but implicit in the political contradictions that revealed themselves as the student protest action unfolded. It appears that such statements are informed by the Eastern Cape origin myth or at least the inherited memory of racialised spatial engineering which assumes that every black person living in South Africa originates from a particular homeland, hence the everyday ‘where do you come from?’ question, blacks living in ‘white’ or ‘coloured’ areas of South Africa are constantly interrogated with.

Against this backdrop, the reactionary means of containing protest action on the part of UWC evolved from condemning student protest to pronouncements of evictions of students from student residences, mainly on campus. The eviction of students was on grounds of safety and security as advised by the City of Cape Town – the (technical) role of the City of Cape in the eviction of students from UWC in November and December 2016 cannot be analysed without a systemic

understanding of the 'Eastern Cape origin myth' and Helen Zille's utterances of 'refugees from the Eastern Cape' cited above. The students had limited options, but to go home in Nov - Dec 2015. It was not clear what happened to international students, but some of them received off-campus private accommodation arranged by the university. Private accommodation was also used to house final year students who had exams to write.

## **Chapter 5 SASCO, ANC & Politics of independence in the (black) student movement**

It is generally accepted, though contested, that SASCO has some form of monopoly over student politics. Perhaps this notion of monopoly and dominance is deducible from cognizance of the number of campuses dominated by SASCO politics countrywide; in terms of the student electorate. Of course, there is some truth in this, but at UWC this monopoly of SASCO has received a great deal of criticism and has been fiercely challenged by forces of opposition.

It is becoming clearer that SASCO has very little independence, if at all, from the ANC. This has become vividly clear in many ways. Take for example the uniform media statements of SASCO across campuses, accepting, and celebrating the 0% increment on fees announced by the state president, Jacob Zuma on 22 October 2015. Furthermore SASCO echoed the Minister of Higher Education & Training, Dr Blade Nzimande's sentiments or call for students to stop protesting and go back to class.

Furthermore, Jeremy Cronin, in solidarity with his comrades in the SACP, and Dr. Blade Nzimande in particular, wrote the following press statement, lambasting the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement, in defense of UWC SRC:

SACP blames EFF for continuing protest at UWC  
2015-11-22 20:00  
Lizeka Tandwa,News24

Johannesburg - Deputy General Secretary Jeremy Cronin blamed Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (Pasma) for the looting and disruption of exams at University of Western Cape (UWC).

Cronin said they (SACP) needed to expose a small minority of externally funded anarchists who were seeking to use the student for their own agenda.

Cronin was speaking during a media briefing at the SACP's Augmented Central Committee meeting in Benoni on Sunday.

"Over the past few weeks, these forces have exposed themselves. The destruction of university property and criminal actions are not the work of those who genuinely seek to transform the higher education and training terrain. On the UWC campus, 300 misguided anarchists associated with the EFF and Pasma have tried to disrupt examinations, holding 30 000 students hostage," Cronin told reporters.

News24 earlier reported several arrests at UWC after a small group of protesting set a number of campus buildings alight.

He said the ANC led alliance needed to speak with one voice and listen to the many issues confronting students. Cronin said resources must be found to meet the commitment to a zero fee increase for 2016 and address the debt crisis confronting returning students.

Cronin said a comprehensive review must be undertaken to ensure that the government's budgetary process are aligned with key strategic priorities of the country.

Cronin lashed out on detractors of Minister of Higher Education Blade Nzimande. He said the SACP refused to be dragged in the mud with some political leaders who were publicly attacking Nzimande.

Earlier this year, in an exclusive interview with News24, ANC Youth League president Collen Maine blamed Nzimande and his department for the wave of student protests over fee increases.

Cronin said these attacks were orchestrated by factions inside the ANC for their own agenda. "Its quite blatant that some of the personalised attacks on the minister (Nzimande) were not intended to assist in finding solutions to the challenges faced by the students sector, they were directed against a minister in practice by entirely factionist group inside the ANC with an agenda. We decided not to respond in kind but we will be raising in this at the Alliance Political Council."

"If the minister cared enough he would have dealt with these issues just after Wits because this was an indication that more was coming," said Maine.

Student-led protest against fee increases dominated headlines last month. Several universities across the country took part in the protest which led to President Jacob Zuma scrapping fee hikes for 2016<sup>15</sup>.

In response to 'Jeremy Cronin's attack', the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement wrote a short think piece on their Facebook wall, which reads as follows:

#### FEES WILL FALL RESPONSE TO JEREMY CRONIN'S ATTACK

Instead of engaging in a bloody attack with the honourable Jeremy Cronin, we will invite the honourable comrade to an open debate on our campus, UWC, for an overdue sober political discussion.

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/sacp-blames-eff-for-continuing-protest-at-uw-20151122>

However, we would like to hereby briefly mention some key political observations.

1. It is not surprising to be attacked by comrade Cronin, after our successful meeting with Zwelinzima Vavi, in terms of reactionary politics.
2. It may have been in the best interest of comrade Cronin to attack Fees Will Fall Movement to show collegiality with the honourable Blade Nzimande, who has publicly stated that students must fall.
3. The honourable comrade Cronin appears to undermine our intellectual and political capacity by referring to our movement as influenced by a “third force”. We will reiterate that we’re independent thinkers and scholars whose intellect spills over narrow political party thinking associated with South Africa’s politically bankrupted political landscape dominated by dodgy pseudo-leftists, sycophants, and looters of state coffers. Our key ideology remains Black Consciousness championed by Bantu Biko, which puts black people first, NOT the “politics of the stomach”, and cronyism.

Nonetheless, we will humbly request [in the form of an open letter] the honourable comrade Cronin to avail himself for a sober political engagement regarding latter day youth politics, which are somewhat different to old-school thinking of small political party boxes. “The future belongs to us” (Mzwakhe Mbuli 1986, *The Day Shall Dawn*)<sup>16</sup>.

At the time of writing this report, it was apparent, and rather alarming, that the University of Western Cape appeared to have lost its (political) independence from the ruling party. This was manifested in various ways, including the political profiles of members of UWC Council, management, administrative staff in the upper echelons of UWC, some of whom were seen carelessly wearing ANC and SASCP t-shirts on campus in the first week of December 2015. It remains unclear what sort of communication, or perhaps interference is a more apt term, occurred between the ruling party and university structures during the student revolt. Those of us concerned about the future of our universities should be alarmed by this assault on academic freedom and autonomy.

