

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION LEADERSHIP AND HEALING

MARION KEIM
EDITOR

EFSA | INSTITUTE FOR THEOLOGICAL & INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH



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Social Transformation,
Leadership and Healing

Editor
Marion Keim



Conference Proceedings – Social Transformation, Leadership and Healing

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E F S A

INSTITUTE FOR THEOLOGICAL & INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

Ecumenical Foundation of Southern Africa (EFSA)

The EFSA Institute is an independent ecumenical institute that functions under a non-profitable trust. It consists of a unique network of participating institutions: representatives of the Faculties of Theology and the Departments of Religious Studies of the Universities of the Western Cape (UWC), Cape Town (UCT) and Stellenbosch (US), as well as the South African Council of Churches Western Cape (SACCWC), are represented on the Board and Executive of the EFSA Institute.

Generally speaking, the EFSA Institute attempts to promote consensus between different sectors, interest groups and stakeholders on the challenges and problems facing our society. It strives to play a facilitating role by providing a platform for the public debate of even controversial issues.

Both in its structure and function there is a dialectic tension between an academic (research-based) approach and the need to address specific needs of the church and other religious communities. This is imbedded in the main issues facing the churches in our society. In a general sense the EFSA Institute tries to focus public attention (and the attention of the church or academic institutions) on specific problems in society.

Currently, the focus is on the following priorities:

Firstly, the *development role of the church* and other religious communities: the eradication of poverty in South Africa; the role of religious networks in community development, in social and welfare services; and the development of community and youth leadership.

Secondly, the *healing and reconciliatory role of the church* and other religious communities: this includes a project on the role of women in the healing of our violent society; the mobilisation of the church and religious communities against crime and violence; and the breaking down of stereotypes (racism) in our society.

Thirdly, the *formation of values in the strengthening of a moral society by the church* and other religious communities: the promotion of moral values such as honesty, support for the weak, respect for life and human rights.

Fourthly, the *development of youth and community leadership*: special courses for the development of leadership skills among our youth have been developed and are presented to support the building of a new society.

It is also significant that the EFSA Institute is the Secretariat to the National Religious Association for Social Development (NRASD) that was approved as a Principal Recipient in the South African Country 2009 Proposal to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria.

These priorities cannot be separated from one another, since many of the complex social issues are interrelated.

Dr Renier A Koegelenberg

Executive Director

Executive Chairperson, Prof H Russel Botman

Executive Director, Dr Renier A Koegelenberg

Postal address: P.O. Box 3103, Matieland,
Stellenbosch, 7602, South Africa

Office of the Executive Director

Phone: +27 (0)21 880-1734

Fax.: +27 (0)21 880-1735

Mobile: +27 (0)83 625-1047

E-mail: efsa@iafrica.com

Website: <http://www.efsa-institute.org.za>

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Preface

The EFSA Institute has been focusing for several years now on the challenge of reconciliation in the South African society – a matter which is directly related to the theme of this conference. Historically we have had a long and close partnership with the University of the Western Cape, where our first office was located in 1990. The Department of Religion and Theology is represented on our Board, and together we have frequently hosted conferences on ecumenical theology and social issues.

We were therefore honoured to be one of the key partners in this interdisciplinary conference and are glad that we could also support the publication of the contributions. Given South Africa's long history of conflict, our transition to democracy is regarded by many as a kind of miracle. Although there were many contributing factors and forces that enabled our relatively peaceful transition, we were fortunate to have had strong leaders within diverse constituencies who facilitated a political settlement and transition to full democracy. As a young democracy, we need strong leadership in all our different sectors – to build a better society for all.

Dr Renier Koegelenberg

Executive Director: EFSA Institute

Foreword

This book addresses the issue of social transformation, a major challenge for many countries on the African continent. The main focus is on the South African situation. That the Conference on Social Transformation, Leadership and Healing took place a month following the xenophobic attacks that spread from Alexandra, Johannesburg, to other parts of the country, including the Western Cape, was fortuitous. Consequently, the situation gave a particular edge to the discussions. We are indeed fortunate that the likes of Tony Karbo of the University for Peace, Addis Ababa and Kader Asmal, Achmat Dangor, Father Michael Lapsley, Ntutu Mtwana and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela agreed to participate and contribute on so relevant a topic at a crucial point in our evolving democracy. The second in the conference series on transformation at the University of the Western Cape underscores the importance of one of the pillars on which the University functions – an engaged university in which societal challenges, including socio-economic development, underpin our academic pursuits in teaching and learning, research and knowledge production. The conference was organised in partnership with the EFSA Institute for Theological and Interdisciplinary Research, Franklin/Covey Southern Africa, the Nelson Mandela foundation, the University for Peace, Addis Ababa, and the Western Cape Network for Community, Peace and Development.

During two invigorating days, academics, research students and community leaders came together to discuss the challenges of social transformation, the definition and role of leadership in the transformation, and the role of various healing processes in achieving reconciliation. The intellectually stimulating deliberations confirmed on the basis of case studies that social transformation fails when leadership fails. The concept of leadership was interrogated by several of the presenters. What emerges is that leadership comes from within the individual – it is an inner passion – and that the leader is a servant of society rather than a commander of people. The role of leadership should not be perceived as restricted to local, regional and national governments, but is necessary at all levels of society: it is a collective responsibility. To seek change we must first embrace the change. How true this holds for Nelson Mandela. For it was his total commitment to reconciliation and healing that galvanised an entire nation to follow suit, resulting in the peaceful transition to our democracy and the creation of the rainbow nation. The deliberations also highlighted the additional challenges faced by women in a society undergoing social transformation, and so the need to move away from the stereotyped roles often given to women in society.

So where to from here? Is there hope for the future? Yes, without a doubt. In this regard the presentations captured in this book are about sense making, about revisiting the agenda of social transformation informed by the successes and failures of the past 14 years so as to redefine, if necessary, our trajectory and processes, and in doing so to understand the meaning of true leadership and effective processes of reconciliation and healing. There is also a challenge for higher education institutions, which are responsible for nurturing and developing a major group of the leaders of the future. That challenge is to re-examine the acceptable attributes of our graduates so as to develop the whole person as opposed to one limited to discipline-specific skills. It is fitting to end with the words of Nelson Mandela: "For to be free is not to unevenly cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others!" This book should be required reading for those who believe that they are leaders and those who aspire to be leaders in promoting harmony and social transformation.

*Prof. Rameshwar Bharuthram
Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic)
University of the Western Cape
July 2009*

Introduction

*Prof. Marion Keim, Coordinator Social Transformation and Peace Programme,
University of the Western Cape*

I dream of the realisation of the unity of Africa, whereby its leaders combine in their efforts to solve the problems of this continent.

Nelson Mandela

True forgiveness deals with the past, all of the past, to make the future possible. We cannot go on nursing grudges even vicariously for those who cannot speak for themselves any longer. We have to accept that we do what we do for generations past, present and yet to come. That is what makes a community a community or a people a people – for better or for worse.

Desmond Mpilo Tutu, from: *No Future Without Forgiveness*

In the 21st century we live in a globalised yet diverse world of interdependent and interrelated institutions and structures which constitute our environment. We are all born into families, grow up in communities and belong to societies – often forgetting to appreciate our diversity – as in each of those structures we are faced with socio-economic, political and emotional challenges. In many African countries the transition to democracy has brought great progress to many people and numerous advances have been made in bridging past divisions. However, many tensions and inequalities remain on the continent and contribute to the high levels of conflict over a variety of issues ranging from employment to land, housing, educational and health issues, and to scarceness of resources and facilities.

Many of these tensions have also been caused or sustained or even aggravated by examples of failed or unethical leadership. The question then arises: what constitutes good leadership, especially in the pre- and post-election period, and how can good leadership be used to facilitate social transformation and healing in our communities and societies?

Leaders as well as constituents are therefore called upon to address these numerous and complex challenges, and to team up with civil society and educational institutions to work towards social transformation and healing as well as good and ethical leadership. The South African Conference on Leadership, Social Transformation and Healing aims to be a platform for such discussions.

The conference forms part of a series of international conferences on social transformation of the University of the Western Cape's Social Transformation Programme.

Social transformation has always been a key mission and is a focal research area of the University of the Western Cape (UWC). The University's unique political and academic history has had a significant influence on its line of research, the contents of many academic courses and the establishment of numerous outreach projects in response to the needs of South African communities. The Social Transformation Programme promotes research, community outreach and scholarly work as part of a multidisciplinary programme demonstrating the University's ongoing commitment to pursuing academic excellence in the field of social transformation.

We started the Social Transformation conference series with an international seminar on *The Role of Universities in Conflict, Transformation, Reconstruction and Development* held on 19-20 September 2007 at the University of the Western Cape. This international seminar, with 65 representatives from 19 countries, was a joint initiative of the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the University of the Western Cape's Dynamics of Building a Better Society Programme in association with the University of Missouri (USA), the Peace and Conflict Studies Programmes of the Universities of Makerere (Uganda) and Ibadan (Nigeria), the Institute for Conflict Resolution at the University of Braunschweig (Germany), the University for Peace (Costa Rica) and IDASA (South Africa), in keeping with the values of the Nelson Mandela Foundation for the development of a just, peaceful and democratic world.

The second gathering in the same series was the *South African Conference on Leadership, Social Transformation and Healing*, which took place on 5 and 6 June 2008 in partnership with the EFSA Institute for Theological and Interdisciplinary Research in cooperation with the University of the Western Cape, Franklin/Covey Southern Africa, the Nelson Mandela Foundation, the University for Peace (Addis Ababa) and the Western Cape Network for Community, Peace and Development.

We are proud to be able to present the outcome of this conference, which we feel provides a significant contribution to the discourse on leadership, social transformation and healing on the African continent and beyond.

The conference brought together 250 selected representatives from African and international universities, government and civil society all involved in the field of leadership, social transformation and healing.

During the conference the participants were acutely aware of the challenges and barriers which leaders as well as constituents face regarding good and ethical leadership and social transformation and healing

Two of the many outcomes of the conference are the call for regular exchange on the topics discussed and the call for educational institutions, government and civil society to include leadership, social transformation and healing as a central part of the intellectual environment. ; Tthis will in turn entail building an ethos of leadership and social transformation into the lives and functions of these institutions and the individuals associated with them.

The gathering also urged our centres of primary, secondary and higher learning as well as local, provincial and national governments to engage in the attempts to provide quality training in ethical and moral leadership as well as in social transformation on a regular basis with workshops, conferences and seminars.

With regards to networking with civil society, the growth of the Western Cape Network for Community Peace and Development was a direct outcome of the 2007 discussions. It started with 6 founding organisations in 2005 and grew in 2007 to 25 organisations and to date has 34 NGOs, local government and tertiary institutions (UWC) working in the field of social transformation, conflict resolution, peace building, empowerment of women, youth programmes, sport, and community development and healing. Since its inception the Network has been an active partner in the promotion of social transformation, community development and peace building in the communities of the Western Cape.

The work of the Network has been exemplary in the field and it is seen as a model for other organisations and individuals who would like to contribute and join hands in the effort to actively promote ethical leadership, social transformation and healing on the continent and beyond.

In South Africa we are blessed with truly extraordinary leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Tutu, and we hope that the young leaders who follow in their footsteps will recognise and appreciate the ethical and moral responsibilities of true leadership and work towards social transformation and healing for all.

Day 1

Welcome

Prof. Brian O'Connell, Rector and Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape

Chairperson, distinguished guests, students, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to welcome you to the 2nd international conference of the Social Transformation Programme on campus, the 2008 South African conference on Leadership, Social Transformation and Healing.

The Social Transformation Programme on campus is a multidisciplinary programme and we are happy to have a gathering of students, academics, civil society and politicians to discuss over the next two days issues relating to leadership, social transformation and healing. This is critical to South Africa's past, present and future.

I have just come from Mannenberg after participating in a Proudly Mannenberg event. It made me ask: how does one reconstruct community? Last week I was in a church and spoke about community; more and more I am asked to speak about this topic. The issue today is understanding what communities are and why people behave in a certain way to one another. We have been trying to understand the issues that define relationships. We have conflict transformation, citizenship, racism, homophobia, xenophobia. Last Sunday our students had a session on this theme attended by the Vice-Rector. Today is an appropriate day to speaking about social transformation and healing, because today the world celebrates the environment. The greatest challenge is the environment and how we have dealt with it. How do we create a space where human life is possible? The planet turns around the sun, and the environment changes dramatically. We have had a benign time where things have been comfortable. At the time of the ice age the surface temperature of the earth was just over 10 degrees, now it is 12½ degrees. How we will live in that context will be a challenge. I spoke on climate change and realised how much this has to do with us – what do we do in our contexts?

What I said that day was: consider how well we have done as humans. We live longer than before. Poverty is a relative concept. We have created the idea of the sanctity of human life. Enshrined in declarations and constitutions we keep alive what nature would have despatched – we are a successful species, but in the face of the awesome power of nature we need to recognise how vulnerable we are. Hurricanes and earthquakes test us and our response, but

they have an impact only on some of us. We deal with disaster; we rebuild, send aid and relocate. There are projects, money, technology and goodwill. We repair and remain confident in contesting nature.

Now we are reaching the limit of what we can control in our natural environment and its impact on our attempts to bring order to a social world. We fight for group survival, and climate change might call our old brain into action and undo our advances. There has always been climate change. Global warming is undisputed; we are in a phase of deep warming and contributing to it. Computer models tell us of the consequences, which are desperately frightening. We once had a glacier in Clanwilliam and one day it will be so again. But will these challenges still be of the localised sort or on another order altogether – planet-wide? Will it pit the weak against the strong? Now, we have taken a long time to become convinced about climate change. Not uncommon in history, we do not want to know – Galileo HIV/Aids; man sees what he wants to see and disregards the rest. But if we pause now, some of the damage that we are causing we can also control.

A cultural response is possible. We can employ our considerable brain power and contribute towards eradicating and reducing the danger. We can deal with the parts that stem from our own behaviour. Should that make us confident? When threatened, we think and innovate and use technology and have always done so, but climate change may be different. We have behaved brutally when our interests are challenged, subsidised farmers, concocted reasons for war and destroyed the less powerful, built engines of horror to destroy those who challenge our ways of life. Consider Kyoto and the refusal of our species to cooperate – when powerful forces threaten us, we do our worst. The reluctance in certain societies to accept the scientific truth about AIDS is a good example.

Cultural changes are possible, and we have the chance to effect them. Climate change needs a largeness of heart and a sense of fairness that have eluded us so far. Time will tell if we can affect the fantasies that have made our hearts brutish when our future is at stake. May we embrace the past and envision our future, find in our hearts and minds the necessary braveness, and care enough to change our behaviour and engage the prospect so that all may flourish.

Community Leadership and Social Transformation

Mrs Ntutu Mtwana

Marion is a sister in the struggle against any form of violence. I have known her to support all initiatives that will uplift the lives of people downtrodden by different factors.

Community, leadership – what is meant by that? For me, community starts with self, an individual joins others in pursuing a specific goal, that of one's life, one's livelihood, one's general sense of well-being. Who drives the process of a person getting to where they want to be? It starts with self. I have started looking at my life and thought about what I have always been dreaming about: that one day I want to be somewhere where others look up to me. I have experienced difficulties, socially, culturally, religiously, politically and economically that gave me the energy to say: one day I will be moving along with others to a life where I will have a say in how I am led, and I want to make a choice as to who should be leading me. In that process one needs to look at the options: either you anoint yourself to lead others, or you are chosen by others to lead them, or you usurp the leadership position to satisfy your own needs. Who can be called a community leader? Has he or she the interests of others at heart or only self-interest? I am reminded of Martin Luther King Jnr., who said that “Our life begins to end the day we become silent about things that matter.” As I am standing here today, everybody is looking at South Africa, regarding what has happened to people we call names. I have written an e-mail that we need to plan a programme of re-integrating IDPs – what a word! As a person who is among others in the community, who am I to begin a process of labelling people? We need to begin looking at the dynamics of the day, because these dynamics will determine our frame of mind, in order to be looking whether it is not important to begin to change our mindset, to begin to effect change in the lives of others.

Community leadership and social transformation – we need to begin a process of moving from theory and rhetoric, from silence and complacency, to one where communities evolve to commitment and stewardship, to social justice. This has an impact on leadership development; a focus on a more complex set of competencies is required. When we look at ourselves as community leaders, do we see somebody who is capable of taking the lives of the community members to a new stage, to a better life for all? One needs to move from where one is at this point in life, take a few steps in a direction that reflects change. I recall that as a woman – though I have had to comply

with social dictates – I have to be looking to the head of the family, the father, the husband, a man. And we find at community level, whenever you come in, you are conscientised to the fact that the elders of the village and the seniors of the place are men who are the leaders, have to be respected and acknowledged. And I ask myself: who am I? Am I not leading a process? Am I not leading a life that drives a change in the status quo? I want to recognise myself as a leader, because I am here to contribute to the transformation of the status quo for a better life for all, including myself. Culturally, it was seen as appropriate that I could not make a decision because the head of the household is not here. We have achieved a transformation in that mindset, which implies that someone else is bigger and larger than another. Today I can say as a woman: I am a leader that is just the same as another one. I take responsibility for transforming my life and the lives of others. We need to be looking at ourselves proudly. Leadership requires competencies. We need to move from a stage where we say: I will be a leader as long as I satisfy certain groups of people. I need to take responsibility for all. It is a bus that needs to be driven. There are different platforms that require leadership.

I want to share a scenario with you. Leadership was required to break the silence where society did not. Everybody started asking the question: what are you doing, now that there is an outburst in the community? Now that we see the displacement and the abuse of other people? There was no leadership at community level. That one said, I am taking responsibility. Another one said, this is not right! What happened? The community leaders that command respect decided to keep quiet and see how things unfold. Others said that it is unacceptable and only then did they come up and say: you cannot come into the community, because we as leaders have to take responsibility to make sure the life of these people is brought back to its original form. Where was I when this erupted? What did I do to make sure that when this first incident happened I took responsibility to say: this is not acceptable? I sat in my comfort zone. Is that the type of community leader who will take the lives of people to other levels?

Today we are seeing the results of the thorns of silence. We see pent up emotions and a lot of anger. The volcano is erupting – am I contributing to the eruption? Am I a ship, boat or bus that carries others to a corner and says: this is not affecting me directly, let me see who can I blame? Am I the driver of a bus that takes people to a destination that represents intolerance, jealousy? Or am I taking this bus, steering it to a place where we sing of transformation, not only in words but in deeds. We need to be looking at a community and nation today that is saying: we have an understanding, a sense of responsibility to ourselves and others. We have a responsibility as

community members and citizens to influence our people and leaders so that they do not think they are larger than the community. We are thinly stretched in our commitment to life preservation.

What kind of leadership do we require? Am I just enjoying my space, and it should not be disturbed? I want to demand recognition and be the only route towards an improvement and betterment of the quality of life. I am forgetting that communities are now aware of the broader world. We have read what happens in other parts of the world, but have not recognised how it can affect us. When it is closer to home, we have not done enough to prevent such outbursts. In 2005, I was in a country where someone calling himself a community leader said he was going to France, where some people had been torched when they crossed the border. “Why are they doing that?” he asked. Community leaders dissociate themselves from the ills and evils committed and do not take responsibility for their people. Are we creating an environment where people will follow suit? And how much do we contribute through silence to what is happening? Communities are making sense of structural violence, of what is happening to us as self-appointed leaders, and they make their voices heard.

The acts of violence are strongly condemned, but how much are we as community leaders and community members beginning to remind the populace of the doctrine of the heroes – Ghandi and Luthuli, and the doctrine of peace, tolerance and reconciliation taught by Mandela? What is sparking all these reactions? Have we shifted from the peaceful co-existence that we always believed in to the intolerance we are seeing today? We have forgotten that individuals can apply discipline to their thinking and chose violence to express their thinking. All forms of violence will get a response and reaction. We need to take note of the signs and symptoms. Groups of people thrive on violence. As community leaders we need to build a culture of leadership that ensures social responsibility and service beyond ourselves.

I want to draw our attention to the type of leadership that would serve best the needs of communities, to the community leader that is like a bus driver, disciplined, chosen by the people, driving this bus. I look at myself as an employee of the people and I am carrying those who hire me to take them to a destination. I am a driver that will ensure that the right people are on the bus, taking them to a better life, that they are en route to a common destination, or else you get confusion. We need to ensure that the right people on this bus are in the right seats, and the driver should be right for this bus and this destination. I am firm enough to reshuffle and get people off the bus for non-compliance, and get others on to the bus, proceeding to a destination chosen

by the people. Drivers cannot deal with unruly passengers who demand to say how the bus should be driven.

These are my principles of transformational leadership that brings synergy and energy:

1. Community leadership should be based on the principle of simplification, accessible to those it serves;
2. Leaders need to have motivation, to lead people from despondency to hope for a better life;
3. Community leaders who wish to transform the status quo need to be the best facilitators of processes, not dictated to, not acting to order, but facilitators and initiators for people, with a lot of innovations;
4. We need someone who takes the initiative to change the status quo, who is prepared for all eventualities;
5. We need community leaders who know that today might be gloomy, but tomorrow things will be improved through acceptance, tolerance and good neighbourliness, good sisterhood and brotherhood, and together we can change the lives of all.

Leadership and Social Transformation and Healing – a Female Perspective

Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

Because of the climate in the country, I have fashioned this talk to suit the times. We cannot start our discussion without reflecting on the recent developments in our country. Now and then we are confronted with events that challenge our humanity. Often these events catch us off-guard. The present orgy of violence and xenophobic attacks against fellow Africans is one such event. Our leaders had bequeathed to us a beautiful country. Our political transition was extolled by the world for its exemplary display of *ubuntu* and for our president as a model of reconciliation. All of this was possible because South Africa held its promise at one level.

The recent developments reflect a failure of leadership. The state president has denied any suggestions that he had ignored intelligence reports warning of the possibility of the outbreak of these attacks. At the same time intelligence seems to suggest that government was aware of the simmering xenophobic tensions as early as the beginning of the year, but threw caution to the wind as well as its political responsibility and mandate. The consequence was that overnight we have moved from a being tolerant rainbow nation to a nation engulfed with rage and hate. Protected from the ravages of poverty and unemployment, we have paid less attention to the sociological impact of increasing demands and diminishing resources among our people.

What we have seen is ugly and repulsive. The reasons for this are varied and linked: extreme levels of poverty, prejudice, a history of segregation and distrust of foreigners, competition over scarce resources, fears that foreigners pose an economic threat, and frustration with the perception of poor service delivery. It is not a unique phenomenon to South Africa, but we did not realise how deep and widespread this sense of socio-economic alienation is among our people. Most fears are exaggerations and, at times, unfounded. Contrary to the widespread perceptions, most foreigners are skilled professionals and entrepreneurs, doctors, accountants, bankers, etc. They are a direct investment for the country, whose economy is undermined by a shortage of skills. Viciousness and brutality have exposed the dark side of our being, and we have responded to rise above this challenge.