Zooming into the political intricacies of UWC, let us now consider the role of the UWC Chairman of Council, Mthunzi Mdwaba, against the backdrop of the fact that UWC seems to have lost its (political) independence to the ANC. Mdwaba is a prominent ANC member, and a very wealthy businessman. It was therefore not surprising that Mdwaba vehemently opposed the efforts of the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement in protesting for free education and an end to outsourcing of UWC’s general workers (cleaners, gardeners, security guards, etc). Mthunzi

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<sup>16</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=1001073223249289&id=985851094771502&fref=nf](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1001073223249289&id=985851094771502&fref=nf)



Mdwaba's comments were consistent with those of the ANC, SASCO, SACP in suppressing student protest action. Let us briefly consider Mthunzi Mdwaba's notorious "inflammatory" email (of 11 November 2015) and the events that unfolded immediately soon thereafter. The email reads as follows:

Dear Tyrone,

Further to my email on Saturday, I have considered the request for a special council meeting by the #FeesMustFall movement and wish to place the following on record:

- 1) I have been in constant and consistent communication with you from the beginning of the protests till now;
- 2) The initial wave of protests were handled in a peaceful and respectful manner characterised by discipline and decorum which made it easy for us to support same without any hesitation;
- 3) We are on record that these were justified protests and the outcome though financially troublesome for us as a university that plies its performance at the bottom of the financial pyramid, given that we are amongst the lowest fee charging universities, while performing at the highest level, do not have resources to compete fairly, and unless the government steps in to assist, might have to dip into our reserves and investments. An initial look at this promises to cost us somewhere in the region of R70Million - Council is yet to deliberate on this. This is a critical discussion that requires prioritisation;
- 4) All the items that were tabulated in your 'agreement' that was entered into with the first 'unman dated' group of the #FeesMustFall movement gave me sleepless nights as my rough tabulation was that it would cost us another R15Million or so just in 2016 if Council were to consider same and approve. Your subsequent advices of course that another 'mandated' grouping of the #FeesMustFall movement pronounced this not to be an agreement but a discussion to be noted for minuting has given me much relief. However, this brings me to the next point;
- 5) This is a group that I am advised allegedly led violent protests, vandalised property and brought anarchy to the university campus, which we cannot (if true) tolerate, Yet, you were magnanimous enough to still seat around the table with them at great risk to yourself and the governance of the university in that in round 2 of these discussions you did so without the SRC, the recognised leadership of the university in desperately trying to demonstrate bona fides and a willingness to find a solution. It is hugely concerning for me that they would return in round 2 and denounce their earlier representatives who spent an entire afternoon and evening with you and your team negotiating allegedly in bad faith. It also brings to question on who the leaders of the movement are? This is a matter for great concern and huge disrespect to you and the institution

and cannot be condoned. This is a strong message I shall be delivering to the Council;

6) Peaceful protest and demonstration is to be encouraged and embraced as part of a democratic right to expression and as a university with our historical struggle pedigree, it is part of our DNA. However, disrespect, indiscipline, violence, vandalism, harassment cannot and will not be tolerated;

7) As you are aware, and I know the different groupings of the movement are aware that I have previously been asked to convene a special council meeting and declined. Besides the fact that this is a managerial/executive role that has always been handled well by you and has no place for council whose role is governance, oversight and strategic leadership of the institution, the only recognised structures that can request an audience with council are members of council, management, senate, and the SRC. I am advised that other universities allegedly breached this governance requirement due to expediency and we are therefore to follow suit. I disagree very strongly and while I shall not comment on their decisions because I am not sufficiently close to have appreciated their predicament, and in any event have nothing to do with us, BUT we shall not create unhealthy precedents for short to medium term gain that lead us into decay and long term embarrassment;

8) It is my view therefore that the interdict we currently have must be enforced very firmly if we continue to have some members of our community that hold everyone else ransom as we try to have orderly exams. I hope that this shall not be necessary, but criminality and bullying cannot continue;

9) I give my word that all reasonable requests by all stakeholders (and this includes students who make up the #FeesMustFall movement) of the university shall be placed on the agenda and seriously considered by the council. It is critical to understand though that we shall not under my leadership make decisions that will cause us financial challenges that threaten to throw us back to where we were in the past. We shall do whatever it takes to apply ourselves in the best interests of the university, its students and staff and ensure as we have all along that we improve epistemological access, maintain participation and instill quality for guaranteed sustainability. My recommendation therefore to the #FeesMustFall movement is that they urgently request a meeting with the SRC and ask for their reasonable grievances to be tabled at the next council meeting so we may consider them for the agenda.

Kind Regards<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=994262667263678&id=985851094771502](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=994262667263678&id=985851094771502)

In response, the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement wrote the following statement on their Facebook page (wall):

The UWC Chairperson of Council Mthunzi Mdwaba has the audacity to go live on television and call protesting Students 'Hooligans'.

The same Mthunzi Mdwaba has an extremely questionable history in business with numerous dodgy dealings dating back from 2010 to 2014. We are also aware that the South Gauteng High Court once declared him a "Delinquent Director".

Mthunzi Mdwaba was also removed from The Kelly Group as Deputy CEO because he failed to declare honestly his business history and outstanding judgments in his name.

He is/was a ANC Branch Treasurer with close links to the President, having once been part of a delegation of SA businessmen that traveled overseas with President Zuma. This is evident in his approach with regards to how Fees Must Fall protests are handled on campuses.

Like all shady businessmen he has seen his fair share of golden handshakes. Telkom as recently as last year filed a High Court suit where it sought to sue some executives and Mthunzi Mdwaba for "violating South Africa's anti-corruption laws" over an agreement involving a former subsidiary. We believe that a man of such questionable integrity and character cannot be entrusted to Chair a board or a University Council let alone be a judge to student action<sup>18</sup>.

Let us close this chapter by alluding to the fact that at CPUT, and UWC, some SASCO members have questioned SASCO's independence from the ANC. Some have pointed out that there is no independence within the ANC, and have, therefore, raised this issue from within the ANC with failure, of course. Those SASCO comrades were victimized in various ways and silenced or excluded in various ways at both CPUT and UWC.

Against this backdrop, now let us consider the following question:

*Is UWC SASCO independent from the ANC?*

It is not obvious that UWC SASCO is a puppet of the ANC nor is it easy to say that SASCO (UWC) is independent from the ANC. But particular events and behavior do help us understand or at least analyse this political controversy. In the preceding sections we have alluded to some of these political contradictions. For example, we have already discussed particular views about the 'incapacitation' of UWC Fees Will Fall Movement by the state police on the part of ANCYL, and UWC

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<sup>18</sup> #UWCFeesWILLFall, 13 November <https://www.facebook.com/UWC-Fees-WILL-Fall-985851094771502/?fref=ts>

SASCO in particular. We have also observed the general support offered to UWC SASCO by prominent members of the ANC, high up in the upper echelons of the ANC during the 2015 student revolt. For example, Dr. Blade Nzimande, has, on various occasions pronounced that the Fees Must Fall Movement undermines the SRCs, which are monopolized by SASCO. Such sentiments have been echoed by the likes of comrade Gwede Mantashe, Secretary General of the ANC, and of course, Jeremy Cronin, and that pseudo-youth and pseudo-president of the ANC Youth League, Collen Maine!

Furthermore, UWC SASCO/SRC issued statements which are uniform to other SASCO dominated SRC's, Progressive Youth Alliance, and ANC-YL. Such uniform statements, condemning student rebellions, are hardly coincidental but reflect that there is no independence within SASCO. In other words, SASCO cannot take a position contrary to the ANC mother body. This was vividly clear on the position taken by UWC SASCO/SRC on the 0% fee increment announcement by the state president on 22 October 2015—SASCO countrywide (with the exception of a SASCO faction at CPUT), accepted such announcement and celebrated, yet it was rejected by the FMF, and UWC Fees Will Fall Movement in particular. In response, the latter embarked on a march to the Cape Town International Airport, and as a result, faced rubber bullets, stun grenades, and water cannons, whilst UWC SASCO had a picnic and celebrated the 0% fee increment on campus, UWC.

## Chapter 6 Militarisation of UWC by state and private security forces

After the 22 October 2015 0% fee increment announcement, students from UWC marched to Cape Town International Airport. This march was dispersed by SAPS with stun grenades, rubber bullets, and water cannons; following this UWC was increasingly militarized by the SAPS and private security forces. The latter was composed of the so-called *Vetus Schola* (see notorious apartheid-era mercenaries!), Fidelity; Pro Events, Securitas, in addition to SAPS, which left students, and concerned (progressive) academics questioning the presence of private security, and the source(s) of funds used to pay for private security forces—estimated to be in the range of millions of rands. Furthermore, an SAPS team that appeared to be a bomb squad and part of the national intelligence force were seen on campus on various occasions from November 2015 to January 2016. The deployment of such high profile paramilitary forces at UWC made it clear, at least by the time of writing (Jan - Feb 2016), that the state was adamant in dampening student protest action. Furthermore, other than the paranoia on the part of the state and UWC management, the deployment of paramilitary forces at UWC revealed that the management of UWC was beyond UWC management, and UWC Council. The ANC elite who control university council were undoubtedly trying to preserve their political interests at UWC, which is itself connected to the Mayibue Archives, which preserves the history of nationalist and anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Any damage to these archives would be seen as a blow to the ability of the ANC to protect its own struggle history.

UWC management may have benefited from the extra ‘man power’ which may have been provided or procured by highly politically connected personnel in the upper echelons of the university. For the first time in the history of UWC we saw the SRC being protected by body guards as they were so determined that their lives were in danger from protesting students, who also called for the SRC to step down<sup>19</sup>.

Let us now consider each of the above mentioned private security forces for our analysis. This will shed light to some of the political contradictions that spiral out of the campus to the geo-politics of South Africa’s racialised political economy.

### *Vetus Schola*

Key informants revealed that *Vetus Schola* was one of the security companies deployed at Marikana, during the infamous miners’ strike which ended with 34 miners shot down dead by SAPS and private security forces in that military

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<sup>19</sup> Indeed UWC SASCO SRC had bodyguards at the peak of the student revolt at UWC, in the last week of October 2015. The calling of the SRC to step down was loud and clear at a mass meeting held at the UWC sports stadium on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2015, see News 24 article authored by Tammy Petersen <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Voetsek-UWC-students-boo-SRC-off-stage-as-rector-intervenens-20151103>

operation. At the peak of the 2015 student rebellion, Vetus Schola were seen on UWC campus and this caused public outrage<sup>20</sup>, leading to a strategic retreat of this particular private security company from UWC.



Vetus Schola paramilitary, UWC, 31 October 2015



Vetus Schola para-militant, UWC, 31 October 2015

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<sup>20</sup> see CAPETIMES article authored by Quinton Mtyala , Outcry over UWC's security forces <http://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/outcry-over-uwcs-security-forces-1939738> accessed on 5th December 2015. The same article reveals that: "Researchers at the Bench Marks Foundation, probing security around Kumba Iron Ore's Sishen mine, near Kathu in the Northern Cape, found that many of Vetus Schola's guards were former soldiers from the SADF's 32 Battalion, a unit notorious for its human rights abuses during apartheid".

### *Fidelity*

Fidelity security forces were also deployed at UWC for extra 'Man Power'. It was not clear where exactly this private security company originated from, but what we can say here is that the same company was deployed to assist the University of Johannesburg in that university's relatively successful attempts to dampen the 2015 student rebellion [Fidelity was also deployed at North West University military operation in February 2016]. On the surface, connections with attempts to dampen the student rebellion at UJ are revealing of the political dynamics at play, and it would perhaps be even more so if the universities would reveal the sources of funds used to pay for these so-called extra 'Man Power' private security or at least the owners of these private security companies, and their political and economic connections – in other words the tentative Marikana dynamics as we are led to believe through our analysis. Much the same can be said about Wits and UCT, which made headlines about its militarization by private security forces in January – February 2016.

### *Pro-Events & Securitas*

At the time of writing, Pro-Events & Securitas were the ordinary private or outsourced security companies employed on a full-time basis by UWC. Other special security forces, such as those mentioned above, were deployed to provide extra 'Man Power' to both Pro-Events and Securitas. However, we also noticed that the so-called 'extra man power' was also provided (sometimes in disguised uniform) to Pro-Events, descending into Cape Town by bus from Johannesburg.