The present humanitarian crisis calls for more leadership and less rationalisation, calls for empathy. We have a gift to care, to be compassionate, to be communal with the less fortunate. We cannot afford to be distant observers. We can choose to be healers of our nation. Those who can sit with their fellow man not knowing what to say, but knowing that they should be there, can bring life to a dying heart. This is the time to display leadership and value all our people. We should condemn those who have sought to debase our humanity. ABSA is an active partner in the transformation and building of a peaceful and prosperous nation. We concur with Mandela's observation when he said: "For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others." Let us rise to the challenge and be counted.

The xenophobic events put another challenge to our academic and educational system. For too long we have focused on technical subjects to the detriment of the humanities. If the humanities suffer, so will our humanity. The vicious attacks on others indicated the waning effects of Black Consciousness and African philosophy. For all the talk of an African renaissance, we hate ourselves. Is it not ironic that we have lost our black consciousness at the time when we are promoting our so-called African renaissance? However, this is not difficult to understand. The African renaissance was simply reduced to a slogan to appease certain elements of the black elite, the very elite that is uncomfortable about being in the black community. Biko is correct to suggest that being non-white does not mean you are black. Being black is a state of mind. Unfortunately, we have many non-whites in our midst, and we have fed this perception to the very young children. The image of the young children and youth taunting and insulting those old enough to be their grandparents can only mean that we have lost that notion of *ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* is a concept that is not only applicable between black and white relations. We have black-on-black violence because we still suffer from white supremacist ideas, ideas that make us feel ashamed of ourselves. Let me revert to the challenges faced by women in politics.

Aside from the obvious challenges at home, women who are audacious enough to seek political power are routinely dogged by gender-specific coverage that focuses on their looks, their fashion sense, their familial relationships and other details that have nothing to do with their expertise. All the women sitting here will agree with me. The media do not focus on candidates' positions and on the issues, but only on their looks. It is easy to dismiss women as credible leaders because of their looks. You find descriptions, such as these, abound: 'Her size is between 6 and 8.' 'She is captivating without ever appearing confessional or vulnerable.' 'She has a girlish laugh.' 'She is over-ambitious, tailoring her ideology to the need to advance her career.'

‘Too feminine.’ And the usual insinuations about her private life. ‘She could not successfully juggle the increasing duties of being a Parliamentarian or chief executive and a mother.’ Because she is a woman. This sort of media marginalisation reinforces the regressive notion that women are more emotional and less knowledgeable, less qualified to lead, and by proxy less electable than their male counterparts.

Yet during wars women are ubiquitous and highly visible. When wars are over and war songs are sung, women disappear. With the rise of the women’s liberation movement, women demanded a political voice and throughout the next three decades women steadily made inroads into political power. However, the most significant years for women in South African politics were 1994, 1999 and 2004, when many women were elected to Parliament. We do, however, have universal challenges that are facing women – this is to find ways to support individuals and institutions that are trying to promote a democratic transition in their own countries towards more participatory, accountable and transparent governance – whatever form that takes. These hopes are often invested in women. In every crisis, as we have witnessed in the recent weeks in this country, children and women bear the brunt of the violence, which is no surprise as it is mostly women in politics who are connected closely to those on the ground, risking life, health, happiness and personal well-being for the future of others.

What then is the role of women in politics? Aside from the engagement driven by caring for others and having resources to bring a better life for all, we cannot remain disconnected from the harsh realities of politics. Women were outsiders for too long, looking in, playing more a supportive and facilitation role. But politics is all about power, and power is something that is almost always taken and never given. And women are challengers in almost every political system, and therefore we have to confront significant obstacles in almost every political system. Some of us are still located in grassroots politics, but it is important that we occupy every boardroom, every platform and every office where our lives are being discussed. Incidentally, we are a numerical majority, yet we allow ourselves to be a cultural minority. I am talking about the need to change the culture of our politics. At the moment the culture is made with all the male privileges associated with it. If we want to access political power or influence it, we must understand the language of power. As we become professionals and career politicians, it is important that we understand the rules of the game. Yes, there may be differences in every political system, but also universal truths. These universal truths are that every political campaign has certain key resources (I am sure Hillary Clinton could give you a better paper), namely people, money, time, information.

If we manage these resources effectively, we are on our way to victory. Unfortunately, these primary resources in politics are also obstacles women face and encounter in their participation. Money – access to resources – is an issue to women worldwide, that is financial constraints. Women often wonder how they can ever afford to run a campaign and are frequently turned off by the idea of having to fundraise for themselves. Women candidates typically have significantly fewer resources available to them than their male opponents and colleagues. As women are often challengers, it can be more difficult for them to attract investment from political players and on time.

Time constraints: women have enough responsibilities in their busy lives already and do not need more, particularly having a demanding public office – and we still have to wash dishes when returning from meetings.

Information – this issue plays out at a number of levels and means there is the challenge of getting access to the media as well as ensuring that women feel comfortable dealing with and using that tool. The information industry in terms of politics was largely designed by men. The mastery of major issues – many women feel they do not know enough about the major issues of the day and are therefore insufficiently qualified. But this is not true as women tend to have a superior grasp of how major issues are playing out on the ground. Yet men are already eager to project a sense of omniscience, via the media and public performance. Many women do not appear as confident when dealing with the media. More needs to be done in reversing the sense of inadequacy.

People – senior colleagues in political parties, men and women and the obvious obstacles they present. In our country the electoral system makes you subservient to party leaders. Should you differ from the leadership, even on a matter of principle, your support is meaningless. Indeed it is about time that we let people govern, so that we can say: the people have spoken. Then we are confident that those who govern enjoy the confidence and political legitimacy given by the voters. We also need to deal with stereotypes in our backyards. The voters can be a challenge in a number of ways. We have seen it in our country. Even though the voters trust women more, the perception is that voting for women involves taking a risk. And most voters are not there yet. Voters, including women voters, are still more comfortable with men, especially on hard issues such as the economy and security.

Dealing with a hostile environment – recognising that politics is a hostile environment for women. Although we are making gains, it cannot be denied that the current culture of politics worldwide is not one that most women

look at and would want to be part of. Women tend to avoid politics because it is a culture that they cannot relate to. They cannot see how all the public bickering and corruption has anything to do with their lives. They think of families and communities when they vote; on the other hand, men think about themselves. Forgive me for speaking the truth. But you know I always do. When politics get ugly, women tend to stay at home. As a result you have a tendency for women to organise outside of the political system, dominating civil society but not the power base. They tend to want to organise outside of politics and try to change things from the outside. Unfortunately this leads them into the political wilderness with even less access to power and its attendant resources. Women have been exceptional civic organisers, but unless they get inside the political structures and bases of power, that culture will not change. In almost all countries there is a lack of mentoring women by women who have made it for those who have not. Those who had to fight hard to get elected or in senior positions are highly reluctant to bring another woman up the ladder. To use an expression that has become fashionable in the US: women are reluctant to send the elevator back down for others to get into and come after them.

Having painted this gloomy picture, I now want to leave you with the insights and wisdom from the women giants on whose shoulders I stood to be who I am today. What do we do? They taught me that you should recognise that politics, at least in the West, has become an industry. We must invest the industry with the same aspirations that we want to invest legislatures. Only then can we force political professionals to be sensitive to the specific needs of women candidates and how they need to be prepared for campaigns, elections and governing. Be honest as candidates. Do not try to be something you are not, fitting into a suit that just won't fit. This is the best way to appeal to women voters who make up the majority of the population in every country: one size does not fit all in politics. Square pegs do not fit into round holes. Women are trying to fit into an industry that was designed in many ways to keep them out. As challengers, this means we do not have to defend nonsense. If the voters say they think a particular position stinks, and you think so too, say exactly that, that it stinks from a woman's point of view. Build the farm team, prepare the next generation of women for service in politics and for public life now. Begin to build a population of women ready to serve as political professionals and candidates. You must prepare for 2009, girls, there are lots of vacancies under Zuma. There are positions there and I will help you get into all those positions.

Prepare the next generation of women to be comfortable with power. Women should also be comfortable with the idea of people not liking them. You have

no idea how powerful that is. I had to prepare myself for the idea of people not liking me in the previous regime. And we succeeded in bringing down apartheid. Power is never given, it is always taken. We need to build a critical mass to engage power. Figure out how to win, but also learn how to lose. And come back fighting, and that is one thing about women. Challengers always lose more than they win. Change in politics is generational and in many countries women will be charging windmills for a long time if we do not adopt this stance. Girls, thank you very much, uh, and Gentlemen too.

Questions, Comments and Discussion

Comments

Youth Forum: Transformation is change, but it does not mean positive or negative change. As a society, this room is full of people from different backgrounds – diversity. Before we can bring change, we have to change within ourselves. Only then we can bring change. Here we have our rainbow nation, let us focus on the fact that we need to first change within ourselves, and then bring it across to someone else.

“Woman Be” – A poem

Questions

Q: You spoke about the academic environment and that we have over-emphasised technical subjects over the humanities – can you say more about that?

Mrs Mandela: I give you an example. We no longer produce as many social workers as before and some universities have done away with sociology and social work. That has a bearing on what is happening today. Have you had any contact with the latest product of social workers? In this crisis that we are facing, I was appalled at the lack of education, which was not their fault. It is faulty how they practise social work. As a result of their training, they no longer do case work. They could not even assist in placing displaced children as a matter of urgency in emergency places of safety. The current government does not have these places of safety, and if you notice what happened in the Eastern Cape, I doubt there are social workers there. Millions of rands are returned because they are unable to administer social grants. Why is that the case? Social workers did field work then, in the past, now it was difficult to place children in places nearer to the camps, so they could continue their

education. Even where the community was prepared to take people back, it was very difficult, because there are no longer social workers who investigate home circumstances. We can motivate millions to build stadiums and not for social work.

Q: As a foreigner I commend you for travelling the country condemning the xenophobic attacks. Are you open to accept young mentees, so there are future women leaders when you retire?

Mrs Mandela: I did not say anything about retiring. They won't let me retire. I wish I could and wish I had a million hands and hearts to take all of you. We all want to preserve the legacy of our struggle. We would like to see that when we will bid farewell to Comrade Mandela, he should sleep forever in a democratic South Africa that he worked so hard for. Not that it should be soon. May he have many more years. But we would all love for him to depart from this world and see a South Africa we gave up our lives for. We would love to see the so-called rainbow nation being a real rainbow nation, and South Africa having transformed into a democratic South Africa we gave up our lives for. Mentoring you must come naturally. All of us here would love to participate in transforming South Africa, so that our children must never ever again see what we have just seen, which was reminiscent of 1976 and 1984, and those of us who saw so much blood of our children, we don't want to see that ever again. Thank you.

Q: As the man and as the white man I recognise that it is women more than men who practise introspection. As the white person vs. the person of colour I recognise that it is the person of colour who practises introspection more. I can only relate that to what Paulo Freire writes about the oppressor and the oppressed. And as a white male coming from the oppressor group I have no reason to be introspective – why should I be introspective? Life is good, hey? I do not have a problem. I never get forced to think about myself if I stay within my experience and my comfort zone. What Ntutu was doing was taking people out of their comfort zone. It was extraordinary. The question then becomes what Freire says: that the oppressors cannot liberate themselves, cannot conscientise themselves. The oppressor must have the oppressed people to show them the way. The oppressed people must be the teachers of the oppressor to become more human, on how to reclaim all of our humanity that they have robbed from others whom they have oppressed. That puts you in the driver's seat of the bus where all of us, including myself as the white male from the oppressive country, can be shown the way to reclaim all of our humanness. The questions are: how are you going to do that? How can you inspire people who look like me to think about ourselves? How do

you inspire your male colleagues to do what you have done and look honestly and courageously at yourself and not tell lies to yourself. Because we have had two horrible lies in history of civilisation. One is the inferiority of people of colour, and the other is the superiority of people who are white. They are both lies, they are both terribly destructive. It is time to heal those lies. But I look to you and say: how can you take us there?

Mrs Mandela: There is a very simple answer to that. You answer it. The answer will come from within yourself. No-one can change you, except yourself. We overcame the very problem you are talking about ourselves. No-one ever told me to be colour blind. I have four grandchildren in my house. The eldest is married to an African-American, who is a foreigner according to these people. The second one is due to be married to a Ugandan in October, and the third one has a Canadian boyfriend, who came the last two months to negotiate *lobola* and he is a white Canadian. My grandson, who is a medical student, brought a white American home. So what I have fought for all my life is right at home. I managed to realise it. And Zindzi, my second daughter, who is divorced, is now going out with a Congolese pilot, and they intend settling down. So the question of how you change comes from within. No-one can ever change you; it comes from within. I believe we have taken long strides in South Africa. I believe the incidents that have been highlighted by the media: the farmers who get killed, and the farmers who drag people with bakkies and who mistake black children for baboons, those are isolated incidents. That is not South Africa. We have seen great transformation in this country and we have a miracle. We are a miracle nation. We have achieved this without what normally happens in other countries. We did not have a bloody revolution after the takeover in 1994. All we need to do is help you along you do it yourself. Next time I come here you will be lecturing on how to transform here.

Ntutu Mtwana: How do you get others to change? As Mama here just said, it is simple: transform yourself! Acknowledge what you have and what you do not have towards telling the truth. Slowly and slowly, one person will take on a little bit of what you are reflecting and presenting, and we take that on and transform internally. It is difficult to say I am going to bring change. I cannot bring about change. It is very difficult and change is not easily accepted. Your comfort zone is where you can claim ownership, and say now I am comfortable; I am responsible for what I am keeping. But slowly, through preaching the gospel of change, we will be influencing people who will take responsibility for transforming themselves to get to a stage where they can influence the mindsets of others.

Mrs Mandela: We can also see with the xenophobia that some of our values have become sour as people pursue their own interests. The role of the individual is not to be negated. But it was through struggle and unified organisation that we agreed on common truths, like non-racialism, non-sexism, and we held that up as banners in our organisations to transform, shape and influence behaviour in society. We knew it was our collective strength that could change this kind of behaviour. It is not just self-introspection; we need to take with us the collective organisation as well.

I conclude with a quote from Kader Asmal. Sixteen years ago, before he started his career as a cabinet minister, he read a paper at a forum at UWC on the relationship between development and human rights. If you read that paper today it is almost prophetic. He said: “Human well-being is indivisible, as are human rights. The needs of the poor must become the core of development policies and plans. The test in attaining human rights and development is the extent to which the gap between rhetoric about rights and the reality is lessened”. That is relevant to social transformation. You cannot make promises you cannot keep. We have to all work from all sides, we need leadership in all our sectors.

The Link between Leadership and Peace Building

Dr Tony Karbo, University for Peace, Addis Ababa

My task here is to link up the issues that have been presented and to see what role leadership can play in peace building and social transformation. When we hear these words – leadership and social transformation, reconciliation and healing – there is an immediate and clear difficulty in talking about these things. We are lucky because we are located in a university setting. If education for responsive leadership and building sustainable peace is important above all else, and if this education must take place between us lecturers and students in schools and universities in Africa, we need to ask ourselves the very important question in my mind: how must students make use of what they learn from the university setting? Often we ask ourselves the question: why does Africa lack good leaders? Why does Africa lack responsive leaders? I want to suggest that no matter how much complaining we do, how much outrage we express, how disappointed we tend to become, we have never really found an answer. We have not been able to provide a satisfactory answer to this important question. We can say in very general terms that our views, the conventional views we have on this are rather shallow, that when we ask the so-called perennial question about the unresponsiveness of African leadership to Africa's problems, we end in disappointment. Leadership is such a gripping subject. When it is given centre stage, it draws attention from everything else and we focus in on leadership. I wonder if I meet some of the criteria of the driver that Mrs Mtwana gave us for a good driver in a community setting. As I give my talk, I hope I can meet some of these criteria. If the bus is not going in the right direction, please stop me.

What should be the concern of leadership in a general sense? And in the African context, in particular? The subtopic is the accomplishment of group purpose. Are leaders working towards achieving a purpose which the group has set? Do we have people who are looking at this group purpose and try – within that group purpose – to become innovators in the process of accomplishing group goals? Leaders who go with the group's purpose and innovators, but are they also entrepreneurs and thinkers? Do leaders think about resources and their availability? Are they concerned about questions of moral and social cohesion? Are they worried about sustainable development and positive peace? Of course, we know that contemporary Africa is plagued by a lot of threatening problems: the AIDS pandemic, protracted intra-state civil conflicts, issues of disease and poverty, we are challenged by environmental

degradation, and, of course, the issue of climate change and how it affects our lives. Should leaders also be concerned about the real threat of natural disasters as a consequence of climate change? These things can be expanded on by any of you in this audience. In spite of these problems, as John Gardner, one of the leading writers in the field of leadership, says: “We seem to give the issue of leadership every appearance of sleepwalking through a dangerous passage of history. We see life-threatening problems, but we do not react.” We are anxious but immobilised.

Most problems have solutions, different though they might be. What is required is the mobilisation of resources which lead to a sustained capacity for sustained commitment. Fragmentation and divisiveness have reduced the space where, at one point in our history, a shared common purpose thrived. Africans no longer believe in group work. Shared values which were the cradle of civilisation, on which leaders built an edifice of group achievement, have become outdated. What I am suggesting is that no examination of leadership is complete without a thorough interrogation of the collapse and possible regeneration of the African value systems and frameworks. Part of the problem of this dismal record is that our institutions have become lacking in adaptiveness, so much so that they can no longer meet the challenges of a new world order. All human interactions – at work, at school, at university, in the government or in the community – must continuously renew themselves and try to explore the processes involved in such interactions and of leadership development. Aspects such as cultural values, social integration and cohesion, renewal and reconciliation are some of the most important issues to consider. Of course, there is no need to remind ourselves that leadership is omnipresent through all segments of society – government, business, universities, various agencies, etc. Individuals in all segments and at all levels must therefore be prepared to take the initiative and responsibility, using their local knowledge to solve problems at their level. Leadership does not rest with elected, appointed leaders, but is a collective responsibility. In a 1998 report commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation of New York was published and also a book entitled *Essays on Leadership*. Former UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali was part of that process. In that report he said: “Today, as in the past, leadership remains an essential ingredient of all levels of human life. In a time of historical transformation, we need a leadership that, while constantly attuned to the rapidly changing pulse of human affairs, can project a compelling vision of human society and has the ability to communicate it convincingly to the world’s peoples, foster its implementation through cooperative endeavour and follow through on the hard decisions that will inevitable arise.” The quality of leadership will determine the kind of world that future generations will inherit. This applies

especially to this audience here in South Africa because of events that took place here in the past weeks.

If we see leadership as having all these characteristics and qualities, and as involving communities and not just individuals, as being for the collective, which has a common vision, shared goal and values, then where do we link conflict transformation and social transformation with these kinds of leadership? Barbara Wallace in a book entitled *Imagine African Leadership. Opportunities and Challenges* written in 2001 gave us seven characteristics of enlightened leaders that have a direct relationship with conflict transformation, social transformation and peace building.

1. Leadership must be inspired.
2. Leadership is rooted in cultural and communal values, in collective and communal ways. Ms Ntutu talked about the great importance of this particular characteristic.
3. Leadership must have a vision and a guiding mission. It must have a perspective that looks into the future and then look back and come back to that collective value system, that collective ownership of the goal, of a particular objective and only then move forward to that idea of the future and where you want to be. That is like the bus driver – do you have a destination and do you know how to get there?
4. Leadership must seek to bring about social justice and an end to oppression of all as part of a deliberate agenda. It must have a very clear idea about ending injustices. About getting or gaining social justice for everybody in society. If we look at recent events, perhaps this is a very pertinent question to ask: does the South African society of today say it is a just society? Can we say that? Is there social justice? It might be embedded in the constitutional values of the Republic of South Africa, but is it indeed a reality? For people in this field must look to bring about social justice for all and an end to oppression. Beyond that you must also seek to heal the wounds of oppression and all forms of violence. You do not stop there – you do not stop with seeking social justice; you also seek to reconcile and heal the wounds, which is a pertinent aspect of social transformation and healing.
5. Leadership must learn how to negotiate equity and access for all through constructive dialogue among diverse peoples. This is again a useful guideline for us here in South Africa. Are we working towards a constructive dialogue; are we negotiating for equity and access for all? Can everybody in South Africa have access to housing, access to all the

social services, to education and health care and so on? Leaders must work towards getting that equity and should be able through negotiation to bring together the diversity of people in South Africa so they can achieve that specific objective.

6. Leadership must also discover how to bring about a new agenda for humanity to reach its fullest potential and for the creation of a new golden age that springs from the bosom of a united Africa. The struggle the ANC fought against apartheid – are we still fighting for those things, and is that struggle really reflected in our own personal lives? Is it reflected in how we deal with one another? Is that struggle reflected in our personal relationships, not just those with our own people of the same colour and background, but with all people?
7. The final quality should bring the question directly to leadership: will these qualities help us bring about sustainable peace? That is a question for your homework – as teachers we love to see our students go to the library and spend the night there writing assignments. You can write me a five- or ten-pager on that.

What do we mean by sustainable peace? Sustainable peace is when you have the absence of direct violence, when there is an absence of cultural violence and an absence of structural violence. In short, it is the presence of a high propensity to enhance the constructive transformation of disputes. How do we then sustain peace? Some have suggested four preconditions for sustainable peace.

1. The first is *effective communication and consultation at various levels* – at the top political level, at middle level – that is the majority of us, the middle-class elites, religious leaders, etc. – and at the grassroots level, which is where the Western Cape Network for Community Peace and Development comes in. These consultations have to take place at all these levels. Then what? Is this applicable in every context? Does one size fit all? Should we have some specific kinds of skills for these consultations and dialogue? We need to think about these questions. Can we apply the communication skills used in KwaZulu-Natal the same way as in the Western Cape? What are the communication skills needed in a particular context?
2. There should be *peace-enhancing structures*. I was in a refugee camp in Western Ethiopia last week. You have over 40,000 southern Sudanese living in two camps. That is a big number. You have two major ethnic groups that are killing each other – the Nuer and the Anuak. Historically

they are cousins. Why are they killing one another? I would not kill my cousin. But historical legacies sometimes affect the way we relate to one another. People here nod, because it resonates with what happens to us, doesn't it? What have they done to address the tensions emanating from ethnic hatred and such historical legacies? They have set up peace-enhancing structures, which are one of the preconditions that I am talking about. At the top level they have a central refugee committee that is responsible for the administration and management of the camps and a liaison structure between refugee camps, aid agencies and government agencies responsible for their welfare and protection. Then below that structure traditional courts have been established, based on their own traditional laws, which they brought back from Sudan. They have adapted these traditional laws to fit into the context of Ethiopian law as far as it concerns refugees, to fit into the context of international refugee law. And they have utilised this specific peace-enhancing structure to address various issues, disputes and conflicts that arise within and also between various ethnic groups. They have even set up peace committees that are there to actually dialogue, mediate and negotiate when inter-ethnic conflict is taking place. They have also set up so-called unity committees. They come once every three months and go into each zone of the camp. The camp is divided into zones and each sends a representative. The representatives will mobilise resources so that a zone is responsible each month for entertaining and feeding people from other zones, as an expression of solidarity, as an expression of their being Sudanese. These are very effective, albeit very simple structures, which they have set up in those camps to enhance peace.