### *'Underground Dodgy Elusive Spies'*

It remains unclear who hired these 'underground dodgy elusive spies' and whether they were minions of the administration or various political groups with vested interests in demobilizing student protests. For many students, it was rather terrifying to answer security questions asked by scary looking men (dressed in civilian clothing) one had never seen at UWC before. Questions ranged from: 'What is that meeting for?'; 'What are you doing here?'; 'Where do you come from?'; 'What is inside your bag?' Other than the paranoia that can exist in any movement, the UWC Fees Will Fall members were convinced about the existence of these 'Underground Dodgy Elusive Spies' on their campus, which was, in our view, part of the militarization package. We await a full investigation into who these scary looking men were and whether they received payment taken from the pockets of university students or not.

### *Surveillance of students by the state*

Students from various campuses expressed concern that their cell phones were being tapped; some were literally followed by security forces in motor vehicles at night (some key leaders from UWC gave testimonies in this regard in the presence of the UWC Chancellor, Dr Makgoba during negotiations discussed in the next chapter). Furthermore, some of the students reported that some of their

most important emails were automatically/mysteriously deleted from their email lists. On some campuses, leaders of FMF had their vehicles broken into (or blown-up by petrol bombs i.e. at Wits & UCT), and furthermore devices such as cell-phones were stolen, and used to hack into their emails.

There were numerous reported cases of sabotage directed at prominent FMF members. For example one morning in October 2015, we woke up to the news about a “petrol bombed” vehicle at UCT. The latter belonged to an FMF comrade/member/or supporter. Furthermore, another petrol-bombed car was reported at Wits, yet another vehicle was set alight at the UCT. The latter belonged to UCT after the first explosion incidence, and it wasn’t clear who were the culprits at the time. No one accepted responsibility.

On the setting of fires in buildings, or what is referred to as ‘arson’ in liberal and/or bourgeois language: allegations of sabotage against FMF cannot be completely dismissed, especially in cases where mysterious fires were set by unknown forces operating within or outside the state paramilitary machinery.

These events cannot be analysed in isolation or without cognizance of the broader securitisation of university campuses on a world scale; and the increasing militarization and surveillance in the country (South Africa) at large. It has been reported that “there is also a worldwide growth of ‘surveillance states’, where governments are spying on their own citizens and people from other countries – often with the help of new communications technology that we use every day”<sup>21</sup>.

Furthermore, as highlighted in Chapter 1<sup>22</sup>, the response of the state to protesting students cannot be analysed without understanding the manner in which the state generally responds to service delivery protests or labour unrest (the infamous Marikana massacre is perhaps the best example in this regard). On the other hand, all of these protestors (students, mine workers, or citizens protesting against slow service delivery) have common grievances associated with poverty traps, inequality, and the high costs of living, and the vicissitudes of structural unemployment for blacks in particular, all of which are intertwined in the (most recent) history of racialised capitalism in South Africa.

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<sup>21</sup> Big Brother Exposed: Stories of South Africa's intelligence structure monitoring and harassing activist movements, page 5  
<http://bigbrother.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/Big-Brother-Exposed-R2K-handbook-on-surveillance-web.pdf>

<sup>22</sup> *Narrow conceptions of violence: student rebellion lenses*



## **Chapter 7 The politics of containment: Anti-student rebellion negotiations**

It must be pointed out that the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement had a series of negotiations and reached agreements with UWC management, and the UWC SRC between October and December 2015. Some of the agreements were progressive and welcomed by the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement.

However, some of these agreements were overturned by the UWC Chairman of Council, Mthunzi Mdwaba on grounds that the UWC Council did not recognize the UWC Fees Will Fall movement. Once again we see which structures ANC aligned council members like Mdwaba are willing to work with, namely their ANC-aligned cronies in the SRC.

In hindsight, it is sobering to note that the UWC FWF Movement blamed the inflammatory letter/email written by the Chairman (Mthunzi Mdwaba) of Council to the rector (cited in Chapter 5) in the escalation of conflict at UWC. UWC FWF Movement responded to the Chairman of Council's letter in the form of an open letter where the movement warned about the implications of the inflammatory tone of the Chairman's letter and its potential in the escalation of conflict at UWC.

After these events, and deliberations, conflict escalated at UWC (i.e. from the 13<sup>th</sup> October – December 2015). Security was empowered by extra paramilitary forces and the situation escalated to a point where prophets of doom felt vindicated by the flames of burning infrastructure, the sound of rubber bullets, and exploding stun grenades, as military operations were exchanged between protesting students and security forces (both state and private security).

The events of October to November 2015 at UWC sent shock waves across cyber space. Unfortunately the story of what happened was obscured by media propaganda, which failed to tell the story from students' perspective. Academics had emergency meetings in panic moods, calling for mediation by a neutral person, as it was clear that deliberations (internal deliberations) had reached a deadlock.

Eventually, the Chancellor of UWC, Archbishop Dr. Thabo Magkoba availed himself, not as mediator, but facilitator of deliberations between UWC management, SRC, and UWC FWF Movement at the Bishops court in Kirstenbosch, Cape Town, from 22 – 23 November 2015. These negotiations were complex, and the Archbishop showed great level of skill in facilitating the negotiations. Solid agreements were reached, but it soon became clear that the Archbishop had conflicts of interest as facilitator (some of which were declared by the Archbishop at the beginning of negotiations) from a number of fronts, which can be spelled out as follows:

(1) The Archbishop is a religious leader whose values seem confined to the moralistic principles of the Christian church, which, in itself, has fixed views about rebellions of the oppressed, and notions of violence, and forgiveness. According to the Christian church, perhaps students shouldn't have gone on a

rampage and disrupted classes: perhaps what they should have done was to listen to the president's announcement of the 0% fee increment made on 22 October 2015, and politely obey what he said as the most high form of authority on the land. Particular scriptures of Christianity promote such forms of submission and obedience by the oppressed (or slaves, as the Bible puts it). It is more like saying: "Do not question authority!".

(2) Secondly, the Archbishop is part and parcel of UWC management (at least at the time of writing) which put him in a very difficult position in the negotiations, and perhaps that is the main reason he reiterated that his role was to facilitate, "NOT" to mediate meetings between UWC Management, SRC, and UWC FWF Movement.

(3) Third, the Archbishop's class or economic position puts him in the upper echelons of society (even though he does some philanthropy work). He may not be a capitalist/businessman, but his stance on 'violence' (read student violence), not 'police brutality', for example, is consistent with the moralistic stances of liberals, and other well-off, wealthy citizens who came out in numbers in condemning student rebellions in the same manner as the media, the state, capitalists, and authorities of various sorts. Furthermore, in the midst of negotiation, the Archbishop quoted from Vladimir Lenin, invoking condemnations of violence by a Marxist thinker, Lenin. Perhaps such invocations had the sole intent of condemning violence and dampening student rebellions by any means necessary. Perhaps, the Archbishop had a sense that UWC FWF Movement belongs to the Marxist church, or at least the movement may have appeared so in the eyes of the Archbishop, and so he may have thought it was best to use Marxist invocations to condemn violence – he appeared gravely tested! Of course it was in the best interest of the Archbishop to condemn violence, given the contradictory political role(s) he had in the process of negotiation.

After careful consideration of the above political contradictions, UWC Fees Will Fall Movement ended the year 2015 with very little confidence in the negotiations chaired or facilitated by the Archbishop. The movement felt that the deliberations were a deliberate attempt intended to contain the student rebellion, which left the main demands of students such as free education, scrapping of historical debt, and ending outsourcing unattended. UWC management also refused to drop charges against the UWC 19 students charged with "public violence", and other allegations. This was still the case at the time of writing.

*Adding salt to the wound: The language of politicians and the egos of men*

Quite frankly, one should point out that in the midst of the negotiation process (late November to early December 2015), some well respected politicians issued out statements that read as inflammatory, and may have negatively influenced the process of negotiations and healing at UWC. Some of these comrades included the likes of Dr Blade Nzimande, Jeremy Cronin, Gwede Mantashe, and that pseudo-president of the ANCYL, Collen Maine(!) to name a few. At the crux

of their statements was the unconditional support and backing of SRCs, and UWC SASCO SRC in particular, and extremely strong antagonism towards Fees Must Fall Movement on a national scale and UWC FWF Movement in particular. Such derogatory language, was perhaps unnecessary in the process of healing that was desperately needed by UWC at the time of writing. Furthermore, Dr Blade Nzimande, Minister of Higher Education and Training closed 2015 with an *“iron fist”* statement (which was subsequently echoed by PYA, SASCO & ANCYL), stating that more security forces would be deployed at the beginning of the following year, 2016, and that is exactly what happened across many campuses, countrywide in January to February 2016. Such *“adding salt to wound”* includes the somewhat inflammatory tone of Mthunzi Mdwaba’s statements (Chairman of UWC Council) in an interview broadcasted on national television in December 2015.

## Chapter 8 Workers' struggle against outsourcing at UWC: "The beginning of the end"

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



David Hlongwane's sculpture at UWC



Plaque of David Hlongwane's sculpture at UWC

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

*kitchen girl, my father was a garden boy; that's why I'm an educator*". This struggle song probably inspired David Hlongwane in the process of carving out his award winning sculpture.

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

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



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

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

this to Council. If approved by Council, the implementation of insourcing will start with Cleaning staff in 2016, Security and Garden staff in 2017". And, indeed, the UWC Council concluded that in-sourcing would be '*unaffordable*'. The political contradictions as a result of this are spelled out below.

On the surface the resolution that outsourcing is '*unaffordable*' appears a political decision/resolution rather than the recommendations of an objective feasibility study. At the time of writing, it seemed most likely that such a feasibility study was not conducted, otherwise its findings and recommendations would have been made public. No one affiliated with the FWF movement or any of the workers have seen the results of this study, so we can only assume that it was not carried out.

*Nonetheless, the question is: What (political) barriers prevent insourcing at UWC?*

Simply saying that insourcing wouldn't be affordable does not hold water; it is not convincing without empirical evidence showing that the university cannot afford insourcing of general workers. On the other hand, finance students who had been tasked by the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement to analyse the financial reports of the university pronounced that in-sourcing is affordable, and would in fact save the university some money.

After protracted deliberations, UWC Council, and UWC management, under pressure from protesting students and general workers, announced that: "It was approved that all outsourced staff will receive a monthly allowance of R2000 in addition to their earnings, which will be effective as of 1 December 2015". Furthermore, on the same statement, it was announced that: "*outsourced staff, spouses, and their children will have access to study rebates similar to permanent staff*". These announcements sounded very progressive, but implementation proved difficult, if not illusionary. For example, the R2000 allowance was only allocated to permanent workers, and not casual cleaning staff (both garden and in-door cleaning staff)<sup>23</sup>.

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

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<sup>23</sup> Indeed, casual workers didn't receive this allowance, and may not receive it in the near future, regardless of the fact that some of them had been casual workers for more than a year at the time of writing, some even more, regardless of the provisions of labour laws that casual workers should be made permanent workers after three months of work!

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

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

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

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

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

The struggle for the end of outsourcing continues. We will not rest until this mission is complete<sup>24</sup>.

Indeed, the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement did not rest; they probed into these issues in January 2016, and found that promises to make casual workers permanent had not been met by January 2016.

Below are some anecdotes from UWC outsourced workers to illuminate some of their everyday struggles to make a living under precarious and low-wage conditions of work, for many, especially casual workers. These anecdotes include the vicissitudes of both the casual, and permanent workforce of UWC. Some of them are published in the UWC Fees Will Fall Facebook page, and referred to here accordingly.

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<sup>24</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/UWC-Fees-WILL-Fall985851094771502/timeline>

*Anonymous worker 1*

Anonymous worker 1 works for Metro Cleaning, and has been a casual worker for 1 year and 5 months. He is 45 years old; lives in Belhar, and earns a monthly wage of R2200. He supports a family of 3, and is the only breadwinner in the family. According to the labour laws of South Africa, Anonymous 1 should've become a permanent worker after 3 months of work. Furthermore, Anonymous 1 is not receiving the UWC monthly allowance or subsidy of R2000 received by permanent staff of Metro.

*Anonymous worker 2*

Anonymous worker 2 is a 23 year-old casual worker for Metro, who had been working for 7 months at the time of writing. He supports his 2 month-old child, and the mother of the child with the monthly wage he gets from Metro. His wage varies from month to month, depending on circumstances, such as the number of days at work. In December 2015, Anonymous worker 2 received a wage of R2030. Anonymous worker 2 informed the UWC Fees Will Fall researchers that, since he is 23 years old, he would very much love to study at UWC, should he be granted that opportunity.