3. The third precondition is the *establishment of an integrative moral and political climate*. This has a lot to do with our cultural values and how leaders utilise them for the promotion of the public interest. If I go back to the example of the refugee camps – what the refugees have done is that they do not allow any chairperson to be there longer than a year. After one year they bring somebody else. This is also a reflection of their own traditional and cultural values. This creates a sense of we-ness, a sense of belonging to this one group. Kader Asmal talked about that this morning: what kinds of identity do you wish to highlight at different points in time? It does not matter if you are Nuer or Anual or Dinka; in this camp it is us, here we are Sudanese, that is the most important identity. And so they celebrate it, create conditions and systems that enhance it – being Sudanese, the notion of us, the we-ness feeling, the existence of multiple loyalties, but with the idea that, above all, we are Sudanese.

4. Finally, as a precondition for sustainable peace, we must have *objective and subjective security, not just physical security but human security*. Human security takes into consideration environmental security, social security and the security of the state itself. It is important to have physical security. The security of the state in terms of maintaining its territorial integrity also matters. But more so, security that addresses basic human needs matters. That is critical, which includes the need for identity, diversity, association in any kind of grouping. The professor talked about it this morning in terms of freedoms that you can express both privately and publicly. Do we have spaces for that kind of expression?

Leadership oftentimes ignores the issue of gender in leadership, development and social transformation. Mrs Mandela talked about this extensively this morning. How can we mainstream this idea, which is often forgotten? Because unless we begin to think about mainstreaming the idea of gender in leadership, the building and sustaining of social transformation and creating conditions that will bring development will remain elusive. At a workshop someone said the whole issue of gender is a bad run. We do not understand the concept itself, do we? It is something socially constructed. How do we get these young women to come and aspire to become leaders? To break those patriarchal barriers that prevent women from taking their space and participating in the leadership of the country? We need to acknowledge that all roles that are ascribed, or prescribed rather, to women are, of course, designed by men. But because they are designed by men and, over time, people have learned to accept these rules as belonging to one specific sex group, we know we can also change them. We also know they are variable within time and cultures. I am trying to say that for social transformation to take place, for sustainable peace to occur, we need to have deliberate initiatives as leaders to ensure that we mainstream gender issues into any kind of development and social transformation activity. We must seek to identify certain key factors that affect this kind of dynamic, that affect the relations of men and women in society. We need to identify and analyse issues of religion, age, class, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation and race. The South African Constitution guarantees these issues as a value system, but is a constitution sufficient? Is it an adequate platform for us to ensure that these values are adhered to? Of course, experience shows us that it is not sufficient. Even though it is embedded within the Constitution, from what we have seen, there is a rise in xenophobia in the country. We need to acknowledge that. Of course, there is still pervasive poverty and we need to acknowledge that. Of course, there is still discrimination based on sexual orientation, even though the Constitution says you cannot discriminate against someone based on their sexual orientation. So my question is: is a constitution a sufficient instrument to guarantee these rights? Are there

fundamental implications for our understanding of the gender dimensions, of social transformation and peace building?

I suggest that we look into five areas:

1. Provide as much certain data as possible that takes into consideration participants and beneficiaries.
2. Increase women's participation in decision-making processes and spaces.
3. We tend to forget the economic spaces where power is located.
4. Gender equity is present at the level of results. Influence the primary trajectory of the initiative.
5. Gender analysis should be incorporated into all assessments.

Issues for reflection

We should always consider leadership in policy formulation, leadership in organisational management, and leadership in community development as a source of conflict. Consider the inherent tensions between the media, leadership and communities. Consider leadership as a threat to collective social security, peace and development.

Questions, Comments and Discussion

Q: I was reminded about creating a home for all. We need to do that. The conditions you spelled out to build peace are really to address the fault lines in a society. Unless we succeed in addressing the economic disparities, we cannot succeed in that vision.

Q: Youth Forum : Where are tomorrow's leaders today? How do we equip ourselves to get the skills to be the leaders of tomorrow? Where do we find these tools? What if they are not made available to us? If leadership is scattered all over and we cannot identify the people and places we need to go to?

Q: The problem of xenophobia in South Africa is Afrophobia. The people attacked are distinguished to be from Africa. What do you think about getting rid of the borders in Africa, so that we can see ourselves as one nation and creating within the borders a way of bridging? We do not see each other across the border.

Q: Given the challenge of a lack of peace in Africa, our leaders need to learn a lot. Where do they come from? To which extent are our African leaders independent in their decision-making processes? Are they accountable to people or to their overseas masters?

Q: Gender should be embraced. My question is: how do we make sure that gender analysis is incorporated into the education system? We know that many who perpetuate it are intellectuals and academics.

Tony Karbo:

It is a neglected area. We tend to focus on the university system as a training ground for tomorrow's leaders and we forget that missing in this focus is the idea of how you infuse Western-led education systems with cultural norms and traditional forms of education, which are the bedrock of building leadership qualities in the African sense? So who was saying earlier that we have lost *ubuntu*? I am because you are . Because some traditional values, codes of conduct, traditional sets of principles – co-existence, tolerance, community development – have been lost. Leadership qualities are not found in the classroom but in society and how you communicate with one another. Go back to families and community – what are we missing as young people? As families? What do we need to take over after you tomorrow?

Xenophobia and Afrophobia – so then what is the solution? Removing borders? Borders are there to stay and that is not a solution. But we need to engage in regional integration activities and projects that help improve relations between states and among states in Africa specifically. Opening up the borders for free trade and free movement of people will enhance and build relationships. In Southern Africa the liberation movements are special. They did not succeed because they were doing it alone. All in Africa helped and contributed to the success of the liberation movements. Go back to our relations that were strong in the history of the people of Africa. Who is South African anymore? We are all Africans, and it is a matter of time before people begin to realise that it does not matter whether you are Kenyan or Nigerian. It will become a diffused line.

The independence of African leaders – in globalisation, no-one is independent of anything or anyone. Everything affects everyone. The price of oil affects how a leader reacts. The prices of food will affect how the leaders respond to what goes on in the neighbourhood. It is a globalised world. Some will resist, like 'Uncle Bob' in Zim, but the issue of independence is quite relative; not even George Bush is independent.

Educational systems – at the University for Peace we realised that we need to develop curricula that mainstream gender into all sectors of peace education, from pre-primary to university level, everywhere on the continent. We piloted it in 3-4 countries and developed it from there. There are organisations working on gender issues and we need to support them.

Comments

Components to reflect the qualities of peace are:-

- Persistence
- Empathy
- Accountability
- Caring
- Endurance

We need learning organisations: leaders that are at once designers, teachers, stewards – the servants of the people. We need servant leaders. Servantship should be first in leadership.

Biko on Complicity and Challenges to Leadership

Prof. Hans Engdahl, Department of Theology, University of the Western Cape

I want to start with the following quote from Biko:

Born shortly before 1948, I have lived all my conscious life in the framework of institutionalised separate development. My friendships, my love, my education, my thinking and every other facet of my life have been carved and shaped within the context of separate development. In stages during my life I have managed to outgrow some of the things the system taught me ...

But the type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regard as the “inevitable position” ... All in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity.

Hence thinking along the lines of Black Consciousness makes the black man see himself as being entirely in himself, and not as an extension of a broom or additional leverage to some machine. At the end of it all, he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf the significance of his manhood.

(Steve Biko, *I write what I like*. Johannesburg: Pan Macmillan, 2006 [NM Biko, 1978], pp. 29ff)

I also speak in my introduction about “Identity and the Other” and on events of the 30-year commemoration of Biko’s death, which became a big event.

Biko’s texts contain a dimension that is easily overlooked. Scholarly as well as popular accounts of black consciousness give the impression that it is about the development of the history of political resistance to apartheid understood as a clash of politically defined forces. But this is hardly the case. I want to comment on this text in two ways. Firstly, by way of a comment by Biko: “I was born shortly before 1948. I have lived all my conscious life in the framework of institutionalised separate development.” And secondly, by focusing on ‘manhood’. This last word is important, because Biko’s language was very much a male language. It is good to bear that in mind in 2008. It is one thing that the political forces eventually became very clear-cut. But that is not how

it started. Rather it started with a situation which could only be described as complicity. Biko says the following in connection with pumping back new life into the empty shell of the human, to remind himself of his complicity and the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. Earlier he had also described his total conditioning by apartheid. This is the only society known that is totally conditioned by it, and he is only gradually able to distance himself from it. He says: "In stages of my life I have managed to outgrow some of the things the system taught me." It may sound like a most remarkable thought that Steve Biko was complicit to the crime of apartheid in any sense of the word. But this is what he says. He therefore implied that there are different levels of complicity, but all are complicit. If this were the case, it would open up a whole new debate about the meaning of struggle. To cut a long story short, one could say that Biko's complicity was characterised by taking responsibility and, as a result, showing resistance.

By dealing with the notion of complicity it would be possible to retain the specificity of black consciousness. I also feel it is legitimate and proper that Steve Biko becomes a kind of representation of complicity in its most fundamental form. Nobody who is involved will escape being complicit. Jacques Derrida said a few things on this which may echo Steve Biko: "Because one cannot demarcate oneself from biologism, naturalism, racism in its genetic form, one cannot be opposed to them except by re-inscribing the spirit in an oppositional determination, by once again making it a unilaterality or subjectivity even in its voluntarist form. The only choice is between the terrifying contaminations it assigns. Even if all forms of complicity are not equivalent, they are irreducible." This should tell us two things. First, when opposed to racism, the spirit of opposition can only be inscribed in that which is opposed. You are left at the mercy of that which you oppose; and, secondly, there is a contamination which is complicity; unfortunately that remains and is irreducible, even though not all complicities are equivalent. My hope is that a thorough work on the theory of complicity will open a new inclusive discourse with fundamental theological consequences.

Since the Biko commemoration last September President Mbeki has had to endure criticism that has been growing continuously on different fronts. And I am really not going to waste my time on the political power positioning that is going on. But there are some whose criticism should be taken seriously. One such person is Xolela Mangcu. What he sees unfolding under the Mbeki leadership is a kind of racial nativism and racial essentialism. A new black leadership is asserting itself. It is now their time to rule, their time to say how things should be run. At worst it could be that leaders like Biko and Sobukwe

are hijacked into this kind of nativism and essentialism, and that, according to Xolela Mangcu, would be a complete misunderstanding of what these leaders stood for. He continues that “even though these leaders advocated racial exclusiveness as a political strategy to fight white supremacy, they were never racial essentialists”. They did not believe that there was a black essence beyond everyone else. This can be seen in their political writings as well as in their personal relationships. Steve Biko certainly saw as an end result of the struggle a completely non-racial society. One should take Mangcu’s criticism seriously, but at the same time I would like to give the President the benefit of the doubt. Especially when recollecting the evening at UCT in September last year when Mbeki delivered the Biko lecture, which was in my opinion quite good. Maybe one day we will have to differentiate between his political leadership and his scholarship, and who knows, one day we may have to make him extraordinary professor at UWC.

As a comparison one would say that Biko’s kind of leadership of necessity had little to do with raw state power, but rather with people’s power. We are talking about people here who were oppressed, those who were disenfranchised. His leadership could further be said to come from below or even from the back. A classic example was a meeting held somewhere on raising awareness about black consciousness when Biko came in after the meeting had begun and would sit down at the back. Because of the nature of things, not least his own argumentative style, invariably he would end up at the front before long. He was urged to take some kind of leadership, there and then.

What I have to say gets as simple and as difficult as it can get. It is my conviction that Black Consciousness carries within it the seed of true leadership. Remarkable developments on the ground in South Africa since the early 1970s under the repressive apartheid regime bear witness to what is true leadership. The shell of a man and a woman had to be filled with that God-given grace – given by nature and creation, but definitely also a special grace. There are no limits to the good of a human being who has come into his or her own. Abuse of power comes in as soon as there is a need to compensate for unjust losses and to make up for past sins or injuries. And this filling of the shell of a man and a woman with self-worth, black beauty, dignity, honesty and pride did take place. We have witnessed it in various ways. A personal account: 1981 and 1982 I was myself witness to some of these remarkable developments. As one of the youth pastors in the Lutheran Church, ELCSA, I had the shared responsibility of organising the youth leadership conference in Athlone at the Lutheran Youth Centre. We had 115 youth leaders, almost all over 20 years of age, from the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and the Free State. The well-prepared youth leadership manual for the whole conference

in 1982 had a chapter on Steve Biko, on democracy and franchise, a manual that some parents confiscated when the young people returned from the conference. The conference started off in good Biko style. Two students from the Free State – and we had the most radical and the most conservative leaders present – insisted that we take a vote on the whole programme that we had meticulously planned for about half a year. But they wanted to spend the whole conference on how to overthrow the government, and in the end a compromise was reached and half a day was spent on a march from Athlone to Rondebosch, a march that we will not easily forget, with a lot of singing and dancing on the way.

Black Consciousness, as it was set out by Steve Biko, has this incredible effect of promoting grassroots democracy. It could become tedious at times, because at every meeting we needed to decide anew who would lead, etc., but still there was a sense of grassroots democracy everywhere. That also could open up new and unprecedented room for development of the individual. Steve Biko in person is perhaps a surprising example of this. Seen as a whole, the movement managed to combine two things, and that was something new, I think: a solidarity among people taking African communal living seriously, and at the same time creating space for individuals to develop in this very context.

To conclude the argument: it is in the admission of complicity that effective leadership is begun. Biko may have been the most effective person ever when it came to dealing with being complicit. He inscribed his spirit in an oppositional determination. He took ultimate responsibility for his fate and through that was able to show resistance. It was the very act that saved him, the act of resistance. And he was indeed a revolutionary, an activist. Perhaps leadership is ultimately about these two things, both to be found in Black Consciousness. One could argue endlessly what is to come first, theory or praxis, and the only way out is to concede that the interaction between them is the main thing to worry about. Then leadership, as understood in Black Consciousness, has everything to do with filling that man and that woman with dignity and self-worth, a mental and theoretical process that convinces the human being that he or she is created in the image of God. At the same time, there is the moment to act, to take responsibility and resist that which is evil and to do your utmost to be a good steward of the power that for a selected time has been entrusted to you as a leader by the people. Thank you.

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Institutional Culture and Transformation

Mr Lionel Thaver, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of the Western Cape

I have been involved in research on institutional culture in higher education as a means to assess the rate and pace of transformation at universities. Our aim was to disaggregate the experiences of students, faculty, administration and management at universities through viewing institutional culture through the lens of the conceptual complex of feeling 'home-at home'. What we are wrestling with is to try to find a way to speak to the specificity of faculty and student experiences, issues and concerns at university. What we try to deal with is the fact that institutional culture is a fairly amorphous term; the cultures we are immersed in leave very little space to think about how we think, what we say, what the practices are. In a sense, we do these things and do not often have the resources or the ability to reflect on them. I want to link some themes to what other speakers have mentioned – I deal with leadership, social transformation and healing as an epistemic intervention. Epistemic refers to the conditions that constitute knowledge, ways of knowing, and different kinds of knowledge claims. In universities such epistemic conditions are marked by what we refer to as scholarship, science and social accountability. I want to take issue with this and for that I develop concepts to separate our knowledge claims from common sense. But I also want to challenge that epistemological hierarchy which holds that certain kinds of knowledge have a greater claim to truth than others.

The logic of scholarship and scientific discovery – one might think that at universities – and ordinarily – this is a highly systematic, methodical and logical process. In other words, that in knowledge production there is no element of chance, no serendipity or luck. These are all very deeply ensconced epistemological conditions though unacknowledged, and the clinical process described is not entirely true. Two examples suffice to illustrate the point: penicillin was discovered by accident and the benzene molecular structure was worked out in a dream. In similar vein I came across three useful terms as a consequence of my own discursive practice. Whenever I have to write a paper or think about something, I go to a dictionary and look up the terms even though I know what they mean. However, while looking up these terms I keep an eye open for related words that will further my thinking and open up different angles into the problematic. This process allows me to yield to the possibilities of serendipity – randomness – luck. Thus, on my travels to understand these words – scholarship, social accountability and science –

I came across other related terms that just jumped out at me. These terms are sciolism, sciosophy and *societe anonyme*. Sciolism is the superficial pretension to knowledge; sciosophy refers to knowledge claims without any basis in scientific fact; and *societe anonyme* essentially refers to the anonymous society. Sciolisms are used to negate the idea of scholarship, which is usually predicated on being systematic and methodical as well as having other hallmarks of academic practice. Sciosophy I counter-pose to science, as a process of confirmation and disconfirmation of empirical facts. *Societe anonyme* I counter-pose to social accountability. In other words, I want to seize upon these terms to open up some of our academic practices to scrutiny and to address some of this morning's themes.

Kader Asmal mentioned introspection as a permanent condition. My eye is on knowledge production and ways of knowing here. We call that reflexivity – to begin examining our own practices – how we construct knowledge, how we do, what we think, how we know what we know. He also introduced the distinctions between representivity and transformation, and he argues that representivity does not involve all, but transformation does. This is related to the extent to which we demographically transform our campuses, and it is important to do so, but I am more interested in the extent to which we actually begin to reflect upon our epistemic practices, our knowledge production and discursive practices. Heidegger makes the distinction between *episteme* and *techne*. He interrogates technology by looking at Aristotle and Plato and the way in which they viewed ways of knowing. Heidegger makes the epistemic distinction between a correct understanding and a true understanding. Correct understanding can seize upon demographics in the broader social transformation project, while a true understanding reveals a much closer relationship to knowledge formation. How do we think? What is the baggage that accompanies our thinking?

When we look at epistemic practices, we look at contestation between Western/Eurocentric modalities of thought and African modalities of thought. The African modality of knowing suffers dislocation, displacement, dissolution, dissociation and dissonance. Transformation and healing have to deal with this epistemological displacement, with the ways in which African modes of thought have been cut off from their contexts and been replaced and supplanted by Western and Eurocentric modalities of thought without any thought to their possible articulation. When comparing ourselves to the Asian tigers and their high economic growth rates, we can ask: what is different about the developments in South East Asia and in Africa? What Kwezi Prah has argued is that whereas the South East Asian experience centres their mother tongues in the developmental complex and education in particular,

Africa finds itself in the vice grip of colonial languages as lingua franca and thus cut off from its various histories and epistemic formations encoded as such in the different mother tongues. Thus, language is not just a means of communication; language constitutes our realities. That makes it a very serious matter. What happens when you are severed as a social formation from your reservoir of knowledge? You are undoing centuries, if not millennia, of empirical knowledge in that one move. So the transformative and healing project has to be about reintegrating that displacement. Ntutu spoke about social displacement and I contend that the idea of addressing epistemic displacement is also part of our mission of re-integration and of reconciliation and thus healing. How do we move from reproducing Eurocentric models for generating knowledge? What practices are we engaging in here? Hans introduced the concept of complicity and we need to ask in what ways we are complicit with our discursive practices. Sociology and indeed the humanities and social sciences in general (admittedly less so than before) are still at the forefront of this epistemic complicity in reproducing Eurocentric modalities of thought that are essentially cut off from their social context. In other words – Africa emerges as an anonymous society.

If these models of thought are predicated on an anonymous society, where we do not engage critically with our context and in that way organically develop theoretical and conceptual frameworks to interrogate our realities that resonate with our experiences, then essentially we are transacting the epistemological models of Europe and the West in our academies without modification, without adaptation, without much reflection.

I know it is dangerous to engage in generalisations. So I want to point out that UWC is interestingly positioned here – we are trying to reconcile different modalities of knowledge and in Botany, for instance, there is a whole project around classification of homeopathic cures in African indigenous healing systems that are being categorised and scientifically catalogued in the academic institutions, so that whole corpus of knowledge is no longer dissociated, that is, “out there”. But at the same time the bias remains in the hierarchies we construct. For instance, in the academy we do not speak of an African philosophy, but an ‘ethno’-philosophy, not African botany but ethno-botany, etc. What is this ‘ethno’, if nothing but an epistemological bias? It is that kind of bias that we need to address. So if we are complicit in reproducing these kinds of epistemic models, then what claim can we have as knowledge producers? Instead we should consider whether we may be engaging in scientism, a superficial pretence to knowledge, an importation, wholesale, of models of knowledge, without any adjustment, without any critical engagement. When we draw on these models of knowledge, we

produce a sciosophy. It is not as if there is an organic relationship in this type of engagement to knowledge as generative and contextually embedded. Heidegger would say: there is a primal relationship to truth, to what is disclosed. Heidegger refers us to the ancient Greeks who did not draw any distinction between the processes of craftsman, of poets, of artists – these are all ways of revealing and as such bore the name of *techne*. As such there is no epistemological hierarchy that operates within the latter; all three bring something forth, bring their objects into appearance. These are ways of revealing ontological truths about the nature of the world, revealing truths about the nature of being. But technology in the modern context and the way in which it has penetrated our discourse, the way it has penetrated our social practices, the way it has penetrated our concept of the nation, of self, is essentially an instrumentalist reduction of knowledge to only that which appeals to the means to an end. Technology viewed in this way as an instrumentality separates the means from the ends and, in as much as it loses sight of human ends, it obscures our true relationship to truth, namely that we are world disclosers. In the academy we are involved in the business of truth claims, though in our epistemic practices we lose sight of its existential dimension and treat the academies as the “royal road to knowledge”. We are involved in the hierarchical structures that we produce for as long as we function as “ivory towers” dislocated from society and decontextualised. There is no connection to the past and to an emergent history of that train of thought that severs us from ourselves, each other and our natural environment.

The notion of leadership – if in academia we consider ourselves as collective producers of knowledge, then we have intellectual leadership thrust upon us. Why? The heart of our intellectual leadership function is this, considered in the light of Foucault’s archaeological framework for the emergence of objects of knowledge: through our disciplines and fields we circulate, produce and reproduce knowledge; as an institution we are the social site or surface upon which it emerges. We as gatekeepers of knowledge are also authorities that delimit what claims to truth can and cannot be held, what can and cannot be said, what should and should not be thought. We produce grids upon which we specify the psychic content of human beings, what human nature is, what our soul is, etc. In other words we define the range of possibilities of the discursive space (teaching, learning and research) within the academy and the hierarchies of power that regulates its practices.

We should thus be particularly mindful as to how we define students and their discursive capacities and how we define the relationship between what happens inside the academy with respect to knowledge production and the

sociological condition of society and societal needs in particular. What this comes down to is that the transformation project is about the way in which we confront ourselves and our practices in relation to the greater good. For instance, Winnie Mandela mentioned the fact that we tend to hate ourselves, which considered in the light of the grids employed to categorise students, such as ‘disadvantaged’, ‘at-risk’ and other terms flowing from a deficit model, serve only to reproduce the social psychology of self-hatred. That *ubuntu* has been abandoned speaks volumes about the technological tendency inherent in severing the means from human social ends, thus instrumentalising social relations where we should be exercising greater care for each other.

All of this points to the fact that we are foreclosing discursively what it is we do. We have repressed our humanity and sociality and thus defaced the epistemic project. We have not considered the ways in which other knowledge claims have to be incorporated. Knowledge is a “whole that we have fragmented”, which is really the project of modernisation, of specialisation into various domains, that has created an artificial relationship to knowledge, that knowledge is only accessed through very specific discourses and very specific disciplines. This further fragments the human experience and we further fragment, through our knowledge production, the effects we can have on ourselves, each other and the general public domain.

Let me close by talking about and expanding on the relation between technology and knowing as way of arriving at the notion of healing. Heidegger refers us to the way of knowing of the ancient Greeks, which was to create a free space in which to consider the coming into appearance or the making of objects. This meant looking upon this process of making things as being without baggage, and neither predestined, nor instrumental. The Greek ‘explanation’ for this process entailed four modalities: *causa materialis* (the matter from which the object is made), *causa formalis* (the form in which this thing appears), *causa finalis* (the socio-cultural destiny) and finally *causa efficiens* (the means that were employed to make something). The matter of the object, the form of the object, the social destiny and the means that were employed to make it – all these together produce a causal complex. However, as Western thought became more and more instrumental, the causal complex suffered an epistemological diminution, a contraction, it became reified. Now we only think of one modality – that is the means – which we privilege in our truth claims. This is a result of the increasing penetration of an instrumentalism that pervades our thinking as a result of the imperatives of a modern technological modality of being. In fact, for Heidegger modern technology blocks the possibility of our establishing a more profound relationship with objects and causality, that is, not as instrumental

but accessing causality as a way of revealing, and disclosing nature's secrets, forces, and the nature of being and sociality. Modern technology, because of its instrumentalism, reduces that complexity so that we are no longer able to access the truth, the ontological truths of nature, sociality and being in any real sense, since we are fixated on its means only. Thus, we see everything as a product of an enframing of the world, such that everything appears as a standing reserve, a resource, an inventory or stock. Even we as human beings lose our essence and become nothing but a resource, bodies to be attended to, bodies to deposit pharmaceutical products into, and bodies to fill lecture halls, ready-to-hand, that is, part of the standing reserve or resources.

This modern technological sensibility has also penetrated our academies so that we are increasingly technocratic; we are increasingly instrumental in the way we relate to our epistemic project. We reduce everything to something that is orderable, measurable and calculable. In other words, we subordinate the qualitative dimension of academic practices to a quantitative regime. Heidegger would say: there is no hope in instrumentalism; we will never get to primal truth. All we can do is confirm this modern enframing, which is to reduce everything to a resource to ensure that things are ready to hand to be used when needed. In this world things and objects have no autonomy, because the world is now integrated and part of a general standing reserve ready to take up its function whenever needed. Oil prices go up; so social and economic crises disperse throughout societies and students become merely a resource for funding an FTE (full-time equivalent). This is the danger that modern technology brings to our contemporary world and is what is in need of healing.

Our only saving grace today is to return to art and poetry or *poiesis*, if we are to establish a primal relationship to truth, since the latter, when not under the sway of modern technology, allows us access to our being, sociality and nature, which is free of instrumentalism and its enframing. The healing entails the re-integration or finding a way of organising different modalities of knowledge that do not reproduce the kinds of hierarchies that exist, that do not denigrate alternative knowledge forms. For that I refer to Scott Lash, who writes on the sociology of postmodernism. He speaks of the blurring of boundaries between science and literature, between the academies and other sites of knowledge outside the academies, the blurring of boundaries between high culture and low culture, and so on. We need to yield to the tendency to de-differentiate. Whereas the modern complex was about differentiation and specialisation, e.g. religion and the state separated into specific domains, as too did politics, economy, education, etc., the postmodern condition works in the opposite direction of de-

differentiating. What I am leading to is that in de-differentiating the sites of knowledge production, we can start the process of finding ways to establish a logic of articulation between different modalities of knowledge, a kind of lateral organisation. In so doing we can obviate, for instance, Indigenous Knowledge Systems being put into some epistemic ghetto that is only suited for the esoteric and eccentric sorts, while in the mainstream one continues to privilege Eurocentric modalities. So in a profound sense the intellectual leadership project is epistemic. It is about unearthing and unravelling the conditions under which we produce and reproduce knowledge, and come to favour certain modalities while disfavouring others in ways that continue to marginalise and displace not epistemic systems in an objectified sense but real flesh and blood people. The transformative project is about restoring different modalities of knowledge to the knowledge equation as a whole. And healing is about caring, which Heidegger holds is the ultimate antidote to the instrumentalist ways of modern technological enframing, that is, thinking and being. If we care enough, we will find our way back to *ubuntu*, back to our humanity.

Biblical Models of Mentoring and Leadership

Prof. Daan Cloete, Department of Theology, University of the Western Cape

We now come to the devotional part of the conference. You can bow your heads but don't go to sleep ...

I want to use the Jesus movement as a paradigm to reflect on our own situation, particularly on the moral aspect of leadership. The Jesus movement was started in Palestine in the middle of the first half of the first century. By the end of the century it had spread to almost all parts of the Roman Empire, even to its capital city, Rome. It started as a renewal movement within Judaism, but soon caught the imagination of many belonging to other belief systems, philosophies and cultures. Its founder was Jesus of Nazareth, the son of a carpenter, who with his message of a kingdom of heaven and of righteousness, peace and freedom inspired many, particularly the poor and marginalised, those who were downtrodden and felt heavily burdened. The motto of this kingdom was: you don't do to others what you don't want others to do to you. That was the golden rule. His vision was expressed in the so-called Sermon on the Mount, a statement that has caught the imagination of many for its moral teaching, even outside of the movement; people like Ghandi and Tolstoy regarded it as the blueprint for a moral structure for a new society. Because of his personal life and work and his teachings, Jesus was regarded as the embodiment of the citizen of that kingdom and he presented himself in that way. Because he anticipated his early departure, very early on in his ministry he gathered a number of people to follow him. His purpose was to teach them in order for them to continue with the movement in his absence. Their educational preparation took place through observation of him and his work, and dialoguing with him on issues of morality and truth, teaching them the values of life, exposing them to the hypocrisy of the legalistic moral order of their day, and confronting them with their own shortcomings. Education was for their own moral and character formation, including exposing them to, and healing them from, the weaknesses within themselves. For example, Peter's tendency to denial; Thomas's to be disloyal; Judas's tendency to corrupt and betray were part of that cleansing and healing process. His intention was to prepare them to become moral agents, individually and collectively, for the movement on his behalf, in his absence. Crucial in all of this was that the movement did not regard him as leader simply because of all the qualities he displayed, but because he was a very virtuous person; he was to them the ideal moral agent, the perfect role model to emulate. Because of their personal relationship with and exposure to him, they could

act with confidence and enthusiasm on his behalf. Their presentation of him in their ministry through their emulation of him was such that many believe he has not gone away.

That the Jesus movement made inroads into the broader social, cultural and religious world of the Roman Empire was primarily because of the missionary enterprise of one person, Paul of Tarsus – he is sometimes called the co-founder of the movement. Because of the broadening of influence, what started off as renewal within Judaism now also became a movement of moral transformation in the Roman Empire. Despite antagonism and even persecution, many people from different religious and cultural backgrounds were attracted to it because of its moral character. In the early phase of its existence, the movement could depend on its founder to present and represent its message. This was followed by his disciples through oral traditions and emulation of him kept his memory vivid and alive. In the absence of written documents that could serve as sources of reference, those in leadership positions had a particular responsibility to practise what they preached and to be living proof in order to advance the movement. In doing so they could not pretend to be role models like their founder, but they led their lives so others could follow. Paul was an example and he pointed out that his life was an emulation of Jesus. Paul also had to advise on issues of morality as small communities began to spring up all over the Empire. In his correspondence with them he would recommend them to persons in leadership positions of high moral standing, and he also identified counter-models, persons he disqualified because of their immoral behaviour. All this, the models and counter-models, was crucial for the establishment of a new moral society.

The process of moral transformation upon which the movement embarked needed a moral structure and it was again Paul who, through his correspondence with the community, listed some virtues that would characterise the movement. Closer analysis of these should indicate that they were not unique to the broader socio-religious context, but what does make them significant is the relationship to Jesus, the founder. They were not to be moral laws in the legalistic sense of the word, but should be embraced in a dynamic and personal relationship with Jesus. So, for instance, when instructed to internalise them, Paul and other leaders of the movement would teach the members to clothe themselves with Jesus. Paul also envisaged the new society that was to emerge through this transformation to be one in which there would be no Jew and Gentile, no slave or free man, no man or woman, all would be one in Jesus. He also speaks of a new creature or a new person to emphasise that this transformed society needs members with a new identity. To him that new person is firstly Jesus, but also those who

model their lives on his. The Jesus movement lost its dynamic character and momentum in the centuries that came, in particular in the 4th century, when it became institutionalised as the Christian church. And it overwhelmed the Roman Empire. In the centuries that followed up to today, one will probably discover the movement within the institutionalised church, in the dynamic and unpredictable actions of people, followers within the church, not in the church as such.

In our country the institutionalised church, as has happened so many times in other parts of the world and through history, supported the status quo. Some part of it even found it necessary in our country to theologically justify a policy that was inherently and morally wrong. Luckily this is where the Jesus movement within the church in South Africa, present in the institutionalised church, came to the fore and exposed even the institutionalised church and its theology as heresy. This brought us to 1994, when we were able to radically turn around the attempts in the 1980s to reform to a dynamic process of transformation in our society. This was not easy in a country where being indoctrinated and conditioned to worship were our ethnic identity. We were also now challenged to say: there is no white or black, no Xhosa or Coloured, no white boss and black labourer, no superior person and inferior person, no man over a woman any more in the new South Africa and in the society we envisage. We were challenged to embrace and internalise the values of non-racialism, non-sexism, equality, etc.; we were challenged to establish a new morality once we exposed the previous one to be corrupt, unjust and discriminatory. We were challenged to develop a new identity, a new South African identity, a new South African person. I was – many of us were – very excited by President Mbeki's "I am an African" speech at the acceptance of our Constitution. In almost poetic language he articulated on behalf of all of us that new South Africa person. But we needed more than just words, we needed embodiment, we needed role models, we needed moral agents. For our young democracy we needed role models, persons who exhibited the new South Africa for us, to model our lives.

We needed them in the first instance in leadership positions, because a leader is usually ideally positioned to be a role model. It is someone who attracts others and is looked upon with affection by others. This is exactly what makes them role models to be emulated by others. We needed moral agents – what is that? A moral agent is a virtuous person. What is a virtuous person? It is someone who is not only disposed to act in certain ways, disposed to tell the truth, not to be corrupt, disposed to have integrity, but also acts on these dispositions. It is not the person who, when the opportunity presents itself to steal or to lie, says my mother taught me not to do this, but nobody will

see me now, so I will just do it. It is not the person who does things because of the possibility of reward or the fear of punishment. It is a person who says: I do it or do not do it because it is morally wrong. Then you may speak of internalisation in the real sense of the word. We need leaders who exhibit high moral standards in their lifestyles and performance. We will not find perfect people, but we do not need people who use this as an excuse not to be virtuous and want us to tolerate and even applaud and support them. We need a new movement.

Prior to the decline and fall of the apartheid empire, we had the MDM – the Mass Democratic Movement. We shared a vision in this country of a new democracy. We now need an MMM – a Mass Moral Movement. Thank you.

Questions, Comments and Discussion

Comments

There are various qualities that we need; our cabinet does not possess these, to be true leaders.

There is a moral regeneration movement on our campus – also we do skills development in the community and are setting up the academy for ethical leadership. We want to start at the grassroots. Look at our website.

Questions

Q: In terms of knowledge, we need to go back to Africa. The generation of today is carrying us into the future, but there is a problem with knowledge transfer from one generation to another. That has to be considered critically, especially when we look at current events. Most youths expected to take the continent forward are actually trained in the main knowledge production system. If you look to our initiation, it has been taken into Eurocentric knowledge and has taken us out of our own knowledge stream. For some of us here, most of the knowledge systems are not based on our context, but on another context into which are expected to be assimilated, into which we do not fit. If we look back onto the African continent and the ways of knowledge creation, it has come from persistent peasant activities, agriculture; now we do not have food security though we have plenty of land, more than Europe, which we do not use to produce food. What kind of knowledge are we using to transform our society to make sure that whatever we need is there?

Q: The youths are vulnerable to picking up the gun; it is easy to pick up the gun. What are the speakers doing to make the youths know that the gun is bad? How can they be protected from this? Religion is a source of conflicts – what has been done to unite religious cultures?

Q: We need a mass moral movement – where would it originate from, government, civil society, the church?

Lionel Thaver: The youth engage in their world; they develop their own practices and ways of knowing and engaging in their context. Academia has to recognise that and give it due credence as a knowledge system. How do we link our epistemic projects with what is out there in the world? Our practices reinforce that isolation of the youth. We need to let knowledges speak for themselves. New generations are always more radical than the previous generations. The creativity and energy and passion of youth can also be misdirected. But is a social and sociological resource and not only a problem.

Hans Engdahl: Conflict is not bad and, if the truth has to be told, it is about how we handle conflict. Religion and peace – we must bring in the notion of fundamentalism, which is making headway in all religious quarters these days. The religious premise of one-ness, one god, one humanity and one world. In that there is a lot of freedom. Therefore I have to stay firm in what I believe in, but not at the expense of others. There is a lot of tension in this, though. But we have to work on the issue of violence and non-violence – how do we align ourselves with power and the powers that be?

Daan Cloete: Who should lead a mass moral movement? The government had something called the moral regeneration movement, given to the deputy president. We experience that we don't hear much of that; the deputy president was removed from that programme in not a good manner. People leading a moral programme should have some credibility themselves. They need people's trust to lead that kind of initiative. We all know that society has its institutions – family, schools, religious community – all have the responsibility to work on issues of morality in society. Prior to 1994 the shared vision was to have a democracy – so now we need a vision as broad as that. We need future leaders, people with moral integrity.

Q: How do we assist communities with wisdom found among the elders when the media send out messages so powerful that they negate the wisdom of the elders? How do we navigate that situation? Do we limit media freedom?

Q: Biko would have been over 60 now. Could his leadership have played a role in transforming and healing current leadership in this country?

Q: Ex-UWC student in the 1980s: I was a student when things were really tough here. I found insurgence among students because of dissatisfaction and we asked the same questions. A dream deferred – what concerns me is a lack of courageous leadership. It is a sick buddy system now; we are complicit in the moral collapse, in the displacement of people, and we are silent about all of this. In South Africa can we rekindle the flame? Not to the point of bloodshed, but to the point where we interrogate and hold accountable those we put into power. They cannot play with the dreams of the future of our children. We need to find a way as a family of Africans that can hold leadership accountable. It needs to be clearly defined what is expected of leaderships and not the political paralysis we see now.

Lionel Thaver: About the wisdom of the elders. We should respect it, but not privilege that as something that, just because of age, is taken over and above the wisdom of youth. What happened in Cape Town after 1976 – the elders had moral power over the youth, but it shifted then in terms of moral leadership. Black Consciousness dealt with the psychology of oppression and established equivalence for all – healing psychic violence, cultural violence. Reconciliation means to show respect and dignity for all, to appreciate different modalities of speaking and doing.

Daan Cloete: One strategy of character formation and moral education is to have virtuous people, not perfect, but people who show through their lives that they are people of integrity. Those people need to be in leadership positions – that is important for broader education. We need leaders to look up to with affection – who develop a culture of moral behaviour. Ask political parties for a better screening of people whom it puts into leadership positions. I spent time in the US – what struck me about the elections there was that people had to submit a CV to run for leadership and prove their involvement in community activities, even for minor leadership positions in society and community. That was very important.

A Reflection on Leadership with Reference to Xenophobia

Ms Tamsyn Manuel, Honours Student, Department of Theology, University of the Western Cape

Over the last few years of being extensively involved in the UWC HIV and AIDS programme, I have seen many students develop skills to become great potential leaders within their communities. I have also seen the need for more young leaders to be developed in our country. There is a cry for leaders from all walks of life to speak out and stand together to make a difference, not only with regards to the HIV and AIDS pandemic, but also in the recent xenophobia crisis.

In May of this year there was a mass of attacks in townships like Alexandra as a result of the social tensions and the influx of foreigners into South Africa. These foreigners are said to be in direct competition for jobs and living space with the poorest citizens. The tension has also been said to be the result of the many incidents of crime which have also been blamed on these foreigners. Currently in the Western Cape there are said to be more than 18,000 people from different parts of Africa who are placed in refugee sites. We have approximately 30 sites, ranging from 600 to 3,000 people at each site. The numbers have increased as innocent people are being harmed and killed all because of xenophobia. Xenophobia is a fear or contempt of that which is foreign or unknown, especially of strangers or foreign people. The two main objects of fear with regards to xenophobia are that the population groups present within a society is not considered part of that society. Secondly, there is a cultural element, which is considered alien. In certain contexts the terms 'xenophobia' and 'racism' can be seen as interchangeable as racism and xenophobia can also be based solely on race and ancestry, as we have seen in any genocides which started off as purely xenophobic and racist attacks.

In reflecting upon leadership within South Africa and on the current xenophobia crisis occurring in our country, it became apparent that the leaders who preceded us have left us with vision, with guidelines regarding this current issue. We do not have to search beyond the borders of Africa to find this inspiration. Nelson Mandela's speech entitled "I am prepared to die" is an illustration of this fight not only against apartheid, but for a society where all Africans could live in harmony and peace.

Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live. During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Nelson Mandela – 20 April 1964

Nelson Mandela has been described as a transitional leader, as the transformational leader, and he is one who articulates a vision of the future that can be shared with their own group and who engages with others in such a manner that the leader and the followers raise one another to a higher level of motivation and morality. They seek opportunities in the face of risk, are less likely to support the status quo, and attempt to raise the level of consciousness about the importance of valued outcomes by focusing on the needs of the collective.

As 16 June is approaching we are once again reminded of the struggle of young people and how they were prepared to die for freedom and for the privileges that we have today. In reflecting on Mandela's speech, many questions come to mind. Firstly, are our political leaders still willing to die for the pursuit of freedom for all? I wonder, as these xenophobic attacks are a gross violation of human rights and not what our country fought for during the apartheid era. Secondly, have we become complacent with what we have as long as we have some comfortable living environment? People no longer see the need to protect each other and stand up against what is injustice, as they feel they have the right to harm innocent people even though they are not a direct threat to them. A vast number of young people have also become bystanders and have no interest in the crisis around them as long as they are not directly involved. Thirdly, are we as leaders in our fields willing to die for the pursuit of our dreams? Do we as leaders have the passion to pursue dreams at any cost and encourage the young people of today to pursue their dreams with the same passion?

In closing, xenophobia is a direct cry for leaders to stand together against the injustice within society, to educate, motivate and encourage people to stand together to achieve harmony and justice for all African people. It is also the time to empower young people with the skills to be great leaders as they are not only the leaders of tomorrow but the leaders of today.

Performing Solidarity – Building Peace. The Social Transformation Programme at UWC

Ms Yvette Kayonga, MA Student, Social Transformation Scholarship Holder, University of the Western Cape

It is moving to stand here and say something, an honour as a so-called *makwerekwere* to be speaking and be heard and say something about social transformation. It was difficult for me to talk about social transformation at UWC. I asked myself whether I should talk about what UWC has done for me in the process of changing me, or whether I should talk about what I have been doing in the process of social transformation as an individual. I chose to combine the two. UWC has transformed me in a huge way and what I am doing is significant now. I am one of the students who have had the privilege of getting the social transformation scholarship. When I came here in 2003, I did not know one word in English. I was only French speaking, and I entered my class in January and started my undergraduate studies and completed them. I did my Honours and now am busy with my Masters. It was not just me; I worked hard and was committed, and UWC has offered me a lot.

South Africa is not proud of what they are doing to Africa. You should be proud that South Africa is a driving force to other countries to be where they are: I am the living proof. I want to share one aspect of this with you – here at UWC there is a credit management service. At the beginning of the year there are many students queuing, trying to resolve their credit management problems. As a student you understand what it means to have fees and be allowed to reduce them – that is unique for this institution. Coming from a country with no means, there is still a possibility to register someone with outstanding fees of R40,000. Having had all those chances, one day as we were talking about leadership qualities and requirements I remember Ntutu saying that leadership required competencies. On another day I was having tea and the Rector came and started picking up rubbish, and I thought: Wow, this is the Rector picking up rubbish and throwing it into the bin! He showed me – that is leadership quality. We need to DO something, not just talk about leadership.

I have heard people trying to hold government accountable. But you and I are responsible for the government. What are you doing for your government? People should be able to ask themselves: what are you doing for your government and not what is government doing for me? I know people are waiting for houses to be built. I am not ignoring poverty, that people were

left behind by the system. Let's ask a question. I am a mother of four. There is no excuse one can give as a young student sitting here and failing 4 or 5 times and waiting for the government to do something. If there is a scholarship, you would not be chosen because your performance is so low and you would be left behind. If someone comes from elsewhere and works very hard, then there is noise – foreigners are taking the scholarship and the jobs. Why can't you be in that space? Why can't you take that job? It is not fair that poor South Africans are not getting employment, but let's use introspection.

What can I do? What does social transformation mean for me? I went to Nairobi for the World Social Forum and when we came back, we decided to start this movement. There are 5 women who are part of Women in Black. Please, will the others stand up? (Applause). We need to think about ways in which social transformation can make sense on the ground. What can we do as a people, as individuals? Here is a group of women from all parts of the world, all backgrounds, from different social strata. We formed Women in Black in April 2007. It is a space for peace building, not just for women's issues, but goes beyond boundaries, and peace has become our priority. What do we mean by peace? It is a constant question on my mind. Coming from a country that has gone through genocide, I have to take into consideration all the time what we mean by peace? We are an open African peace activist movement. It is not just the absence of war, but neoliberal policies that cause people to turn on and kill each other. This is not just xenophobia – this is poverty, alienation, people not knowing who they are, people who have internalised their own oppression. So they see other blacks as the 'Other'. They see themselves as mistreated in the past and their only way to respond is to brutalise those who are weak and vulnerable. We politicise women as activists and join our personal and intellectual sides. The struggle is not over. Some people think it is over – it is a free and democratic country – but Africa is not free. But we are not free, regarding the World Bank and the IMF, we are not free. But let's not fight each other.

My talk is entitled "Performing Solidarity – Building Peace". I am talking about women in the township right now who are taking care of refugees in their houses. They need to be acknowledged. This war cannot be fought by the police and the army. Only the people can stand together and fight this war. As Women in Black we try to imagine new ways of being and try new ways of solving conflict that bring change, not only for women but also to us as a nation. We do silent protests. We have chosen to be silent in our protest because silence is a common language to us. We have so many languages, but we use silence as a powerful common language. It brings our voice out there and brings awareness about peace.