*Anonymous worker 3*

Anonymous worker 3 has been a casual worker for Metro for 2 years; he has 2 children (1 boy of 7 years of age & 1 girl of 20 years old). The 20 year old girl is eligible to study for free at UWC, but Anonymous worker 3 was not aware of such information. Nonetheless, UWC Fees Will Fall Movement committed itself in distribution such information to all cleaning staff, including security guards at UWC.

*Anonymous worker 4*

Anonymous worker 4 has been working for the University of the Western Cape for 20 years. She stays in Harare, Khayelitsha. From the R2700 she earns per month she must support 4 children and 2 grandchildren. Her expenses include transport, electricity, water, accounts, funeral plans, food, school fees. Etc. Her transport to and from work is R515 each month. Anonymous worker 4 lives off loans and money lenders who charge her heavy interest. Her expenses per month exceed the R2700 she makes. She told us: "My loans and garnish are over R4000 per month and are difficult to pay off. I am harassed by shops wanting me to pay accounts nearly everyday. I wish I could throw away this phone...I have a child who passed matric 2011, he is working in factories now and can't go to university because there is no money."<sup>25</sup>

*Anonymous worker 5*

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<sup>25</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/UWC-Fees-WILL-Fall-985851094771502/?fref=ts> However, it is important to note that Anonymous worker 4, since she is permanent staff, receives the UWC R2000 monthly allowance, which took effect from 1<sup>st</sup> December 2015, a few weeks after her interview with UWC Fees Will Fall researchers.



Anonymous worker 5 has been working for the University of the Western Cape for 20 years. She earns R 2700 per month. She is a single parent with 4 Children and 6 Grandchildren. She stays in Site C, Khayelitsha where she also supports her elderly mother and 5 brothers who all are unemployed. Her monthly ticket to and from work is R600. She told us: "I have a child at College who dropped out because he was hungry and I could not pay for him. The R2900 that I make is nothing as it all goes to loans when I get paid. The company I work for provides no benefits like medical cover and pensions. I was once given a warning for sitting down and taking my pills since I am sick. **The university must take money they give to Metro directly to us. If they can pay the company they must pay us.**" She adds: " **We are only asking that the University pay us directly, asifuni iLabour brokers, ndimdala, siyaguga. I'm ashamed to tell people back home that I work at a University.**"

*Anonymous worker 6*

Anonymous worker 6 is a cleaner for the university from Belhar. She earns R2 700, which she uses to support her 3 children and 4 grandchildren. Her expenses include electricity, water, account, funeral plan, food, school fees, baby foods for grandchildren. The monthly amounts for all her accounts are as follows Electricity R400; Water R300; Account R515; Funeral Plan R415; Groceries R1 000; School Fees R150; Baby Food R500. The total for all these accounts is R3,280 which is more than she makes each month. Because of this she feels compelled every month to borrow money from money lenders and struggles to pay this money back. She told us: "**If the campus would insource, a great difference would take place in my life as a cleaner. It would decrease my stress levels because the money I earn brings more stress than relief because it does not cover my expenses. I would also be able to save money. As a cleaner, I would also enjoy the benefits of all staff members, because now I'm only working for food. I would also get time to rest because at times I work on Saturdays and Sundays to earn extra money.**"<sup>26</sup>

*Anonymous worker 7*

Anonymous worker 7 is from Harare, Khayelitsha. He has worked for the University of the Western Cape for 25 years. He earns R2700 per month which he uses to support 6 children. He alone pays R500 per month on transport to and from work. He has to buy food, pay for funeral plans, accounts, school trips.etc By the end of the month his family struggles to put food on the table. In cases of emergency, when a family member becomes ill, Anonymous worker 7 is compelled to take out loans which are nearly impossible to pay off. As he told us: "Many times or most of the time, I come to work on an empty stomach. I do not have hopes of buying lunch at work because the money I earn is not enough to cover all these expenses. **An end to outsourcing will improve my situation because I believe we will have benefits. Money will increase.**" In-sourcing

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<sup>26</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/UWC-Fees-WILL-Fall-985851094771502/?fref=ts>

will mean that the University will pay him directly and afford him benefits such as staff rebates where his children can attend University at low cost.<sup>27</sup>

*Precarious employment: the struggle for a living wage for workers at UWC*

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

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

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

*The struggle continues: The pressure to end outsourcing at UWC in early 2016*

On 8<sup>th</sup> February 2016, UWC landscaping and cleaning staff embarked on a march to the Rector's office to hand over their memorandum of demands for the end of outsourcing and the implementation of a minimum wage of R10 000 per month. In solidarity with the struggles of marginalized workers UWC Fees Will Fall Movement published the following statement on Facebook

Today (8<sup>th</sup> February 2016) the outsourced cleaning staff of UWC marched to UWC management with two key demands: (1) End of outsourcing -

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<sup>27</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/UWC-Fees-WILL-Fall-985851094771502/?fref=ts>

termination of all outsourced company contracts by March 2016. (2) A decent living wage of R10 000 per month.

#UWCFeesWillFall supports the struggle for the end of outsourcing. We strongly condemn these parasitical companies feeding from the blood and sweat of marginalized workers at UWC.

The movement remains disgusted by the way in which outsourcing of contracts have been used as a funnel for money laundering and corruption by outsourced companies and cronies in the upper echelons of UWC.

The workers have given the University till Wednesday the 10th of February to respond to memo as presented to Director of Finance Mr. Manie Regal on behalf of the Rector<sup>28</sup>

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



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

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<sup>28</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/UWC-Fees-WILL-Fall-985851094771502/>



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

The response from UWC management, regarding the end of outsourcing, was somewhat disappointing and reads as follows:

1. True to our mission, the University remains sensitive to the plight of the marginalized and to provide affordable access to poor students, while we are also cognizant of the challenges workers face. To balance of this dual tension will require serious investigation. The Council of the University has formed a task team who will be engaging stakeholders involved in outsourcing/insourcing at the University.
2. We have made a commitment to augment the existing salaries of certain workers by R2000.00 per month and at the moment this is as much as we can contribute. This amounts to an increase of over 70% per designated worker and is a demonstration of our good faith. In addition the study rebate received by University employees has been granted to these employees as well. This includes the workers of Pegasus Consulting Services who only commenced their contractual services at the University in October 2015. As you are certainly aware, there has been no fee increment at Universities in 2016 and all expenses of the University must be evaluated within the context of sustainability.