I want to conclude by saying we have to stand together as people. As Women in Black we try to think globally and act locally; we try to look at issues that affect us as people. When Women in Black stood up and protested about the 14th anniversary of the genocide, we acknowledged that it is something we should stand against, even as South Africans. Women in Black is not a happy-ending kind of story. We have challenges, but also the strength of being a diverse group. We have some who are very outspoken; others are silenced by those powerful voices. What makes us unique is that we acknowledge the challenge and try to be inclusive as we can. We are not a popular organisation, but this space is needed and can serve as space for social transformation. We need such a space in between spaces. A space where the 'Other' is debated about, where we debate our differences instead of these differences tearing us apart. We need to perform solidarity. We need to politicise our minds, not the army, police. It is us sitting together and challenging our pasts, acknowledging our present and being able to look forward to our future. *Conflicts are there and will always be there, but let us use them to grow and create a better humanity.*

Thank you.

The Social Transformation Programme at UWC and in the Communities

*Mr Conraad Meyer, Honours Student, Social Transformation Scholarship Holder,
University of the Western Cape*

A world renowned poet and social activist, Tupac Amaru Shakur, once said that if he can't change the world through his works, then he will certainly spark the mind that will one day change the world. After studying some of his poems and songs, my scrutiny of what actually happens around me in society was profoundly sharpened: gender and race inequalities, the omnipresence of crime/violence in disadvantaged communities and the world in general, dependency on the state, foreign aid vs. domestic aid, the deprivation and marginalisation fostered by global capitalism, etc. Any observing eye/mind would notice that these issues are adequately encapsulated by the theme of our conference: Social Transformation and Leadership.

My appreciation as a recipient of the Social Transformation Prestige Scholarship cannot be wrapped in mere flattering words. It is indeed an honour to be an object of social transformation and at the same time becoming a catalyst for such crucial processes in society today. Thanks to the South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT) I am a second-time recipient of this prestigious award. My majors are Economics and Political Science, and not wine-making or something of that sort, ladies and gentlemen.

At the time that I received the welcome news of my successful application for this scholarship I was also invited to become a member of the Golden Key International Honorary Society – the biggest academic society of its kind in the world to date. I accepted and was elected as Director of Community Service on the Executive of this developmental organisation, at the same time as receiving the scholarship – divine providence or mere coincidence, you decide. Both these platforms enabled me to further my interest in community development/service – or as we rightly term it, social transformation.

In my first presentation to the Golden Key executive I stressed my opposition to hit-and-run programmes like a once-off visit to an area in need of development to hand out bread, soup, clothes, etc. Although these initiatives have their place in the broader scheme of things, the words *community development* or *social transformation* speak to a more lasting and elevating impact. We had a successful launch of World Book Day, with the top 25 academic performers

from two high schools in the immediate vicinity, teaching them study skills, critical thinking, career guidance and exposure to bursary/scholarship opportunities through performing arts and a documentary. The impact of this event still needs to be measured.

Another crucial project, due for completion next week, is the erection of a Community Computer Lab in Mfuleni, Eerste River. The lab will be housed in the Nobantu Centre, managed by Women for Peace, a women's empowerment organisation offering a variety of community programmes.

The Vision of Women for Peace is to provide women with the opportunity to learn and develop skills that will enable them to improve the quality of their lives as well as of their families and the community.

The aim of Women for Peace is to empower grassroots communities and in particular the women, youth and children, as they play an integral role in society. This we try to achieve via our various programmes and activities.

We were significantly impressed by their existing infrastructure and the various activities playing themselves out there. The computer desks were installed last week; this week more plugs and cables will be installed as well as the actual computers. The University of the Western Cape provided a significant part of the sponsorship, through the person of Mr Roger Fester – the Head of Information and Communication Services. As a member of a non-profit organisation, entirely reliant on sponsorships/donations, you must acquire excellent lobbying and negotiation skills. It was also thanks to Prof. Marion Keim that we selected Nobantu Centre, since we were looking for a location with established infrastructure, security, etc. It was an excellent choice, since this centre is strategically located to service a large part of what we today call a 'previously disadvantaged community'. I am considering the renewal/extension of my term as president, upon request that is. Don't worry – a third term would've spelled reason for concern.

As a student, my involvement with SAWIT activities and community development through Golden Key certainly placed extra demands upon a student's most crucial resource, namely time, but I strongly believe in education as a social duty.

The empowerment of an individual through education inevitably spills over as benefits to society, so why not start now?

When I contemplate the words *social transformation* I imagine the internal restructuring of society, the inculcation of a certain set of superior values, the

destruction of old paradigms and also the realisation that only multilateral approaches will work – as we see here today: state organisations, academic institutions, special interest movements, religious structures, etc.

Let me conclude with two quotes :

Change begets change. Nothing propagates so fast. If a man habituated to a narrow circle of cares and pleasures, out of which he seldom travels, step beyond it, though for ever so brief a space, his departure from the monotonous scene on which he has been an actor of importance would seem to be the signal for instant confusion ... The mine which Time has slowly dug beneath familiar objects is sprung in an instant; and what was rock before, becomes but sand and dust.

Charles Dickens (1812-1870), English novelist.

The difference between 'involvement' and 'commitment' is like an eggs-and-ham breakfast: the chicken was 'involved' – the pig was 'committed'.

Anonymous

Reflections on Leadership and Xenophobia

Mr Dermaine Solomons, MA student, Department of Theology, University of the Western Cape

I talk about justice and leadership. Take a step back and look at South Africa in general. South Africa has always been a place of exceptionalism. We sadly and foolishly did white minority rule differently, and liberation was fought for differently, and we can hardly comprehend that we avoided civil war and had a negotiated settlement. We taught the world about truth and reconciliation through the TRC, and we claim to be the champions of initiatives like NEPAD and the African Renaissance. And we reflect on all these achievements, all these are events that took place under exceptional leadership.

We are involved here at UWC in projects looking at the *Mail & Guardian* and emerging media trends. Reflecting on M&G reports, I was faced with the notion of South Africa facing a leadership vacuum. There is something we need to look into – the leadership crisis. It is exacerbated by the lethargic manner in which leadership responds to crisis and worsened by sensationalist elements in current media trends. We reflect critically on the role of various stakeholders, unsettling dinner table chit-chat reminds us of Afro-pessimism, the notions of Africa doomed to fail, of corrupt leaders only in it for self-enrichment, etc. After all the babble, we say we could have been different if we had more leaders like Mandela and Tutu and abolished BEE and the Scorpions were not dissolved. This pessimism narrows the terms of debate, if it can be called that.

Reject these terms – you are too young. This kind of discussion usually ends in seriously convoluted arguments between pessimists and apologists that end in personal attacks on one another. We continue to see this in the public realm. As a young African committed to bringing positive change to my country and continent, I feel compelled to choose between these maps and that is flawed. The issues are complex; the polarisation of debates is problematic. I am looking to our leaders for inspiration and guidance. How we can tackle these profound challenges? And I soon realise that their guidance and inspiration are in short supply. I am looking for the voices that have strength and clarity to reject the easy Afro-pessimism and provide brave and challenging options for South Africa.

We need to identify our leadership problems without being consumed by them. We need to reflect on a vision that will truly inspire all. We have the

most progressive constitution in the world; we need responsible South Africans and Africans to embody these visions. We need right humans not just human rights. Vision and virtue are expressed through the daily decisions we make. Dietrich Bonhoeffer said: There are two inadequate responses to a situation where quality of life is threatened. Some like to criticise from a distance, knowing better, prophesying doom and occupying the moral high ground. Others do little to resist evil; instead they use every opportunity to seize for themselves what they can. Both stay out of trouble and consider themselves innocent of any atrocity. Neither addresses the ethical issue: how will future generations live?

How will future South Africans live? What should I do? How can I act in such a way that my grandchildren inherit a heritable world, South Africa and Africa? We need to identify problems, but we should also not be consumed by them. We can only move forward as an African people.

Questions, Comments and Discussion

Comments

Thank you – these are our leaders. I am proud of today's young generation. It was touching and inspiring and all the best with your future plans.

I see xenophobia in terms of ethnicity. Previously there were fights between ANC and Inkhata and today we see stigmatisation even of Shangaans. It is unemployment and inequality, while seeing other government officials rising up. If a child gets no attention because parents are working, it will start doing drugs. I see people crying for help in this xenophobia. What as academics do we see – is social transformation reaching people on the ground?

South Africa does need to search beyond its borders – be open to search beyond and learn about leadership outside of South Africa. Look at Botswana and its democracy, we could learn a lot from that. Liberation and freedom have come about with help from other countries, such as Botswana, Nigeria and Zambia. The ANC headquarters were in Lusaka and got strength there. Xenophobia is a small fraction of the actual problems in South Africa. It is a shadow of the problem. Winnie and Ntutu said it – the actual problem begins with the man on top all the way to the lowest man on street; it is not simply xenophobia.

We spoke about media and transformation. The media play a big role. Transform yourself before you can become a leader. Everyone is transforming

all the time – what direction are we moving in, though? Change is constant. How can the youth be transformed in a good way? On the Cape Flats the newspapers are sensationalist, *Die Son* and *The Voice* – they don't give a good picture. This is something to think about.

Q: What did we do for the government? I pick up on this question – it was a challenge today. A lot of what was spoken today is that we look to the leader. If we change the question and ask what can we do for the government, we look on us. What I will do is to change the question – what can we do for our society? Because government is only one part. My question is: what can we do for society? Not to give up that role to government, but what can we do in between? The second point is to understand more of what we are doing now.

Tamsyn Manuel: We have the potential to answer our own questions; we don't need to look outside. We have the leaders within in our own walls. We can blame the leaders and argue, but what are we doing on the ground level? Are we actively out in our community or are we sitting back? We have simplistic explanations that our parents are working or that we are poor. My parents did not have the money to pay for education. I went out here and worked hard and got bursaries. Don't stay and wait for answers to come to you. You can make a difference, go out there and find the resources. The government does not have to give this and that. We need passionate leaders for wanting to achieve something without the resources. Fighting and killing each other is no solution, standing together is.

Yvette Kayonga: What are academics doing on the ground? We need to start linking theories and practice. I am passionate about peace. Looking at what happened to me and my country, it is close to my heart. But taking a conflict transformation module would not solve issues. I am going to look at the theories, but I am going also to do something linking theories and practice. We as people have stopped to use our imagination. We need to imagine things that we can do to solve issues. As humans we have the capacity to do something. What can we do as a people to our government? One response is not to give votes, only to vote for leaders who lead. We are leaders within our homes and community. If you can't define yourself as a leader within your own community, then what? My answer is that in our little small world, in our spaces, let's try to create spaces within spaces, where you can engage mind and theory and practice and do something small, something that you feel accountable for and, when you are no longer in this world, people will say: this person did this!

Conraad Meyer: With regards to our society and paradigms and the role the media play in fostering certain mindsets – structured family is one important element. Don't believe everything you read, engage critically! We should learn to selectively and critically shape our views on what we get from the outside world. If we can build family systems that can impregnate a young child with such an understanding at an early age, you can fight Afro-pessimism and whatever antagonisms are propagated and perpetuated by TV channels. If the *Daily Voice* is your primary source of information – a second-rate newspaper – at least people who have never read before are starting to read. But if you look at the nature of the articles it is not good for people. If you read *Cape Times* and *Argus*, they also have monopolised information, selective truths, what society is let known. At family level we should look at what can give us a critical view of what comes from the outside at an early age.

Dermaine Solomons: We should realise there are no easy answers. Focus on the issue of education. The ivory tower is problematic and foolish – if we are not able and committed to go to a university and apply what we do in the public sphere, it is meaningless. I believe whatever we do here has to be applicable in the public context. If not, we may all go home.

Comment from the floor (speaking to Yvette from Rwanda):

I am a product of a squatter camp from Gugulethu Township. You are lucky that you came to South Africa and had access to education immediately. UWC and others like Stellenbosch and UCT, in the past 35 years, as blacks everywhere in South Africa you could not get in because you are black. Even if you had matric. So the deep-seated resentment of people in the township is there. People are still in the same place, the same shack, saying the same things. Xenophobia is a way to express frustration. If people were to say we are going to rise against the ANC government, that would be one way, but their way to express their feelings is to take the valuables of the person next door. I was educated at UWC and graduated in 1996. After my studies I did not find a job. Even educated at UWC, people did not recognise my degree, because it is a black university. I sit at home and look for a job. I worked at Pick 'n Pay, etc. Then I started at a white university and spent two months studying, then I got a job. I want to challenge you to study the history of academic institutions here in SA, including the drop-outs and successes and the chances of finding a job. Compare 15 years ago and today. Presently, people are still not getting the jobs.

Day 2

Summary of Day 1

Prof. Christo Lombard, Department of Theology, University of the Western Cape

Welcome back and I hope you enjoy the day.

I am going to take us briefly through what happened yesterday. Some of my students never saw me like this, but I am wearing a tie of the University of the Western Cape. I am wearing it proudly. It is wonderful to be at UWC at this time. I am one whitey who did his Masters and PhD here in the 1970s and 1980s. I am proud to be here today. I am proud not only because we could attract good speakers yesterday and today, and address issues with Kader Asmal, Winnie Mandela and Dr Tony Karbo, and today with people from the Nelson Mandela Foundation and Franklin Covey and with Father Lapsley. But yesterday I was especially proud of the last session, when we had some of our young students addressing these issues. At the end of that session people said: You talk of a leadership crisis? We do not have a crisis, you are our leaders. That is the kind of thing we would like to come out of this conference.

Students who come from other countries to study here, they look at this institution and at South Africa for leadership. So we have a double crisis. We cannot let them down, and we cannot let ourselves down. What we are doing here is profoundly important. I came back from a trip to Zambia, where we have a close relationship with a college set up in Kikwe, close to the Mandoro Foundation. That is an ecumenical centre where many leaders from the liberation struggle were housed and taught leadership and were formed and welcomed. The Zambians were asking: What is happening? What is going on in your country with the xenophobia? I did not have an answer. I had to admit, I did not know. I am from Namibia, I was there for 20 years teaching. The Namibians were in Lusaka and other places, housed, accommodated at the cost for the Zambians. The Zimbabweans spoke. South Africa destabilised the whole region because the ANC was there. So when we address social transformation, we also address important issues for our neighbours as well as for Africa, and we owe them an answer: what is happening here?

Our rector started by quoting Simon and Garfunkel – see what you want to see and ignore the rest. He said this cannot be our response to the crisis. He singled out the climate change crisis. He was even looking beyond the human problems that we face. He spoke of the problems we have created in nature for ourselves and our future. He said that the days that the Cape Flats

were under 3 metres of water can return again. But we can change because humans can change their attitudes and behaviour. Also we can change our attitudes in relation to foreigners and the issues we are now facing. We have the wonderful capacity – illustrated by the things the University is also involved in, projects such as “Proudly Mannenberg” – to face the problems in society, in the community and also in nature. May we surprise the past and challenge the future with integrity, were his last words. It was a message of hope.

Prof. Kader Asmal started by referring to the shameful and humiliating events of the past weeks. He linked this, as Winnie Mandela did later, to the lack of security and law and order for ordinary people, ordinary South Africans, who feel left out. No excuses, but there are also those issues to address. He said that when we look at leadership, it may be good to remember the words of Brecht, who corrected the phrase: “Unhappy the land that has no heroes.” Brecht said: “Unhappy the land that needs heroes.” Because they may become the dictators, the ones that say: “We are now in power. We know how and the people must follow us.” Prof. Asmal referred to the Constitution, as a lawyer, of course, that ensures dignity for all. He explained that there are two legs to walk on in this regard. Full equity, publicly, for everyone, but also the right to be different privately. The right to have your own culture, your own language, your own religion and that all of this difference enriches the democracy that is enshrined in our Constitution because that is the way we try to create dignity for all.

Mrs Ntutu Mtwana touched us deeply. She is involved with the Network for Community Peace and Development in the Western Cape. She looked deeply into herself and into our situation, the need for leadership. She asked: Who will take the step towards driving the bus, taking the bus from where we are to where our destiny is and where we should be? She gave a very honest appraisal of where we are and the enormous challenges amongst the people left out by the previous and current systems. We thank her for that. There was a silence when she dealt with these issues and we realised: she is challenging all of us.

Later Mrs Winnie Mandela jetted in and out again within an hour after her speech here to be with the people where she feels she is needed. Those of us who may have thought we will only see flashes of the old charisma plus a few Amandlas were in for a surprise. She has a presence and energy, a vision, she had a message for our situation. She is involved in the nitty-gritty of the grassroots issues. Her message was: in spite of the setbacks that spread from

Alexandra and other townships, where she was deeply involved right from the beginning speaking to the Zimbabweans – in spite of those setbacks, we must remember that we have achieved much without the bloodshed and chaos predicted and expected in similar situations worldwide. We can again address all these issues, human and others, together. The issues are real, so let us do it. We must believe in people's power, patience and wisdom. This resonates with what Prof. Brian O'Connell said: Yes, we mess up but we can change and address the issues.

Dr Tony Karbo from the University for Peace, set up by the UN in Addis Ababa presented us with a careful analysis of the steps to be taken toward peace and leadership. He quoted someone as saying that we cannot be sleepwalking through the dangerous passage of history that we are in. What is needed – and here he quoted Boutros-Ghali – is a collective response to create a new world order. We need a vision, we need common values. Leaders need to enhance and bring common values together, and we need to implement them through structures that can bring about the kind of change we need. We need to make the right decisions on our feet as we move on. Dermaine Solomon said later in the afternoon: that is how we teach ethics here at UWC. We need a vision. We need virtuous people. We need to know the values that are involved. But we also need the skills to make the right decisions. Then he dealt with seven key words for enlightened leadership: inspiration, values brought together, a vision, not only vague but interpreted in terms of a mission. We need social justice and liberation. We need reconciliation and healing of the things that went wrong. We need equity and full access for all in the diversity. We need a new agenda, where everyone can come to their full potential and we need sustainable peace.

He then dealt with four preconditions for peace: communication; consultation; structures that are peace enhancing, and the moral and political climate for that; and security – people must feel and be secure, objectively and subjectively. Thanks for that.

The afternoon was devoted to people from our faculties, from the University, from the faculties of arts, economic and management sciences, humanities and social sciences. Social transformation is a project at the University that has now become all-inclusive. It is a niche area for research and everyone is now joining, enhancing it. Hans Engdahl, who is Extraordinary Professor in the Department of Religion and Theology, spoke about Steve Biko and his relevance for our leadership struggle. He spoke on Biko and complicity: we must know who we are in our minds, in our consciousness. We must realise

what are the forces at work that may draw us away from our agenda, that may make us complicit in our own oppression or in carrying on with new forms of oppression. We may be complicit in sleepwalking. We may be complicit in our own downfall. We may think that we have now taken the turn, but we may not be there yet. Because we ourselves are not on our guard. We may be complicit in creating a bad future for our children because of our own selfishness. Prof. Engdahl then flew off to Sweden to raise money for a Desmond Tutu Chair that we want to establish, a Chair addressing Social Transformation from a religious and ethical perspective. That will not only be a chair for a big person with a name to sit on; it also means money for students to get bursaries to study. So please share that dream and, when you can make a contribution, do so. It is no use flying up to Sweden and everywhere else, if we are not involved.

Lionel Thaver did what only a sociologist who has read Heidegger can do. He came up with words like 'sciolism', 'scisiosophy', 'socio-tetanem' – hard to pronounce – and he had us mind-boggled until we realised that he wanted to say that if we are a university, we cannot come up with pseudo-knowledge and pseudo-science. We cannot be anti-scholarship and anti-science and anti-social accountability. We have to listen to our own modes and approaches to knowledge. And we have to listen to the youth. We have to be involved where people are and make that knowledge available, take it through the machinery of research and science, and present it in a form that people can use again. Coming from Africa, we need our own experience, not a Eurocentric view.

Prof. Daan Cloete was next, also an old stalwart of this University, who was acting as Rector at difficult times and who was involved in the Belhar Confession. Some people said yesterday that the churches were not involved in the anti-apartheid struggle. But they came up with wonderful confessions that inspired people to struggle against apartheid. He spoke about the Jesus movement. He did not want to speak about Christianity, so that we think this is just religion. Initially it was Jesus and some followers who inspired people. He had a vision of a kingdom of God and justice, and he had friends, not only followers, whom he inspired and was a model to, and then they were sent out as models and inspired others. He said there are flashes of that still sometimes in history. The church may have lost this somewhat, but it is still there. And all religions may have the potential for this role-modelling effect on people.

Then we had our students. Tamsyn Manuel, who has been involved in HIV work, is doing a second Honours, one in Ethics and now Psychology. She was quoting Mandela in his famous speech at his trial, where he explained how he

was prepared to die for his vision. She called us to stand up and stand together and be prepared to put our lives on the line. There are many opportunities, she and some of the other speakers said. Students should not sit down and wait for things to happen – they can get involved. They can stand up and take the initiative. There are bursaries and you can apply. There is a lot of money floating around, so get out and do something. I am trying to thread together the point that there was a positive message that came through all of this – but challenging ... yes, there are problems but we can do it.

Yvette Kayonga, who comes from Rwanda, was next. She went through that whole experience and is here with four children. She started as a French speaker 5 years ago, in 2003/2004, and she is now doing her Masters, overcoming all her challenges. She first thought about how she was transformed by the UWC experience. She tried to explain what happened and how she was transformed and given a new vision for her life. She asked: How can I then help transform society? She and friends formed the Women in Black group, who come from different backgrounds and speak different languages. So they use silence to protest for peace. That is their powerful language to convey their ideas for peace and for understanding. It was deeply moving. She also challenged the South African students not to wait for things to happen, but to make them happen themselves, to think globally but act locally.

Conraad Meyer, social transformation scholarship holder like Yvette, is director of a community development programme. He wittily explained how you can impress people with power and money and influence by posing as the director of community development, and by using skills of persuasion and using the position almost like a game one can play. But he also warned us against that. This resonates with what Renier Koegelenberg and people from EFSA, who are funding this project, said: Remember, I have been using my skills to get money from Germany and other places to have things like this happen – so you can, too. Use those skills. Change begets change.

Dermaine Solomons, my own research assistant and a Mandela Rhodes Scholarship holder of whom we are proud, spoke on the leadership crisis. It is there, but how are we going to react? Are we going to be alarmist, sensationalist and end in Afro-pessimism? Or are we going to be apologists and say nothing is wrong and just follow our leaders? Both of these will not lead us anywhere. We need to be our own persons. We need to be critical and take action to ward off the pessimism. There is much that we can do. He spelt out a way of dreaming about a vision, about being inspired by good leaders of the past and looking at our common values, Africans values, and realising that human rights and a good constitution are not enough; we also

need right humans and right decision-making. He quoted Dietrich Bonhoeffer at the end: It is no good just being on the moral high ground judging the others, as though you are neutral and far away from everything – you are part of it. And it is no use just being opportunistic. So let us develop our leadership skills and transform the world.

I hope that is concise enough. It was a wonderful session.