Let us analyse the above 2 points in turn. Regarding the first point, UWC management is simply invoking its earlier stance (i.e. the November 2015 stance) that it will conduct a feasibility study to determine the feasibility of insourcing. We know very well that such a decision was already made in November 2015, and was overturned by UWC Council later in the same month (in a meeting that took place from 26-27 November 2015), by simply saying that insourcing would be unaffordable for UWC. So, the argument that insourcing requires a feasibility study does not hold water. In our view, the University should make a swift decision to insource, and not duck and dive around the issue.

Regarding the second point, the University is invoking that it has contributed a R2000 monthly allowance to cleaning staff, and security guards, but says nothing about the fact that such an allowance does not accrue to casual workers, who have been working at UWC for up to 3 years. Again the University appears to be ducking and diving, and not committing itself to ending outsourcing.

Again, let us re-consider some of the political dynamics that will help us come to terms with the political reasons behind the University's apathy towards in-sourcing. At the time of writing, there were solid rumors that some UWC personnel, in the upper echelons of UWC are benefiting from the tender system used to contract outsourced companies. It is alleged that some of the owners of these companies have intimate relationships with some UWC personnel in the upper echelons of management. Our sources also tell us that such personnel are not willing to give up their fortunes just like that. Of course, these are only rumors, but they do shed light on the political dynamics at play in the upper echelons of UWC. What is required is an objective audit of the University finances and a thorough investigation of the University finance team to determine if these rumors hold water or not.

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



Shop Steward engaging the UWC Rector, 22/02/16

The Rector appeared quite disturbed by the invasion of his office by the outsourced staff, but showed great level of skill in controlling his temper. He engaged the spokesperson of the workers in a relatively short conversation where he reiterated previous statements about insourcing: *"We are the university of the working class", "We have tried our best and given some of you the R2000 allowance"; "Insourcing will bankrupt the university!"*.

However, the casual workers who were present expressed that the R2000 allowance does not accrue to them. The Rector responded by saying that a list of all casual workers from all outsourced companies should be submitted to his office for consideration for the R2000 allowance. And that was the end of that short occupation of the Rector's office. And so the delegation, i.e. those who had moved quickly enough to occupy the Rector's office before they were noticed by private security, went out of the Administration building to join the rest of the workers who had been waiting outside, picketing, in front of the Administration building. The demonstrations lasted the whole day, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016, and continued the next day, and the next.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> February 2016 these demonstrations against outsourcing continued regardless of a court order preventing such, obtained by the university on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2016. But on the same day, private security personnel somewhat saw the need to disperse the workers' militancy with pinball gunshots, and two arrests<sup>29</sup>, which we interpreted as careless police brutality, and the pleasure of trigger happy masculine paramilitary forces at UWC. No one deserves to be shot at, even with rubber bullets or pin-balls, not in our democracy that many people died for!



UWC Workers denied entry into campus, 25/02/16

<sup>29</sup> see article by IOL Staff Reporters, 25<sup>th</sup> February 2016, Third day of UWC protests gets heated <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/third-day-of-uwc-protests-gets-heated-1989599>

On Thursday, 25<sup>th</sup> February 2016, the workers, UWC Fees Will Fall, UWC management had a closed meeting, whilst the majority of the workers were locked outside the university premises. The meeting had no tangible outcomes beyond the reiteration of the university's position towards in-sourcing: *"in-sourcing would bankrupt the university"*, *"a minimum wage of R10 000 would not be realistic"*; *"a task team will be established to look into insourcing"*. In other words, the meeting of the 25<sup>th</sup> February was no more than a public relations exercise and a clear attempt to contain the militancy of workers at UWC.

On Friday, 26<sup>th</sup> February 2016, the workers were still denied entry into campus, and so they picketed outside one of the university's main entrance the whole day, completely barricading that entrance for the duration of that day (see image below).



Symphony Way UWC Entrance Barricaded by protest action of workers, 26/02/2016

May the reader take note that by the time of writing this report, it was becoming much clearer that in-sourcing is not an option for UWC, not because the university cannot afford it, as reiterated by UWC management and UWC Council, but it was (at the time of writing) relatively convincing that there are much deeper political reasons embedded in the tender system governing the allocation of tenders to bidders, which prevented insourcing at UWC. As alluded above, at the time of writing there were rumors: that the tender system governing the allocation of tenders to outsourced companies was allegedly colluding with the self-interests of some members of UWC Council, and UWC management. However, it must be reiterated that at the time of writing, these were only rumors, which could be perhaps probed by investigative journalism, beyond the scope of this report.

Nonetheless, UWC workers were finally allowed back on campus on the 1<sup>st</sup> March 2016. But the strike was not suspended on the same day. A meeting with UWC management took place at 9:30am of that morning. The resolution of that meeting was that workers should go back to work on the following day (2<sup>nd</sup> of

March), and they were assured that they would not be victimized for their participation in the strike. Furthermore workers were assured that they will be given the opportunity to engage the UWC Council in a meeting about the end of outsourcing. And so the workers returned to work on Wednesday, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2016.

However, to our surprise, at about 9pm on the night of the 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2016, our #OutsourcingMustFall Labour Lawyer received a call from the UWC Executive Director (Finance & Services, Mr Regal) about a meeting scheduled by Chair of UWC Council, Mthunzi Mdwaba for the 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2016 at 1:30pm. Mr Regal made it clear that UWC students were not allowed in that meeting! Nonetheless, the meeting proceeded, and was attended by Shop Stewards of the outsourced companies at UWC, and a labour lawyer affiliated to the #OutsourcingMustFall Movement.

The above referred to meeting revealed that the UWC Council has only relative powers in the process of choosing or deciding which company to outsource. In fact the Chair of Council, Mr Mthunzi Mdwaba stated that it is the UWC management that makes such decision. We found such statements contradictory to the widely held view that the decision to insource can only be made by the UWC Council – the latter was repeatedly said in many meetings held between UWC Fees Must Fall Movement and UWC management, including the Chancellor of UWC, Archbishop Dr Magkoba. We therefore found such finger pointing very strange, but revealing that, in fact, outsourcing/insourcing is a political decision that can be made swiftly by UWC management, and endorsed by UWC Council.