Leadership, Social Transformation and Healing

Mr Achmat Dangor, Chief Executive Officer, Nelson Mandela Foundation

Thank you very much. My time is limited, so I will not make too many preliminary remarks except to say that when I drove in here this morning, I explained to a colleague the nostalgia that I felt coming here. Unlike these lucky people, I didn't study here, but at Rhodes University under the notorious ministerial permit, but I was smuggled into what we used to call UDABS for emotional and intellectual sustenance at the time. I want to state a few disclaimers: the views I express here are my own and do not represent the Nelson Mandela Foundation and I do not pretend to speak on Nelson Mandela's behalf. Heaven knows the expectations of his being the perpetual and universal catalyst for change lie so heavily on his shoulders; I do not want him to take responsibility for my rather improvisational approach to history. I should also warn people: when you give a fiction writer, with a topic like this you are never sure what you will end up with. So bear with me and if I offend anyone, please accept my apologies.

The theme leadership, social transformation and healing implies, perhaps rightly, that there is a causal relationship between these elements: that someone, a woman like Winnie, a man, a group of people will take some kind of catalytic action that sets in motion a chain reaction that brings about social change and that will be accompanied by healing.

What is leadership, where does it come from, how is it inspired and sustained? People will find all kinds of role models. The one person we all know, is Mr Mandela, as the example cited everywhere in the world. I want to focus on one element – I want to deal with healing. It has suddenly become a much maligned element of leadership. Suddenly we hear there was too much healing in the early days and we should now go the other way. I disagree. The problem is that we have not healed enough. I want to deal with what we have not dealt with in a moment. Let us remember for a minute what we mean by healing and why. Let us also remember our own history. During the dark days of apartheid and when we did not know that the ANC and the Nationalist government were talking secretly, some of us on the radical fringe accused them of conniving. I remember my own disparaging thoughts about the man I now work for when I heard Mandela was talking to De Klerk and other people on Robben Island. They worked painstakingly at overcoming the centuries-old rift, and that was racially based, between black and white, between the jailer and the jailed, those in exile talking to those who had driven them into

exile, and I remember all those *verligte* Afrikaners who went to Dakar – the first time they set foot in Africa, because they did not think that South Africa was part of Africa. All that painstaking and often tedious building of trust, where one fought very hard against one's own instincts and mistrust of the other. We did achieve much. We should not forget that. Unless leaders can overcome rifts – ideological, ethnic, communal or personal – their actions may not be sustained. Inevitably, when there is transformation, undertaken in an environment where rifts are deeply rooted in history – as is the case in South Africa – and they remain unhealed, there will be those who will feel alienated and marginalised and will resist that transformation, either actively or passively, no matter how well formulated the possible solutions may be. Attempts to initiate and entrench change will founder in that ever-flowing tide of mistrust. We see this illustrated over and over in the Middle East, in Iraq, in Palestine. I believe we are also seeing that in South Africa today. But I believe that the schisms that South Africa has to contend with now are not only ethnic or racial. Very often that is the manifestation – that one group feels alienated from the other.

What is the definition of an African? What is the definition of black? When teaching at City College I did a reading there; after I was introduced, an African-American got up and said: I expected a black man, who are you? And I had to explain to him our history and how black I thought I was. Race is a symptom of a much deeper problem. Let us recall with pride the transition from the old to the new order, but let us pause and think about how it happened. In essence, if we want to be honest with each other, it was one elite talking to another elite that brought about this necessary change. The leadership of the liberation movement, and the government of the day and its supporters; it was the elite groups that took the steps of bringing together the warring parties. Because they were logical, practical people, pragmatic. Yes, they were also moral, but most of all they were driven by the reality that if they did not come to an accommodation, this country could collapse in an ever-widening spiral of uprising and suppression. We saw it everywhere in the days leading up to 1994, right into the 1990s that spiral continued – uprising and oppression.

There is nothing wrong with that. It was very necessary for that to happen and we would not have achieved the transition if the elites did not take the initiative. But it was a very rapid transition. Think about this: between the day Nelson Mandela walked out of prison and the election was four years. In real historical terms this was breakneck speed. Did we think – and I include myself as part of that elite, so I do not disparage only other people – have

we paused enough to ask ourselves whether we have taken along with us the entire South African constituency? After the political transition there was a governmental transition and again it was an arrangement between two elites, very necessary. If you did not create that very visible transition from a largely white to a largely black-led government, I think the black constituency would have revolted. So it was necessary, but when you look at what changed within government, the power structures changed, policies changed and the colours of the people governing changed, again that was necessary. I emphasise this. If you did not have Jay Naidoo moving into the Union Buildings and developing the RDP – which, unfortunately, was jettisoned but that is another matter – but if he did not move in there, for example, and take with him the ability to say that we will have a reconstruction and development programme that embraces all people, I think we would have had a very different kind of reaction. How often did we try to reach beyond what I would call that magical circle of leaders who were able to move us along? The Mandelas, the Mbekis, the Slovos, the Zumas, the De Klerks and others who were part of that movement that brought us to where we were after 1994.

Then came the period of consolidation. We created new institutions, the Constitutional Court, very necessary things. We restructured the provincial government, all of those things were necessary. We took our economy and placed it on the path that brought it into the 21st century. Let us give Trevor Manuel and Chris Liebenberg, his predecessor, their due. If they did not do that, we would have been completely uncompetitive. So what we initiated was a largely market-driven process that created wealth. We did not ask: why didn't it create jobs? We, the elite, were doing what we believed was necessary and in our design were being pragmatic and practical, but perhaps some things should have been done a little differently. Did we move too fast with that market-driven process, when we said let us know what the real cost of electricity should be, the real cost of agriculture? When subsidies to farmers were diminished, when the old apartheid structures had given immense subsidies to farmers; think about the homelands and how they supported agriculture, that diminished. Was that the right thing to do? Was it a conscious decision that we took among the elites that in many ways did not take into account some of the other constituencies. There were some efforts to reach out beyond the magical circle. I remember Nelson Mandela going into *Loftus Versveld* for that famous 1995 rugby game and with one embrace he subverted and changed the notion of racial purity and racial separation and of cultural enclaves based on colour within a society. Very effective. But was it enough? Were the symbolic gestures we made enough? Did we pause often enough and ask: How we do engage with other people?

We have been fairly lucky these last fourteen years. By and large the generation that was patient and willing to wait, that still retained 1994 hopes for change, has remained rooted in optimism. I am one of the people who believe in the change – look at the difference. I was able to move out of the Johannesburg flats into the northern suburbs. It may not be dramatic, but it gave people hope. That generation is now ageing and we are becoming irrelevant. What worries me is the emergence of a new generation, young people whose knowledge of our valiant history is tenuous. Many are just old enough to have dim memories of how we all endured and persevered, how under apartheid their parents contended with deprivation imposed on them by finding alternatives all the time. These were often communal solutions to compensate for what the state would not do then, but it was there.

More worrying even is a younger group, called by a new term, ‘the free South African generation’. This generation is a truly historical generation who were at most toddlers on that magical day when Nelson Mandela walked out of prison. For them our past struggle provides no context for the challenges that this country faces: joblessness, the continuing squalor and poverty they see around them. And then their parents start telling them: look, nothing has changed. We lived like that before. And then they say to their parents: You mean, this was your lot, this is our lot and that is going to be the lot of our children? I do not think that that generation is going to be as patient as we were. This is a key to some of the things that we have seen – for example, the spark that lit the fire that started a border dispute in Khutsong, that moved from one province to the other. Surely that cannot be – communities confronting authorities violently, in a way I have not seen that since the 1980s. It is also perhaps the spark that led to the violence against foreign nationals. Let us not condone this – violence must never be condoned – but we do need to delve underneath and find out what was it that lit that spark? That generation holds the key to this country in their hands. They can either be assisted to unlock their true potential and thereby the true potential and greatness of this country, or their hands can become the device that can put this country to flames. This is where we need healing, here we need deeper leadership. We, the elite from the presidential palaces to the community counsellors to church leaders, we need to demonstrate that we understand their frustration, that we understand just how huge the scale and the scope of the problems that they face are. When a 16-year-old child in a township in Johannesburg can tell me nothing has changed, I can only ask: what does freedom mean? What does democracy mean? What does a vote mean, who should I vote for, why should I vote? Then I begin to worry. This is the kind of thing I heard in Alex the other day.

Where shall we begin? We need the development of a new generation of leaders who will not wait for some other iconic leader to emerge and resolve all our problems, but leaders who are willing to take responsibility themselves, and leaders who are willing, in a sense, to free the Nelson Mandela within themselves. There are some practical things we need to do as well. We need to ask ourselves some serious questions about state priorities. Is it not time for the state to reprioritise resources? Let us ask honestly: are we investing enough in the one public good that in the long term can change South Africa – education? It is a paradox – we are ten times richer than Zimbabwe, but with all its problems over the years it has succeeded in reducing HIV infection ten times faster than South Africa because of one factor: a sound basic education system that they stuck to. And even Robert Mugabe has not been able to undo that. But we have not been able to achieve that kind of success. We have to ask ourselves why.

We also need to look at local government. They are close to the people, but are they strong enough? Are they functioning? How well do they function? Do they have resources? We need to deepen the link between governmental processes and those communities. And I use this term ‘governmental processes’ advisedly, because in the plane this morning I wanted to find another word for disjuncture or a gap. The gap between government and the people is growing all the time and we need to be mindful of that. We need to ask ourselves what gives rise to the kind of frustration at community level as in Khutsong that would see young people want to kill councillors? We need to consider whether our current political system inhibits or enhances the accountability of elected officials. The proportional representation system may be great for Europe, but is it appropriate for us? Or does it create a gulf between a group of faceless people who are elected in terms of percentages and who sometimes do not have any relationship with the people who elected them, because the people did not elect them directly. I am not saying that the first-past-the-post approach is the right one, as we had in the old system, but it is something we need to review. We can take nothing for granted.

Finally, the elite – and I include all of us sitting in this room – need to help young people imbibe a different value system. Let me ask honestly a question that I have often pondered: in the creation of wealth in the last 14 to 15 years, how often have we forgotten that the purpose of creating wealth must be to eradicate poverty? Otherwise, why create wealth? How can you create wealth and not eradicate poverty? Surely, the two must go hand in hand. This, by the way, is not a socialist dictum, not some cock-eyed Marxist thing. It is pure capitalist sense. If you create wealth and eradicate poverty, those

of you who sell products actually have a bigger customer base. The poorer people are, the more your markets diminish.

Let me close, of course, by quoting Nelson Mandela. This is from a speech he made in 1998, when he addressed the General Assembly of the UN New York. This was when he was about to retire from the Presidency. He said: "As I sit in Qunu and grow as ancient as these hills, I will continue to entertain the hope that there has emerged a cadre of leaders in my own country and region, on my continent and in the world, which will not allow that any should be denied their freedom as we were, that any should be turned into refugees as we were, that any should be condemned to go hungry as we were, that any should be stripped of their human dignity as we were. I will continue to hope that Africa's renaissance will strike deep roots and blossom forever without regard for the changing seasons." I would like to add my own phrase to that: ... irrespective of the changing of the political guard.

Thank you.

Social Transformation and Healing

Father Michael Lapsley, SSM, Director: Institute for the Healing of Memories

I begin where Achmat ended. He thinks he had problems in Harlem, when they did not think he was black enough. When I was chaplain of the ANC years ago, I went to Ghana in West Africa and someone was asked to meet me. I got off the plane and there were two black men in front of me. And I heard someone come up to them and say: Are you Father Michael? And the first black man said: No. And he said to the second black man: Are you Father Michael? And the black man said: No. He didn't ask me – because of course a chaplain of the African National Congress in South Africa was supposed to be black, so it was a little bit of a problem. So I can sympathise with that.

I suppose by this stage on day 2 of a conference you have intellectual indigestion. Some I understand have run away. They have had enough. Since Achmat said he was going to steal my time, I should just say: Amen. And sit down.

Nonetheless, I want to share some reflections with you, and firstly to say a word or two about leadership. As I travel around the world – and sometimes I think my main job is to be a pastor to the staff on airplanes – I travel from one part of world in great pain to another, and I go to post-conflict areas and sometimes places still in conflict, I find myself asking the question again and again to different societies is: What kind of country do you want your children to grow up in? What kind of society do you want your grandchildren to grow up in? How are you willing to act to make that society of your dreams come true? I suppose the question is: What kind of leaders are we called to be? What kind of leaders are we? Like everybody else in South Africa, I have reflected long and hard on the events of the last few weeks. It is interesting to ask ourselves about the role-players as leaders and how they acted, and what kind of values, qualities and strengths have we seen, both the positive and the negative?

We can start and end with the president: what kind of leadership did he show to the country in this crisis? For most of the events I was away in Northern Ireland, so it was through the press that I heard him speak about the disgrace that the violence was for the country, but I also heard him talk about the 'importance of finding who was responsible'. That worried me a little bit. Not that I did not feel that we should do that. But there seemed to be not enough asking: Why has this happened? What are the causes? I think one

of the sad things about this terrible period we have gone through is that the media, on the one hand, lifted out the horror of what has happened, but did not highlight equally the extraordinary leadership that we have seen in communities, the acts of generosity and kindness. I am hearing about Du Noon, where local leaders have said: We are going to welcome foreigners back into our community, and we are going to say sorry, and we are going to ask for forgiveness. It illustrates for me that leadership is something that exists at every single level of society, and I would hope that political education and moral education, value education right through the education system would create leaders of all of us.

But I also always worry, at the national and international as well as local level, about the distinction between real leaders and populist leaders. We probably have a disproportionate share of populist leaders in our country, who are willing to tell people what they want to hear and to appeal sometimes crudely, sometimes subtly, to the deepest prejudices and fears that are in the community and to exploit them. On the negative side, regarding the xenophobic attacks, I attended the central committee meeting of the South African Council of Churches last Thursday and Friday in Johannesburg and they were talking about how in some local communities they were photocopying pamphlets encouraging people to continue the attacks. Those pamphlets were produced by leaders of a kind, but it was not the people in the shops or the people who photocopied them who spread them; the people who spread them were leaders. I really want to emphasise that these are forms of leadership: positive leaders, negative leaders, destructive leaders and life-giving leaders.

Some years ago I was in a very remote part of KwaZulu-Natal, and we were in a church building with a mud floor sitting on some benches. We were talking about the kind of work we do, the Healing of Memories. And, after I had spoken, an elderly woman stood up and said: I want to ask you a question. So I said: Yes? And she asked: Are you working with our leaders? And I said: We are choosing to work with the poorest communities. But she said: I think you need to work in our communities, but what about our leaders, who are much more messed up than us? I grew up, like many of us, with a Hollywood view of history that says: Nelson Mandela freed South Africa, and Ghandi freed India – the sort of Attenborough view of world history. And as I became more politically conscious, I came to see the importance of society, of communities of people. So who freed South Africa? Millions of people did by their suffering and sacrifice. As years have passed I have come to moderate my view a bit and say, yes, the sacrifice of millions, but leadership remains extraordinarily important. If Madiba had walked from prison angry, full of hatred and full of bitterness, the implications for this country would have been huge. If Madiba

had walked out and said: “It is time to get the bastards!”, we would have died in our millions. At the time, some of you will remember, Chris Hani was assassinated and perhaps as a country we were never so angry as we were that day, and F W de Klerk ran away, and Madiba, not yet the president, was put in front of the nation to speak, and he said on that day: “Yes, it is true that Chris Hani was killed by a white man”. But he went on and said: “But it was two white people who saw the car and wrote down the number plate and made sure they were captured in a very short time.” That tells us about Madiba’s moral vision and also that he was not filled with hatred and bitterness, because that could have been the signal – at that point and we could have dissolved into an extraordinarily bloody conflict.

I spent 16 years outside South Africa in different states of Southern Africa, in Lesotho and in Zimbabwe. And in 1992 when I came back to South Africa, the first thing that struck me was that we were a damaged nation, that we were damaged in our humanity, we were damaged by what we had done, we were damaged by what had been done to us, and we were damaged by what we failed to do. Marion referred to the fact that for five years I was Chaplain to what was then called the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture. And I came to the conclusion that as a country we proceeded into the future based on two giant pillars. There were two giant questions that confronted us as a country. How would we meet the basic needs of our people? How would we provide water, electricity, education, jobs, shelter – all these things, physical and economic realities? And the other pillar was: how would we deal with the past? How would we deal with what we had done to one another? How would we deal with the psychological, emotional, spiritual dimension in ourselves as individuals, as a consequence of the journey the nation had travelled? I want to suggest to you that those two pillars remain intertwined and interconnected. About two years ago, it was on the 16th of December, Reconciliation Day, and I was on Talk Back Radio for the morning. What struck me was that on the national day of reconciliation every single caller who phoned in spoke about jobs and houses and water and electricity and HIV/AIDS. This was a national day of reconciliation. I believe that we have the second most skewed income distribution in the world. When I go to Namibia they say I am lying and that they have the second most skewed income distribution in the world. But whether that is true or not – second or third – our project of national healing is a project of the next several generations, not the next 5 minutes. That project of national healing will come to naught if we do not deal with the fact that we have obscene levels of poverty in the midst of obscene wealth. One of the tragedies of our history is that we achieved democracy at a stage in world history when institutionalised racism had become an affront to the human family, but being poor had not.

Also, we achieved our democratic freedoms at a time in this world when capitalism has gone mad, when the checks and balances on capitalism of the previous fifty years had all been removed. We live in an age where, for example, directors of companies all over the world pay themselves exponentially more. I have long believed that we as South Africans are a microcosm of the human family and Cape Town is the city where we see this most dramatically—obscene wealth side by side with obscene poverty. The question has always been for the last fourteen years: how long before it explodes? And the problem we see with the stage of world history we are in, in this country, is that this capitalism gone mad has fed the greed in us as human beings. So kids in their early 20s, half the leaders of the ANC Youth League, they are millionaires. Or the Youth Commission, they are paid millions. There is a total obscenity about that; it is feeding a dimension not in them, but in us as human beings. I think we are in a major crisis in this country. But because of my theological tradition I suppose I would call it a *kairos* moment of grace and opportunity. What happened in the country provides us with a choice: in which direction do we go? Are we going to seize the moment? Are we not going to seize the moment? If we do not deal with this extremely skewed income distribution, the country will explode. Chief Luthuli once said: “Those who think of themselves as victims, eventually become the victimisers of others.” And people give themselves permission to do terrible things to others because of what was done to them. What we have seen in the xenophobic attacks is one set of victims attacking another set of victims, and both say we are the real victims, and you are not victim in the way we are.

In the work I do we speak of the healing of individuals, community and nation. What is fundamental in the journey of healing is the role of acknowledgment. There is a giant step from knowledge to acknowledgement. In a family we might know there is abuse, so there is knowledge. Every one knows that it is happening, but there is no acknowledgement, that it is being put on the table. This is true of nations, too. The US will not heal until it is able to acknowledge what happened to Native Americans, to African Americans. Everyone knows that is part of history, but there is no acknowledgement. In Australia the Australians went so far as to write a constitution which they said that there was no-one there when white people arrived. They had a society that had been there for 40,000 years already, but they wrote it was *terra nullius*, an empty land. And this year, for first time in history, the Prime Minister got up and said: We are sorry. And a new history begins for that nation as they move from knowledge to acknowledgement.

These are some disparate reflections, but I am trying communicate one thing: we need to see that it is not a question of dealing with political, social,

economic, psychological, emotional or spiritual dimensions – we have to deal with all of these together in an ongoing way. We think of the crisis and the importance of words like forgiveness, of being sorry. When I spoke in Northern Ireland recently, I expressed my own sense of guilt and shame about what happened. And I have reflected since then and asked: Why am I expressing guilt and shame? I have not chased away any foreigner. Why am I ashamed? I founded an organisation that still exists in this town for refugees and for refugee education. And I am expressing guilt and shame? Surely I should be feeling superior: I am doing my bit. But it is this connectedness that we have. I am a South African citizen, this is my country. I am connected to what happened and so I have to take responsibility. As young white students in the 1970s some of us felt guilty as white people for apartheid and one way to handle this was to drink bad red wine. That was very effective in making us *babelaas*. But some of us realised that there is healthy guilt and unhealthy guilt. Part of healthy guilt is to drink good red wine ... (laughter), but in a serious way, some of us realised that our response to that guilt was to join the struggle to free this country; that is what we were required to do to deal with our guilt.

I would hope that every South African feels guilt and shame about what has happened. But I hope that we are able to respond to our guilt in a life-giving way and say: we need to be part of building a different kind of country. That is a healthy response to guilt. Some years ago I met a woman in Germany who was involved in a group of women called the boycott women. They were a group of women, church women, who led a campaign during the struggle against apartheid to boycott South African goods. When they started doing it in the church, they were very unpopular. I remember saying to this woman: Why did you get involved as a German church woman in the struggle to free South Africa? And this woman said to me: My family was involved and supported Hitler and Nazism. I feel guilt and shame about that, but cannot do anything about that. That is the truth of our history, but for me being involved in the struggle to free South Africa and being in solidarity with the people of South Africa is my response to my guilt. To me that is an example of healthy guilt. She could not even do something for the people who suffered there, but she was able to be in solidarity with another people. Achmat and I belong to a generation who were required to lay down their lives to free this country; that generation was required to suffer, to sacrifice and often to die. I do not think that much is required of most of the younger generation here today, but each of us can play a part in building the South Africa of our dreams.

In conclusion, I want to say to you that when you see someone like me, with no hands, only one eye – I suffered many other injuries – in a way you would

be reminded that this is what we did to each other as South Africans. But for me, a thousand times more importantly, I would hope that when you see someone like me, in my tiny way I can be a sign to you that, in the end, stronger than the forces of evil and hatred and death are the forces of life and gentleness, of kindness and justice, of God.

So ask yourselves:

- What kind of country or society do we want our grandchildren to inherit?
- How do we deal with the past?
- How do we meet the basic needs of our people?

Thank you very much.

Casting a Shadow of Hope. Healing of Memories as Part of a University Module

Ms Renee Hector-Kannemeyer

I have been at this institution for a number of years. I have been involved in community development for the past twelve years, working with fishing communities in the Western Cape. I will be speaking about my experiences of going to the Institute for the Healing of Memories as well as on healing and reconciliation.

My main thread is a focus on the future. What kind of country are we leaving for our children? Having a two-year-old I am focused on what are we doing to make a difference for our kids? I have entitled my talk: Casting a shadow of hope. Are we casting a shadow of hope?

I am starting with a quote from a story of the San: “We have lost our culture because the colonial government took over everything. Now the younger generation does not know our forefathers culture and tradition, only a few of us elders who know about it. I feel really sad and want to cry because we have lost our whole life”. I thought it fitting to talk briefly about apartheid before I talk about my experience at the IHOM. I am 34 years old and have tasted apartheid a bit. Apartheid was a system where people were segregated according to the colour of their skin, classified as superior white and inferior non-white. Non-whites were forced to use separate amenities, shops, buses, healthcare facilities in all public places. Many were forcibly removed from their homes, which were often destroyed in front of their eyes. Farm labourers were severely exploited and paid using the tot-system, which meant that part of their wages was paid in alcohol. Apartheid justified brutal murders, torture, severe beatings, abuse, dehumanisation and gross violation of human rights for those who were classified by the government as inferior human beings. I want to echo what Mr Dangor said: it is important to look back and ask whether we have taken people with us on this journey of transformation and healing.

Duran (2006) said that looking back in history at the hurt, pain, massacre of indigenous people, it is vital to examine how those traumatic events have impacted on their lives today and the need to visit the past. In talking about trauma and healing I refer to the three kinds of healing according to Van der Merwe.

Healing from the past

According to Van der Merwe and Vienings (2001), the term trauma is defined as a response to an event of an extraordinary nature. This traumatic event renders the victims of the event helpless and unable to cope with the event, and they may experience feelings of being overwhelmed and powerless. Our understanding of a trauma is usually associated with a death or injury, or the possibility thereof, but it could also include the victim's response or extreme fear, serious harm or threat to family members, witnessing harm, physical violence or death or the sudden loss or destruction of a victim's home. It is argued that if the effects of these traumatic events are not addressed, they could produce serious consequences, which is termed deep conflict, and that these internal conflicts also need as much attention as the outer layers of conflict when introducing peace processes.

Three levels of healing have also been identified such as the national level, the community level and the individual level. Structures such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission can only really deal with trauma on a national level, and different community structures such as the church and memorial services deal with loss or a traumatic event at a community level. The challenge is mostly found in the healing at the individual level, as counselling mostly operates on a one-to-one level, which makes the process less effective when large nations have been traumatised (Van der Merwe & Vienings, 2001).

Very often the person who has experienced the trauma is left with intense feelings of hurt and helplessness, and does not have a safe space to share their experience or to get healing from a professionally trained person. Research has also shown that if those feelings are left unattended, the victims often take the law into their own hands in the hope of having justice served in order to be free of the feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. It has also been reported that the victims of abuse or trauma often become perpetrators themselves and become violent toward others. It then becomes instrumental that when trying to build peace, effective healing of trauma needs to be a priority. Huysse (2001) links violent crime to those who have been exposed to violence and have not been through a process of trauma counselling in order to heal.

The Healing of Memories workshop

This paper provide some personal reflections on the Healing of Memories workshop as well as some ideas on the way forward.

Description and reflection on activities

On the first day we were introduced to the other participants and we were given an overview of the weekend's activities. The facilitators emphasised that this was a workshop for the healing of heart issues not the issues of the mind and that we, as academics, should feel free share our emotions and not reason too much. That introduction really set the stage for me to stop analysing or understanding what the workshop aimed to do, but to respond without reservation to my own experiences of discrimination, oppression, conflict and pain. The opening drama was a great catalyst to bring to the forefront those atrocities, injustices and discrimination of the apartheid regime which I had suppressed for so many years and still carried so much emotion from the past.

Listening to other's stories

Listening to others is a skill, but once it is mastered it allows you the opportunity of empathising with people you have never known before and to immerse yourself into their world. I realised just through listening that everyone had a story, a painful past which they needed someone to listen to. The power of telling your story, though, is only really found in the fact that that teller knows that someone is listening. It was really eye-opening to hear what untold stories lie in Africa, from my brothers in Africa and their view of what was happening to South Africa under apartheid. I also heard from white South Africans on what life was like being privileged and living in a country which provided them only the best. I realised that I needed to hear their views on apartheid and their feelings of guilt, shame and ignorance in order to get some understanding of why so many white South Africans did nothing to challenge the regime.

Sharing my story

Then I told my story, the story of my life living under an oppressive regime. I told the story of my grandparents forcibly being removed from their home, with very little compensation. As a child being told that we couldn't go to the beautiful outstretched beaches of Gordon's Bay and were forced to swim along the rocky shores as the good beaches were only for whites. I shared how I felt, how it felt not to be good enough, smart enough, pretty enough to enjoy the beauty of my own country. I felt that I somehow didn't qualify to go there, I didn't deserve to go. I shared that although I was raised English, I was

forced to go to an Afrikaans-medium school as the English schools were only for whites. How unworthy I felt and how years later I still have those voices of the past speaking to me and telling me that I am not good enough, not good enough to study, to have career opportunities and that the struggle within me to silence those voices continues, although apartheid is gone.

As I was sharing about how I was discriminated against as a coloured person and crying over the opportunities missed, I realised that I needed to share my story with someone, but most of all that I needed to share my story with a white South African. I needed to speak face to face with a white person, whom I never had the opportunity to know, whom I was separated from by law for years, and who discriminated against me and treated me as though I didn't deserve to be there, especially when I was student at Stellenbosch University in the early 1990s and chose to leave because of the racial tension. For those reasons, I needed a white person to listen to my experience under white rule. That was healing for me, seeing the tears of a white person in my group over my feelings of inferiority, low self-esteem and believing that I was not good enough. I needed them to see my pain and hear my experience. After I shared, I felt an enormous sense of relief that all that I was carrying inside was out and not hidden and buried any longer. The white man now knows how they made us feel and I can now move on with my life and my own family.

Making my peace symbol

Participants made very different peace symbols, such as food symbolising the coming together and sharing of resources, doves with olive branches, hearts symbolising that healing has to begin in your own heart first before you can touch a nation. They dedicated their symbols to our freedom fighters, their family members who tragically died of Aids, victims of war, etc. I chose to use a tree as my peace symbol. There is an African word, *Siriti*, which means to cast a shadow and that was why I thought it relevant to make a tree. I shared that we as Africans need to cast a shadow of peace and hope and reconciliation, a shadow which says that my life is meaningful and has a purpose, for our children will grow up in the shadow which we as parents cast. I thus dedicated my peace symbol to my two-year-old daughter, but also to all the children who are still to be born, and encouraged participants to leave their children with a legacy of belonging and purpose.

What happens next?

For me the decision to have meaningful interaction with people from different racial groups is the goal we continually need to strive for, so that our children can grow up together and not separated like we were when we were children. The white lady who I shared with in my small group lives within walking distance from where stay, and a part of the healing process coming from two racially divided communities, who never got the opportunity to get to know each other at a young age, is to allow our children (who are about the same age) to grow up together.

How do you reconcile with those who have been your oppressors?

John Paul Lederach states that most reconciliation processes have been understood within a religious context, and whether those methodologies or approaches can be utilised within a non-religious context is still open for discussion. Secondly, much of the approach to follow when building and enhancing reconciliation emerges as interpersonal and individual processes. He presents five key qualities he believes assists in the process of what he called authentic reconciliation.

1. Reconciliation as relationship-centric. He states that a crucial aspect in this practice is the building of trust and transparency. He also recommends that both parties support the process and that if a mediator is involved, that person is not seen as an outsider but part of a space created for the facilitation of trust. A metaphor is used to illustrate this process; he adds that “You do not build a bridge by starting in the middle. You build a strong foundation on either side and build toward the middle. When it is solid, others can walk over it” (Lederach, 2007).
2. Reconciliation as accompaniment. He suggests that the journey of reconciliation is a personal journey that you have to undertake alone, but that also requires support. He states that there needs to be a movement away from the pain and conflict, a movement towards the same cause of anxiety and pain, and then an encounter along the way with yourself, your Maker and your adversary. He states that people need the support and accompaniment of others along this way. He uses the biblical example of when Jacob and his enemy and brother Esau reconciled and God came and spoke to Jacob and said: “Return to your land, I will go with you” (Lederach, 2007).

3. Reconciliation and humility. Facilitating of reconciliation should be done in an attitude of humility in that we as facilitators are there to learn and should not impose our approaches on the situation as all situations are unique. We should also not assume that our methods of reconciliation are superior to those of the people involved in the conflict. Humility also suggests a long-term commitment to learning (Lederach, 2007).
4. Reconciliation: restoring the fabric of community. True healing requires both a process of restoration at an individual level as well as at a community level. Although not all community members will be at the same place in the healing process, the elements of truth, mercy and justice need to be present to provide a space for all to make their voices heard (Lederach, 2007).
5. Reconciliation as a wandering in the desert. He uses a biblical metaphor and says that in the Bible the desert is always used as a place or process where you find yourself after an internal battle. It is also important that there needs to be a process of both personal and community preparation to deal with the past atrocities. This process of preparation is a long-term process and should not be rushed, not for the sake of quick reconciliation at the expense of an authentic process (Lederach, 2007).

Conclusion

In conclusion I would like to quote Leo Buscaglia who, in his book *Personhood*, asks how people can come through centuries of oppression, death, abuse, murder, exploitation, hunger, violence, rape, torture, slavery and still emerge choosing life?

The human spirit is a powerful force and its drive to survive cannot be underestimated. We only realise the great tragedies, pain, suffering and loss African people had to live through when we truly know the past and share it. However, it would be naïve to think that generations of indigenous people, who have survived centuries of oppression, would come out on the other side unscathed. The key is healing and reconciliation so that we – ‘*our tree*’, which lived through decades of oppression – can still continue to cast a shadow of hope, peace, forgiveness and restoration for our children, who are so dependent on its shade.

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Questions and Discussion

Q: UWC student and Social Transformation Scholarship holder:

Thank you. We are all in the process; it is a long road with no ready answers, even here. Confronting what is within is needed, and I came to university to study because I wanted to go back where I come from, but now I cannot because I no longer speak their language, because now I am part of the privileged few. It saddens me, because I come from Atlantis and what is happening there is so horrific, and the past few weeks have been horrific because it is an explosion of what has been coming for the past 14 years. It is about reflecting deeply, always reflecting: what am I doing today? Reflecting, I see how I have been oppressed, and how I have started oppressing others, and how I am silent about what I see on a daily basis, even at UWC, and for me that is deeply disturbing. How can I start acknowledging the fact that I have not been seen, and that I do not see others? And I tell myself to make eye contact with people because that is how it should be now, in a small way. When the attacks were happening, we went to the National Gallery for an assignment, and I took two people, as we call them 'foreign nationals', and I was telling them that I am so ashamed of what is happening. What do I do? I want to do something. And the woman reminded me: "You are driving, we are safe, and you will drive me back". I could not see it at that point. I am deeply saddened because how will I go back and do what is necessary when those that I come from now see me as the privileged?

Father Michael:

I just wanted to acknowledge the pain in what you are saying and the struggle that you are going through. Here you are being equipped with more skills. One is about listening, to be able to listen deeply. So often we equip ourselves and go back thinking we know, but if we go back willing to listen and hear, not only with the ears but with the heart, we can accompany our community and bring to them skills, but also receive from them on that journey. Thank you.

Q: It is always good to have people address us who have gone through pain – what kind of support system is important to have when you work in the area of healing?

Father Michael:

The word ‘support’ is important. Those who would be the healers of others must be on their own journey of healing, and if you listen to the pain of others, that pain will affect you. And a lot is being written about secondary traumatisation and the danger that you take on the pain of others and collapse yourself. You too need a place you can go and share your own story and the effects on you of what you have been listening to, so debriefing and support groups are important. Also, God has no limits in the way he heals human beings, and in the healing field the ways how we are sustained are different, too. Some need to talk; some need the walk on the beach or the beautiful music, making love, going to the movies. One of the ways I cope is that I find that pain imprints in my body. I need to have my head and neck massaged. So what you are raising is the importance of self-care for those who work in the healing field. We need to be gentle and tender and kind to ourselves, not only to others, and continue to work through the layers of one’s own woundedness.

Achmat Dangor:

You indicate that you are now part of elite and no longer of the community. The problem is not how the poor become part of the elite – it is how we create greater equity. How many of us have become silent? We have become complacent; we give our leaders unmitigated trust. It is time that we go back to some traditions where we challenged leadership; why don’t we do it now? Support – everywhere we have been as the Nelson Mandela Foundation we get one refrain, even from the perpetrator community: if they had enough leaders to embrace them, they would have responded differently. Apart from Winnie Mandela, who went and saw the issues and crowds, no other leader went there. A simple embrace, a leader going to say: I understand your pain. I want to address these issues. But no-one came.

Yvette Kayonga:

Acknowledgement is important. The healing process that took place in this country, I wonder, was the acknowledgement really enough? As someone who has gone through atrocity, I do not believe that people can really ask for forgiveness after horrible crimes to one another, but you can only forgive as a survivor, that is your power: to forgive those who did what they did. Don't you think that survivors or the oppressed need space to say that we do forgive you or to come to terms? Because this is not for the oppressors, but for the survivors to free themselves for the sake of themselves and of reconciliation.

Father Michael:

Nelson Mandela's sacrifice and pain have been acknowledged millions of times by people all over the world. There are still millions of South Africans whose pain and hurt have not been acknowledged and sometimes leaders think because their pain has been acknowledged, that the pain of their people has also been, and often this is not the case. My reflection in return is that it has helped me that my pain was acknowledged and revered and recognised, that helped me move to being a victor, a participant in helping to shape and create the world. I do the work I do because other people's pain has not been acknowledged and revered and reconciled, to create the spaces where people's pain could be acknowledged. That is only a step, one of a long journey of healing. People often wait for decades for that acknowledgement. I often hear people's stories from 20 or even 60 years ago. I ask: How often have you told this story? The reply: I have waited for an opportunity where I would be listened to and revered and believed. We in the faith community are far too quick to tell people who are hurting to forgive, and we increase their burden. People want their pain to be heard. Hear that I am hurting, hear the pain that was done to me, and then they may chose to travel the road to forgiveness. We in the faith community create the impression that it is cheap, glib and easy. Forgiveness is costly, painful and difficult. Because I forgive you today, I am not sure about tomorrow. The word 'forgive' in Greek is 'untying a knot'. When we are unforgiven, we are each others' prisoners. And when forgiveness happens, we are freed, a mutual liberation. A quote from Hawaii says: What drives our work was the absence of material expressing the experience of being Hawaiian over the last 200 years, the legacies of emotions and feelings. History likes statistics, which can argue for an event, but the language of the heart and the sounds of the spirit are beyond argument. They were what they were, and they are what they are. Look at the newspapers, at names, at any history text – it is not what fuels division, it is an emotional voice, the heart's wounds and the spirit's ailment.

Community Healing Project of IJR

Ms Carmen Louw and Mr Kenneth Lukuko, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

We seek to understand reconciliation and the processes at community level through an examination of a project by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR). The Community Healing Project's target group is Bonteheuwel, neighboured by Langa and Pinelands. Bonteheuwel is a historically coloured township; Langa was the first black African township; and Pinelands is a white suburb. We can only achieve limited generalisation, given that much of what we say is based on anecdotal evidence. To capture the complexity of reconciliation at micro-level, longitudinal studies are needed. We try to extrapolate lessons for community-based reconciliation. The IJR was established to continue the unfinished business of the TRC – community-based reconciliation as well as community testimony of the experiences of apartheid was limited. Testimony in front of the TRC dealt with gross human rights violations. Much work is still to be done in terms of reaching out to communities. IJR's role is to provide the contextual background of South Africa's past, to make sense of the present and shape the future through this lens.

In Cradock and Bonteheuwel and Langa we work in an intuitive and flexible way to help these communities to deal constructively with the legacies of the past. Like the TRC, the IJR Community Healing Project has operated on the basis that truth and acknowledgement are the first steps to healing. The Community Healing Project envisions extending the dialogue started by the TRC to the unheard people and stories that did not fit the mandate and the definition of gross human rights violations. We encourage acknowledgement through dialogue, storytelling and healing rituals. This fits within the broader engagement in memory arts and healing. There is a need to memorialise the past in appropriate ways and develop a community-centred vision for the future.

The Cradock project was led by Nyameka Goniwe, who testified to the TRC about the death of her husband along with three other community activists. The Cradock Four were a touchstone of the liberation struggle. To establish the truth through the TRC was painful and healing at once and made her aware how her own story was tied with that of her community. She explored how to involve the Cradock inhabitants with others in the community. Nyameka's story was filmed on video and public screenings were used as an

initial platform for dialogue between the three groups – black, coloured and white – between 2001 and 2003.

IJR developed a model for community healing which emphasised dialogue, memory work and community development. Dialogue was at the heart of the project. Educators, church groups, political organisations, youths, elders and individual leaders and members of all backgrounds went to structured seminars. People listened to each other's stories and attention devoted to past and painful truths offered a space for public acknowledgement and mourning, for reclaiming positive memories and for those who had struggled for change, collective rituals were an important vehicle as was music, prayer, candle lighting, pilgrimage and ritual, cleansing ceremonies to transform old sites of pain where horrific acts had been committed, changing those sites of pain into sites of the community, building capacity for youth and adults to respond to present challenges.

In 2004, IJR began an oral history project in Langa through exploring the protest history during the liberation years and struggle, and the legacy of apartheid in Langa. This was extended to Bonteheuwel after a year. The two communities lived past one another, yet shared similar historical and public spaces in their daily lives in a community reconciliation process called Bonte Langa.

These are complex processes. We cannot look through one conceptual lens or discipline. Where does the complexity leaves us? We start to explore and measure, we build on work done by another colleague on reconciliation, social trauma and healing violence. Transitional Justice is now a multi-disciplinary field that looks at societies, and reconciliation is but one aspect of what is supposed to happen during a transition. Charles Villa-Vicencio has a definition of reconciliation that says it is a long process that takes time, involves dealing with the past, the work of mourning, listening, understanding, healing, acknowledgement and reparations. Reconciliation begins when people who were at odds with one another learn to deal with conflict in a humane manner. Reconciliation requires that individuals think beyond 'me and my future' towards 'us and our future'. Reconciliation is political realism and does not necessarily involve forgiveness. If reconciliation is busy happening, what is going on?

Franklin Orduro says it needs acknowledgement of a wrongful act by an offender, apology, forgiveness, justice, truth, and process in a safe space. In 2008 doing the community project reminds us of the TRC process, but there are still elements that need to be added. If we succeed, what is successful

reconciliation? The literature says that an outcome of reconciliation means that there has been a change to a situation of trust between enemies or that adversaries relate across the lines of conflict, not looking at the past but on the present, active community engagement across conflict lines, and the socio-economic needs of people have been met.

Healing is concerned with past political violence, the violence of a state and the counter-violence of a liberation movement and the oppressive violence of poverty and racial segregation. Present and future South Africa has a historical and political context that needs to be understood as we move forward as South African society. The TRC began the work of healing the effects of violence, but only dealt with gross human rights violations between 1960 and 1994. Wider studies confirm that political violence occurred on a scale more like a war situation. Combat, physical assault, torture, loss of homes, atrocity were only the most visible forms of violence, but there is a trajectory of 300 years of colonial rule. If we want to take communities forward, we have to help them understand where they have come from, so they can take charge of their present. We did not expect the emergence of cruel criminals, the society to turn in on itself to the extent that even our babies are not safe. We need to understand the trauma that people have experienced, the networks, kinship and friendship that existed – violence takes away these bonds. The alternative is nationalism and religious groups that are strengthened, but think still of ‘us’ vs. ‘them’.

Vlamiq Volkan speaks of the “chosen trauma”. Violence is so internalised that people’s sense of self-esteem is affected. Our challenge is to help people, but the question needs to be asked whether healing is possible. Community leaders in power need to take responsibility for healing – a first step is storytelling, to record stories, then reconnecting with yourself, you as community, and then to take it forward as dealing with challenges in the future. For the rebuilding of relationships, healthy and positive, we explore the concept of human and social capital and their impact on reconciliation. Human capital looks at skills and assets within the community. Social capital builds on relationships among people, and then you can reach out and access resources, finances, infrastructure, etc.

Recommendations

- Grassroots lenses – build skills so that people can do things for themselves;
- Intergenerational dialogues;

- Reconciliation cannot be forced; there must be buy-in;
- Human capital and skills cannot be built without the willingness of community members; willing participation.

Core groups in projects of 15-20 people drive the processes, but without the rest of community the process is hampered. In the initial phase of the project a community profile was done, and the history of Langa was examined. In the early 1990s there was an acknowledgement of the suffering and community resilience. The focus shifted from the past conflict to the present, to taking opportunities that come with freedom. Sometimes the trauma is so severe that people cannot take the opportunities that are there. Older voices were needed to tell the stories to understand the present. In Bonteheuwel the group grew swiftly from 30-50 people.

A statement of partnership between the two communities stated what to do to grow the bonds between the communities. There was a memory exhibit in 2005. Trust-building and social relationships were being strengthened. Contested memories emerged and one person was especially contested – are you a hero and do you deserve to be a leader? The project leader insisted on inclusivity and diversity of political beliefs. Reconciliation at community level is a complex process. The path is contested among group members. The outcome of reconciliation is to have the focus on the present. These are the nuances of the building process. A culture of ritual has been established, a sharing of cultural practices, forms of identity, class, political ideology to begin a future where they can see each other as one community.

Social Transformation, Healing and AIDS in South Africa

Dr James Lees, Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Education and HIV & AIDS Programme, University of the Western Cape

A 2003 Panos Institute Report, entitled *Missing the Message*, states that “our failure to confront and contain [the AIDS] pandemic is one of history’s most spectacular demonstrations of humanity’s failings” (2003:3). Nowhere are our failings more evidenced than in a 2007 report in the *South African Medical Journal* confirming estimates that over 1,500 people in South Africa are newly infected with HIV every day (Thomas Rehle *et al.*, 2007), and in a 2006 UNAIDS/WHO report that 1,000 people die of AIDS each day in South Africa alone (UNAIDS/WHO, 2006). How do we even begin to understand these numbers and the very human pain, loss and suffering they represent?

Imagine for a moment the enormous new 70,000-seat Green Point Stadium being built for the 2010 World Cup. Imagine it filled to capacity with excited fans shouting enthusiastically for a South Africa win. Remember the overwhelming moment when South Africa was chosen as host for the games and how many South Africans spontaneously shouted with glee and jumped up and down hugging each other, forgetting for those short moments the colours of our skin and our differences in class, culture and national origin as we celebrated together. What a wonderful day that was in South Africa. What a place of joy the Green Point stadium will be in 2010. Now imagine the stadium two months after the games are over, empty, not because the 70,000 fans have returned home, but because they have all died of AIDS during those two months that followed. This is our reality, the loss to AIDS each year of 6 enormous soccer stadiums filled to capacity with wonderful, excited and cheering people, all of them with families, all of them with people they love, all of them with people who love them. And frighteningly, every one of the fans in another 9 such world-class stadiums in South Africa becomes newly infected with HIV each year.

Our situation in South Africa should prompt two deeply self-reflective questions related to AIDS. What happened? Why is it continuing to happen? The answers to these questions, I propose, is in part a problem of our failure to understand the AIDS pandemic, and in part our failure to honestly assess our own role in the AIDS pandemic as human beings. We have, I believe, failed to

make the critical judgements of ourselves, individually and collectively, that getting the pandemic to abate will require.

At the outset I would like to make a distinction between HIV and the AIDS pandemic, defining HIV as the retrovirus that leads to a condition called AIDS. The AIDS pandemic I will use to refer to the multiplicity of social, cultural, political, economic, human and religious issues, each of them with histories and power dynamics of their own, that have laid the groundwork allowing a very fragile virus to become a global pandemic, killing 25 million people worldwide to date (UNAIDS/WHO, 2007).