Nonetheless, the meeting with the Chair of Council, and UWC management was progressive, even though insourcing was delayed for another 6 months, but the delegates were assured that insourcing is more likely to take place within the 6 months (i.e. between March and August 2016). However, on the other hand, many of us were convinced that these were clear delay tactics to contain the militancy of workers.

#### *Delay tactics against insourcing: strategies of divide and rule*

Other than the utterances that insourcing would bankrupt UWC on the part of UWC management and UWC Council, we have taken note of other divide and rule strategies employed by UWC to dampen the #EndOutsourcing Movement. The latter includes the 7% salary increase for UWC academics, which took effect in January 2016, without even being requested by UWC academics. In other words, UWC academics received a salary increase from UWC, without asking for it in January 2016. Furthermore, soon after that, we saw UWC administrative or support staff marching to the Administration building, demanding a salary increase as well. This march took place on 20<sup>th</sup> January 2016.

Let us take a closer look at these delay tactics. We argue that the salary increase for academics may be a clear strategy employed by UWC to make sure that academics do not support the #FeesWillFall #EndOutsourcing Movements at UWC. Furthermore, it appears that UWC management also made attempts to



sew divisions between UWC support staff and the joint worker-student movement by promising a salary increase to non-academic staff. Of course the promise to increase the salaries of support staff was made on the 20<sup>th</sup> January 2016 when support staff marched to the Administration building, demanding a salary increase. On that day, support staff were notably seen marching and singing the same songs as UWC Fees Will Fall Movement, which was somehow strange as there was no unity between the students' movement and support staff till then. It appeared as if the support staff movement was a counter movement to the joint worker-student movement at UWC.

### **Concluding remarks**

We conclude this report by stating that what we went through as students of UWC during the 2015/16 student rebellion has left us with many unanswered questions about the future of our country in terms of appalling levels of poverty in black communities caused by the looters of state coffers in our current (ANC) government, who can be best described as "Architects of poverty"<sup>30</sup>.

This report has specifically focused on UWC, and how the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement for free education has managed to connect the plight of poor black students with the broader context of "black pain" manifested in appalling poverty levels in our black communities.

On the #EndOutsourcing campaign, as other Fees Must Fall Movements elsewhere in the country, the UWC Fees Will Fall Movement has vividly shown the connections between the plight of students and the vicissitudes of the black working class of South Africa, and all its peculiarities associated with 'Black Pain'<sup>31</sup>. These connections have been best manifested in the invocations of the symbolism of David Hlongwane's sculpture at the centre of UWC discussed and displayed in Chapter 8.

Furthermore, police brutality, and criminalization of student protests have sharpened the political senses of students in such a way that countless episodes of police brutality since the dawn of South Africa's democracy have been recounted, and reflected upon by students. The latter includes the infamous Marikana massacre of 2012, and the death of Andries Tatane in the hands of the state police in 2011, in Ficksburg, Free State, amongst many cases. Furthermore, the infamous Marikana massacre has been described as tantamount to genocide by some commentators, including students. Such conclusions appear to have

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<sup>30</sup> Mbeki, T. (2009) *Architects of Poverty: Why African Capitalism Needs Changing*, South Africa: Pan Macmillan.

<sup>31</sup> The concept of 'Black Pain' needs no explanation in black communities the world over. It is the pain of being subjugated into nothing, by white supremacy, on the part of blacks or people of colour. It is the inferiority complex that has been shoved down the throats of blacks over centuries as a political force of cultural appropriation. It is the force that has sanctioned black bodies to death, to psychical assault, and psychological torture. It is a force that has degraded the confidence of blacks into praising white supremacy, to self-hatred, and Afrophobia.

been derived from analysis of the 'political-capital complex'<sup>32</sup> illuminating how the state continues to defend (white) capital in various ways. Furthermore students have articulated that this 'political-capital complex' has gained the reputation of being immune from all forms of resistance based on its known reactionary violent means to dampen resistance. Students have been able to trace the violent nature of this 'political-capital complex' to the introduction of the western state system that is dependent on tax on the land that became South Africa. Through the lenses of extreme 'police brutality' students have concluded that since its introduction, the state, within its role in the 'political-capital complex', has been a usual suspect in assassinations of activists of various sorts - this includes the assassination of Hintsa in 1835, or the assassination of Bhambatha and his rebels in 1906. Or the Sharpsville Massacre of on the 21<sup>st</sup> March 1960, or the assassination of Bantu Biko in 1977 or Ruth First in 1982 or Chris Hani in 1993, or Andries Tatane in 2011, or 'miners shot down' in Marikana, and many more known, and unknown cases

Therefore, through the lenses of police brutality or #PoliceBrutalityMustFall students are questioning the violent nature of the South African state, which is well understood to be an inherited violent state that needs to be transformed to serve the needs of a democratic society. In other words, by challenging police brutality in all its forms, students are asking: how can we achieve a non-violent state in post-colonial South Africa? Within this question are strong condemnations of police brutality as it is clear that the police are merely defenders of corrupt politicians, and capital (including the elite, and authorities of various sorts). In other words, the police are used for political interests of the political and business elite in South Africa. Of course we have seen this coalition in public media statements issued by the political and business elite, condemning student protests in antagonizing terms that warrants police brutality and arrest of students. The latter includes recent joint media statements of the ANC, and Afriforum.

By demanding free education, and the end of outsourcing in tertiary institutions, students have declared their purpose, for their generation, and generations to come. These are noble demands, and there is nothing criminal about these demands, in fact they should be promoted, and advocated by all members of South African society, regardless of economic position.

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<sup>32</sup> The 'political-capital complex' simply refers to the collusion of the political and the business elite, where the latter becomes the former, and vice versa. In such situations the political elite live to defend capital at all costs, as we saw what happened in Marikana, where 34 miners were shot dead as a result of this 'political-capital complex'. Indeed, it is this 'political-capital complex', in its neoliberal form, that is a major cause of poverty as African heads of states, and their sycophants carelessly usurp state coffers, as described by Moeletsi Mbeki in *'Architects of Poverty'* cited in footnote 28.