HIV is a fragile virus. It has no arms, legs or wings to transport itself with, and cannot live outside of its human hosts. Without us, in fact, HIV will cease to exist. Yet our constructions of the disease and the pandemic have been, and largely remain, focused on bio-medical understandings of the fragile virus, not on our human willingness to share it with each other. The real subject of the AIDS pandemic is, then, us – a far more complex and difficult subject to understand than the HI virus itself.

The story of the AIDS pandemic is a cautionary tale about how we define the problems we face, and how our responses to those problems are constrained by the very definitions we have created. We cannot deny that reducing the complex AIDS pandemic to the story of a fragile virus, and framing our response as a 'War against AIDS', has failed. One needs nothing more than the numbers for proof.

In 1987 educator Jonathan Silin warned against the very technical and technicist approaches to AIDS that dominate mainstream AIDS-intervention work today, writing that,

... [w]hile it is important ... to have the practical knowledge that will prevent ... getting and giving AIDS, it is equally important ... to grapple with the social implications of the disease if AIDS is not to become another phenomenon to succumb to the technocratic thinking that threatens so much of our life worlds. (1987:19)

Why do we repeatedly ignore such sound advice? Twenty years after Susan Sontag first published *AIDS and its Metaphors* (1988) and warned of the dangers of a militarised language to depict and inform human beings about HIV and AIDS, the dominant strategies to prevent the spread of HIV infection continue to be constructed around the language of the *fight* and not around the creation and manifestation of visions of a different way of being. Even the simplistic equation of AIDS and poverty is problematic and symptomatic

of superficial technicist thinking and avoidance of the underlying issues the AIDS pandemic illustrates. I was pleased to read UNAIDS Executive Director Peter Piot's May 2008 lecture at the London School of Economics, where he said that it is "wrong to think of AIDS as a disease of poverty, but rather it is a disease of inequality" (Piot, 2008).

In 1987 Jonathan Silin also wrote that "AIDS is a pressing contemporary issue that most graphically illustrates the paradoxes and contradictions of our society. It provides the relevant moment to practice the critical thinking skills valued by many educators" (1987:12). Twenty-one years later I suggest that it is precisely these critical thinking skills we need if we are to make real progress in reducing the impact of AIDS in South Africa. A radical rethinking of how we understand the AIDS pandemic, along with an honest appraisal of who we are as human beings, might yield new insights and new strategies for addressing a disease that continues to have the upper hand over us.

Two years ago I was fortunate to spend several days with noted psychologist and Native American healer, Dr Eduardo Duran. As we discussed the AIDS pandemic with various traditional healers in KwaZulu-Natal, Dr Duran raised the notion held by many traditional healers that how the AIDS pandemic has been approached contradicts many of the indigenous beliefs surrounding disease and wellness. Dr Duran suggested that HIV has not been treated with the respect it warrants, and that we have been impolite in our war against it. In Native ways, Dr Duran said, HIV should be politely greeted and shown the same respect we would give to any guest in our homes. At the appropriate time, said Dr Duran, the question can be put forth to HIV: "Why have you come?"

Dr Duran's question has proven a powerful starting point for discussions about HIV and AIDS with my own students here at UWC. Rather than seeing my students as receptors for information that is to be deposited by me, akin to what Paulo Freire critiques as the 'banking' method of education, I am able to engage my students in a process of collective discovery about HIV and AIDS, about the meanings they assign both about themselves and about the worlds they live in. It is an approach akin to what Bengali activist and educator Anisur Rahman outlines in his seminal work, *People's Self-Development*, allowing HIV and AIDS to be reframed in ways that make sense to my students, liberating them from being passive recipients of knowledge and persons who often feel unable to avoid the risks of HIV that surround them. Allow me to give an example from last year to illustrate my point. In my AIDS and Development postgraduate course, we were speaking about the role of gender and the risk of HIV. A discussion began about men's sexual

practices, specifically the number of partners some men have, as being part of the problem. As the discussion proceeded, one man in my classroom bravely stated that this general demonisation of men is prevalent in HIV prevention campaigns, and that the dynamic keeps him from attending training and information sessions. Other men in the classroom quickly agreed. I noted in my own mind that in five years of teaching AIDS and Development, few men have ever enrolled in the class. When the women in the classroom pointed out that many men continue with unsafe sexual practices, one man in the classroom was adamant that having multiple partners was his “cultural right”. Many of us have heard this claim to cultural rights before, vigorously defending the behaviours of generations of men before, linked to a sense of cultural and personal identity in a world and a time when men’s identities are challenged on many fronts.

Having attended university in the heated days of radical feminism in the United States, I understood something of the men’s defensive posturing and their attempts to hold tight to their cultures that give them some semblance of identity, place, direction and order in the world. I was careful not to demonise them or their behaviour, but rather to facilitate a process of discovery that might allow for women and men to be safer from the risk of HIV. I acknowledged the feeling of a cultural right, but then asked what the most important responsibility of men has been since the human species as we know it originated some 120,000 years ago. It was not long before the students identified protecting the group and assuring group survival into the following generation as being the paramount responsibility of men for thousands of years. Taking it further from this wonderful cue, I stated that in each generation before them, all of the students’ direct ancestors for 120,000 years made very good decisions that protected the group, the proof being that the students were alive and sitting in my classroom at that very moment. Part of what led to the success and very survival of each student’s family for so many millennia that the students identified was the very practice of having many children by different women – a practice that varied the gene pool and assured that at least some children would survive extreme and harsh conditions – the same practice that men are now demonised for. What men had done for thousands of years assured the survival of the group. That same behaviour, now that we are in an age of AIDS, threatens to destroy what every generation for 120,000 years had succeeded in doing, assuring the survival of their families and the group. Collectively, we identified that it is now men’s responsibility, once again, to gather together and discuss how, within these new circumstances of AIDS, they will fulfil their highest role and responsibility, assuring the safety and survival of their groups into the following generation.

In a story about AIDS the writer Sipiwo Mahala (2004:162) sums up what we discovered in our classroom that day. He writes:

Andile blinked once and tears that had stood poised in his eyes rolled down his face. "Of course, in the past a man achieved greatness by screwing more girls than his fellow men. What we have to realize is that things are different now," he said, shaking his head as he wiped at the tears with the back of his hand.

Our classroom conversation freed the men present from feeling demonised and blamed for AIDS, at the same time allowing for a new conversation about their roles in addressing the problem and the threat of AIDS. It was a conversation where the men in the classroom were able to reclaim the leadership role they see as their cultural obligation and responsibility, and for what was perhaps the first time for most, recognising their own responsibility and ability to lead their own local groups of friends, family and community members in finding solutions to preventing the spread of HIV. They suddenly understood that they did not have to depend on outsiders to protect them from HIV infection, but that they could do so themselves. Interestingly, in the conversation about solutions that followed, the men immediately invited the women in the classroom to be a part of creating ways forward. The conversation also succeeded in opening the door to Erik Erikson's notion of generativity, asking if our approaches to the AIDS pandemic might be more successful if they included questions of how generative behaviour can be inspired.

In our efforts to reduce HIV transmission, allowing people to reframe the AIDS pandemic and discover their own meanings associated with it is crucial. By allowing my students to do exactly this, they taught me another very important lesson about AIDS in South Africa: that the pandemic does not exist outside of a very particular historical context of colonial and apartheid oppression. Nor do the various efforts to curtail the spread of HIV. Eduardo Duran's work again helps us to understand how the wounding of the past – something Dr Duran refers to as "soul wounding" – can be inherited from one generation to the next if it is not intentionally and directly healed. I saw with my students that AIDS in South Africa exists within the historical context of one of the greatest false stories ever told in the history of the world, that of the inferiority of people of colour. The story remains alive in many of my young students at UWC and is easily identified by them as persistent internal voices that, no matter how irrational those voices might be, try to tell them that they are simply not good enough and are not worthy of success or anything better. An extraordinary example of these inner voices comes from

one of my students, a so-called “coloured” man in his 30s, who responded to an assignment asking students to identify the first time they felt truly great about who they are. Holding up a large colour photograph of himself on top of Table Mountain in January of 2004, the student began his story. “As I grew up,” he told the other students, “my parents often took us on Sunday picnics to the base of Table Mountain where the cable car departs for the top of the mountain. As the years went by, I saw white children my own age and younger entering the cable car and riding to the top. I knew I was not allowed to enter the cable car, and I did not know exactly why, except that I knew that I was somehow not good enough to go inside of it and ride to the top of the mountain. When 1994 came,” he went on, “the laws changed and I was legally allowed to get into that cable car. But this is my picture in 2004, on top of Table Mountain for the first time. Though the laws had changed, it was 10 years before I felt good enough about myself to get into the cable car and go to the top of the mountain.”

Over the past five years I have explored these internal voices with my students and concluded with them that, for many South Africans, there is a definite historical risk of HIV infection related to unhealed historical processes of oppression and dehumanisation that undermined their ancestors’ lives to continue and undermine their own. Again I refer to Duran’s notion of soul wounding and the importance of healing what has been unhealed. In the case of AIDS, my own research suggests that addressing AIDS requires addressing these very same unhealed wounds that continue to be shared by many. Not to address them, not to heal them, is to leave a legacy of risk of HIV infection for the generations that follow. Perhaps at the heart of what I have learned from my students about the historical risk of HIV is captured in the African proverb, “When there is no enemy within, the enemies on the outside cannot harm you.”¹

Where do we go from here? In recognising that AIDS is about us more than it is about the HI virus, we can use the pandemic as a mirror within which we can recognise not simply our unfortunate willingness to place ourselves and others at risk of HIV infection, but hopefully also recognise our own human qualities that will lead us away from risk of HIV infection and toward the expression of care and compassion for those who have HIV and AIDS. Recognition of the historical context of AIDS in South Africa is necessary for the creation of socially transformative processes that build what Silin calls “community power and ultimate self-determination” (1987:8).

1 http://thinkexist.com/quotation/when_there_is_no_enemy_within-the_enemies_outside/10095.html [Accessed 18 April 2008].

Seeing possibility in the development of a communitarian ethic and Robert Bellah's "communities of memory" (Silin, 1987:18), Silin writes that "the communities of memory that tie us to the past also turn us toward the future as communities of hope. They carry a context of meaning that can allow us to connect our aspirations for ourselves and those closest to us with the aspirations of a larger whole and see our own efforts as being, in part, contributions to a common good" (Silin, 1987:19). AIDS, he believes, "invites [us] to create ... public spaces out of which shared understandings of the social good, public virtue, and civic responsibility can emerge" (Silin, 1987:18).

Silin wrote more than 16 years ago that

In the end HIV/AIDS ... will be more about life than about death, more about health than about illness, more about the body politic than the body physical. From HIV/AIDS we learn about the limits of science and the importance of human vision, the frailty of the body and strength of the spirit, the need to nurture the imagination even as we direct our attention to rational cognitive structures. Although HIV/AIDS may challenge our prior understandings of authority, it also offers us an opportunity to examine new models that more accurately reflect who we understand ourselves to be and what we would like ... to become. (1992:67)

In 1986 the International Committee of the Red Cross's Seville Statement on Violence concluded that "The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace."² I conclude this paper with my own similar belief, that the same species which created the conditions for a fragile virus to become a global pandemic in which millions upon millions have already died can recreate themselves as a more just and caring species, and in so doing, create new conditions that value humanising behaviours, inspire generative desire, and create and protect all life far into the future.

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Final Questions and Discussion

Q: UWC student:

I have not grasped the measures and ways on how is healing brought about, especially in Africa. In this context when I look at it, the emphasis is that it comes through education. In most cases only some are privileged to have been taught and others not. I as a South African citizen believe that education can liberate others from issues such as AIDS and to place emphasis on the issue of land. If the land issue in our South African context has not been addressed thoroughly, it means people remain illiterate in the rural areas and land is their only means of survival and sustenance, and they cannot exercise their right on this.

Q: As a psychologist – how do you arrive at a stage where you can distinguish the voice of your heart from that of your head? Often it is a kind of confusion to distinguish that – which one is which?

Q: Dehumanisation and oppression are still happening as people are coming from all over and approach us to be involved, but they don't take a forward step to progress the whole scenario; the oppression that is happening, that continues. People are becoming victims of the situation. People don't know how to draw sponsors, they become exploited. How to move forward and not be victims of the people who come from the outside with expertise that we don't have? We need to do that.

Owen Soure, medic in Pollsmoor prison:

AIDS – my first patient died in 1988. Uganda took up the issue and managed it properly. In South Africa it is still increasing, even though we have put far more resources into it. The statistics do not go down. We have so much conflict – HIV medication is not good. Holford is saying food is better than drugs. We need clarity, so that people can get a proper message, especially academics like us here. When people are being attacked, it is by uneducated people. But uneducated people organise to attack, so leadership and healing needs to focus on making life better for all.

Prof. Sandy Lazarus:

Education is a major strategy for healing, but we need to combine it with lots of other strategies. How to bring together the head and the heart – intuition maybe. Mostly, it is about the head here. What are the things we have learned through books? In our heart is a mixture of experiences, good and bad, that

sit in us – out of that come our own daily reactions to everything, we respond at an intuitive level. We need to work on the damaged parts of that, our hearts are full of good things and damage. My wisdom depends on my own self-reflexivity. The more I do that, the more I feel I can trust that which does not have words, and actions come out – good ones. Do you think intuition is given the space to be utilised? I am saying that emotions can be rational. Our reasoning should be coming from head and heart. I was told to listen with my heart and then you hear what we are saying. I had to put away the categorising, not putting what people say into an order and segment it that way. Many academics are arguing for a different kind of valuing of that other part of themselves. How to get over being a victim – it has been a personal battle to understand the power I hold as a victim. I had to face up to my own understanding – why I am choosing to be a victim? What is the pay-off? What am I getting out of it? Why am I scared to be a victor? What will happen? What is it doing to me? What is it doing to those around me?

Kenneth Lukuko:

Healing in Africa. Part of community healing work involves looking at the community's own resources and processes of healing. A few months ago in the DRC there were some villages where reconciliation and peace building had not yet reached; what can one do before the process of healing and the agencies get there? What do you say to encourage their own wisdom, how to lead their own processes, learning from the community and finding their own historical roots of healing that have been forgotten, sometimes through the education system using Western approaches? We need to exchange these knowledges and learn from the concept of *ubuntu*.

Dr James Lees:

It occurs that there is a lot of learning and transfer of knowledge that happens outside of formal education and outside of schools. It has been said that when an American graduates, he is still an American. When an African graduates, he or she is westernised. One becomes alienated from one's own community. Link that to leadership and HIV – historically knowledge systems have intentionally been undermined by the oppressor, the colonist, by the apartheid regime. It has been intentional and continues to undermine the ability of people to take charge of their own lives, and they blame themselves for that, the students do. The leadership on AIDS has been problematic, historically. I spoke to a woman a few years ago. She said: When I got HIV, I got all the books and read and got confused, so I didn't do anything for two years. The way forward for everyone is to understand that all of us are leaders and teachers, and that TAC is trying to educate. What keeps everyone in this room from having a conversation with their families and communities?

A good leader seeks out knowledge and critically reflects on it. What keeps us from doing that with others? We must all act! Every single individual. All choices matter, every day.

Q: The programme of the conference has been correct on what needs to be done before healing. Emphasis is that issues need to be resolved – until then we are unlikely to have total healing as a nation. There cannot be serious healing without real development in the society of the wounded. And not until there is serious transformation can that be appreciated by the wounded. And as a nation we need serious integration of the rich and the poor, integration of the peasants and the elite, the uneducated and educated, and the redistribution of land, because the elite are in control and don't seem to understand the hardships of the wounded. You look at university students – the way they see the xenophobic attacks is different from young people in Khayalitsha, who see it differently. And solutions are devised by those from the University, so the wounded are not addressed. With our nation, as it is, we don't have a national identity as South Africans and a continental one as Africans. That is why when one is educated, then you preach in another language, once you have been educated – it is English. We don't appreciate who we are as a nation. How do we heal the wounds that emerge with our separate development? New serious wounds are developing. Tokyo Sexwale, you used us to get applause wherever you are; now the wounded feel that some who were in it together are going far and leaving others behind. Now some have relocated and been integrated into the elites. How do we foresee the new wounds that we are creating? We leave others still wounded, which wounds further.

Q: I have questions about the sports set up in SA. Dangor spoke about the amazing stir in 1995, and Sandy mentioned the TRC healing. Sports was used in late 1980s to 1991 to bring unity in this country and democratise this country before 1994, and we know tomorrow at 3 o'clock South Africa plays for the first time under a coach of colour; we have heard a lot about players of colour and managers of colour. Would the TRC have brought enough healing and transformation?

Q From student support services: I remember a poem from when I was young. I wanted to change the world and on my death bed I realised that I didn't change anything, and if I had changed myself, it would have changed family, community and the world. I take this to mean that it starts with self. The family is one of the most violent systems in our society. We should start a process of healing and realise the power and grow our own leadership and be true leaders ourselves, take that into our families and bring back cultural and family values. The impact on social transformation would be overwhelming.

Q: I am grateful for the conference. Good work. Not so easy. The last two weeks are a trauma to understand. The question is: how can we bring this into a system of a community that is in a cycle of violence? It seems like a never-ending story. Now we know more what we can do in a community; that takes it to a new level. We have more to understanding how the system works and how perpetrators are in a double-bind and we can see this anew.

Poet: The concept of success: we need to know who we are, where we are, where you want to go and know what you have to do to get there and do it.

Prof. Sandy Lazarus:

The continuing wounds – there is a natural aspect of wounding we experience that right from coming into the world when our parents don't treat us the way we want. This is an ongoing tension, it won't go away. It is part of life to be wounded, but how do we use wounds as lessons? When we change our attitudes and ask: what can I learn from it? It changes everything. In a community context we talk about these wounds, it is not about forgetting but learning, accepting that we are wounded, but we also do damaging things even though we don't mean to. Even the perpetrators would say they didn't want to, even in the recent events. We have to forgive ourselves and each other. Wounds are about growth and the possibility of new life. It is an ongoing challenge, but we can help each other. We have examples that we have heard of what can be done at community level, but we need a lot more talking and planning and doing to help us hear one another.

Dr James Lees:

Wounds silence people. Women in Black reframe that silence as an expression of resistance, solidarity and power. Individuals have been silenced around HIV/AIDS. We know what to do – we need not be silent anymore. There is a book by Paulo Freire – *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Go and read it!

Carmen Louw:

There is no easy answer – all disciplines and sectors are needed to be involved. How do we measure what it means to have success with the broader goal of reconciliation? What comes first? Healing, socio-economics, victim/perpetrator issues? The most important thing was the willingness of people to participate in the process. Communities have a power dynamic and need to own their self-determination and a lot of the healing starts to build agency for people without the willingness to participate in these different processes. It has to be an eye-to-eye process.

Kenneth Lukuko:

We need to offer a kind of leadership that keeps healing on the agenda. What we see in situations where people are poorer can point the way, too. Sometimes economics and other things mask the need for healing.

Sports people and coaches cannot deliver on what the country as a whole is struggling with.

Summary of Day 2

Prof. Christo Lombard, Department of Theology, University of the Western Cape

We are saturated with words and ideas. I realised what one of my mentors said: Yes, we can have questions and answers, but we should break up into small groups, look each other in the eye, and go through these processes ourselves. I handed out a pamphlet trying to lure them here – they said healing, what healing? I had to try and say the trauma of the whole apartheid era and now of people being left out – so we have been using these words and throwing them around. Now we had wonderful sermons thrown at us, secular people with their own spirituality. They become meaningful because they were speaking softly from their hearts, dealing with their own woundedness – that’s where we should start. If we look at our two top leaders now – they are wounded leaders themselves. I am happy that we end not only with leadership and social transformation, but with healing.

Thank you that you have listening carefully and shared from many different angles. And I heard old words: care, compassion, justice and agency. In the crisis that we must acknowledge we are facing, we have the hope of a kairos moment where opportunity presents itself again. We know we are sitting on a time bomb: the gap is widening between those who are self-important and self-enriching, and those left out more and more. This is dangerous. We realise that clearly after such a conference. The question is: where do we go? We can be pessimists and jump on the moral high ground, point fingers and be very wise and usually start shouting. Or we can go the other way and be optimistic and superficial, opportunistic. Both exacerbate the problem. The main thing is that we must be self-critical but also realistic. We are human, we err, we make mistakes, but we can change things. If we do it together, we start with ourselves, the sky is the limit, and this beautiful country can come into its own and be what it is supposed to be.

What stayed with me when working with such issues in Namibia – I am deeply wounded. It is difficult to speak without becoming quite emotional. All of us need friendship where we can share. At the height of the struggle, we had small groups of people who shared in various places – we shared stories and meals and became friends. Those friendships are lasting. We need to look into each other’s eyes and attempt healing. Psalm 85 says: When Israel came back from exile they asked: Where is God, what will happen? Let love, mercy and truth embrace, and let justice and peace kiss.

Word of Thanks

*Prof. Marion Keim, Coordinator: Social Transformation and Peace Programme,
University of the Western Cape*

On behalf of the Social Transformation programme at UWC, I am very happy to offer the word of thanks. As I mentioned yesterday, the organisation of the conference was a wonderful team effort, and I would like to mention a couple of people in particular. without whom the conference would not have been possible:

- Our partner, the EFSA Institute, represented by Dr Renier Koegelenberg and Mr Charl Fredericks;
- Franklin Covey Southern Africa who are sponsoring the workshop as part of the conference;
- I would like to thank Prof. Christo Lombard for the wonderful assistance in co-coordinating the event; Mabrey Bennett and Christine for all their help in the organisation of the conference; Geoff Louw and Nashmee for the printing of the programme; and Mr Vincent Morta for the banner;
- The students who assisted with the registration, especially Sibongile and Tasmyn, Demaine for the driving, the caterers, and Awaatief and her PR team, Gino and his team for the audio-visual equipment, and Dr Undine Whande for the capturing of the conference proceedings;
- Dr Koegelenberg and Prof. Bharuthram for chairing the 2 days and, of course, all the presenters for their insights and excellent contributions – and anyone I might have forgotten.

This is an annual conference. We are glad to announce that in 2009 we will host our 3rd Social Transformation conference on Youth, Conflict and Social Transformation, and in 2010 on Sports and Social Transformation. I would like to thank all the students for their participation; we are all very impressed with you, the leaders of tomorrow. Last but not least, thank you to the tremendous audience for a most memorable two days. Thank you for your passion, your insights, the sharing of poems and the dialogues that we are going to continue.

This book comprises the proceedings of a conference on Social Transformation, Leadership and Healing held at the University of the Western Cape in 2008. The reader finds a mixture of politicians, scholars, national leaders, social workers and postgraduate students sharing their perspectives on the importance of the role played by leadership and healing in a context of social transformation, and how these three themes are linked.

Ian Nell

Department of Practical Theology and Missiology, Stellenbosch University

I regard the proceedings as a work in progress that sheds light on postmodern debate, shifting gear from instrumentalism to human transformation. In this sense it is timely and very useful within the field of social transformation!

Derrick Marco

*Theologian and “Public Theology” Scholar Democracy and Governance –
Conflict Transformation Specialist, Institute for Democracy in Africa (IDASA)*

