

## Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes

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This is a brief but detailed account of the Rhodes Must Fall student campaign that unleashed the clamour for transformation in higher education, which has rocked universities across South Africa since April 2015. It is an excerpt of a much longer account titled: "Sir Cecil John Rhodes: The *makwerekwere* with a Missionary Zeal." The excerpted sections are: (a) Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes; (b) Not Every Black is Black Enough; and (c) UCT Fires on All Cylinders.

### Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes

The Demand for Rhodes' statue to be moved or removed from the University of Cape Town campus may have taken many by surprise, but the statue's inconvenience as a blot on the intellectual landscape of UCT had been noted and expressed in the past, since the years of the Archie Mafeje Affair, even if its removal was never formally requested before. The RMF protest started on Monday, 9 March 2015 on the Upper Campus of UCT<sup>1</sup>, while the VC, Dr Max Price, was away in Dakar, Senegal, attending the African Higher Education Summit.<sup>2</sup> In her capacity as the acting VC, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (DVC) Sandra Klopper issued a statement confirming the protest action. She condemned in the strongest terms as "unacceptable" and "reprehensible" the actions of "An

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individual among the protesters [who] threw excrement at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes." She concluded her statement with the reiteration: "UCT endorses freedom of expression. We encourage open debate, as all universities should do, and urge our students and staff to participate in discussions that contribute to responsible action."<sup>3</sup>

The "individual" who threw a bucket of human excrement at Cecil John Rhodes' statue was not quite acting as an individual. Apart from that some students reportedly followed his example by throwing urine and pig manure at the statue, while others covered it with a white cloth, "as if to hide the imperial stain,"<sup>4</sup> Chumani Maxwele, the "individual" referred to by the acting VC, saw himself as acting on behalf of a group of students who saw themselves as products of a history and a sociology of collective debasement, violation and victimisation by outsiders who came claiming the status of superior beings and bearers of superior values. He argued that black students would not want to study in a university suffocating with relics of colonial plunder,

including having to graduate in a hall named after the imperialist, Leander Jameson, over twenty years into a democratisation process that should already have proven itself by darkening some of the landscape with images and representations (of ideas and ideals, heroes and heroines – dead or alive, individual or collective) that black students could relate to.<sup>5</sup> The students had had enough of repeated claims that transformation cannot happen overnight, as if the institution were some sort of science fiction where a night is longer than twenty-one years. Maxwele was that "individual" who refused to be treated simply as *an individual*. A black South African politics student at UCT who was no stranger to protests, Maxwele, regarded as a most inconvenient youth in many a conservative circle, saw himself as a spokesperson for an intellectually and emotionally wounded black community of students, and by extension the rest of black South Africans who were yet to feel and feed on the purported fruits of liberation. Whether or not the anger and frustration and demand for which he served as vehicle was "the result of an inculcated sense of entitlement born of expectation,"<sup>6</sup> Maxwele and his fellow student protesters were determined to make their long silence heard. As Kuseni Dlamini captures it, the "protests reflect South Africa's unfinished business,"

reminding South Africans of "the burden of our history that could not be wished away with the ushering in of the new constitution which guarantees everyone freedom and equality," and "tell us that fundamental freedoms without inclusion and benefit from the economy and society are insufficient to guarantee all citizens a feeling of belonging and empowerment"<sup>7</sup>. Maxwele was acting on behalf of the black majority described by Greg Nicolson as still having a most raw deal over 20 years into the new South Africa when he writes that statues such as Rhodes and Paul Kruger are only "a symbol of all that remains to be done, of real transformation":

We still operate on the unequal and bigoted socio-economic conditions generally talked about in the past tense. In schools, universities and workplaces black people still face hurdles that white people don't and many whites refuse to adjust their perceptions of race to put themselves on an equal footing. Despite hundreds of years of oppression against blacks, whites often see affirmative action initiatives as an injustice, even though the large majority of black people still face systemic challenges just trying to work towards a sustainable and dignified life.

Over 20 years into democracy, after hundreds of years of brutality, things haven't changed fast enough. The [African National Congress] ANC could have done better, clearly, but spaces described as the avenues to opportunity, universities and professional workplaces, remain white, exclusive, often only tolerating a rainbow-nation-trickle of blacks who face extra hurdles. If they fail, their performance reflects a race. If they succeed, well, what an exception!

[...]

While almost everyone seems to want change, they want it without fuss, without shaking the status quo. They want to open a conversation (maybe an inquiry?) within the current system while their symbols of being remain untouched. But that leads to stasis, as it has, with the idea of transformation dropped into white noise.<sup>8</sup>

Maxwele and his fellow protesters recognised the importance of symbols as "vessels of identity and knowledge of the collective and its power," and as a thing

that "emotionally ties us to who we think we are, where we've come from, and what we represent."<sup>9</sup> In his repeated interventions on the apparently disgusting gesture, Maxwele reiterated that pouring excrement on the statue honouring Sir Cecil John Rhodes, the British colonial mining magnate and segregationist who died 113 years ago was intended as a metaphor "to explain our collective black pain," and express "our collective disgust"<sup>10</sup> at the resilience of colonial education and symbols and institutional racism at UCT and the country at large. He had acted for those perplexed by the fact that, more than twenty years after the alleged end of apartheid, so little transformation had taken place in a university that claimed post-apartheid credentials and loved to portray itself as Africa's premier university<sup>11</sup>. Indeed, the situation had remained the same<sup>12</sup> – some would say it had worsened – since Mahmood Mamdani's experience of the institution's (1996–1999) lack of an Africa-focused intelligentsia and hostility to Africa-focused thought (Mamdani 1998a&b), captured in the following words:

At the University of Cape Town, I witnessed a university administration that paid lip service to 'transformation' but was so terrified of losing control of the process of change that it came to see any innovative idea as a threat to its position and power (Mamdani 2007: xiii).

Siona O'Connell, a lecturer at the Michaelis School of Fine Art at UCT, expects management to take transformation beyond "renaming campus roads and commissioning memorials of slave burial sites on UCT property."<sup>13</sup> Writing in September 2014, O'Connell argues that as a campus at odds with itself, UCT is:

[...] trying to make sense of a multicoloured landscape with a dogged determination using the tools, frames and languages of the past. It is a university that has been home to many messy affairs of particularly darker shades, including the Mafeje affair of 1968, the Mamdani affair of 1998 and the Centre for African Studies affair of 2011. One can't help but see a pattern that draws attention to the inability of this university to transform itself as an institution that values all its various publics in a contemporary

South African moment that demands a radically new way of thinking if we are to escape a repeat of the likes of Marikana.<sup>14</sup>

According to Martin Hall – who was with the Department of Archaeology when Mamdani was at UCT and who responded in defence of the institution to one of Mamdani's critiques of UCT turning African Studies into a new home for Bantu Education (Hall 1998) –, "Mr Maxwele's protest has electrified longstanding resentments about the ways in which the past is remembered and celebrated. [...] Wearing a brightly coloured safety helmet and two placards – "Exhibit White Arrogance UCT" and "Exhibit Black Assimilation UCT" – Mr Maxwele emptied his bucket in front of the press, who had been tipped off to attend." Quoting Nelson Mandela, Hall observes that it is hardly surprising, that South African museums and national monuments should be seen as alien spaces when they have excluded and marginalised most of South Africans. It was Mandela's hope that democracy would afford South Africans "the opportunity to ensure that our institutions reflect history in a way that respects the heritage of all our citizens"<sup>15</sup>.

If one insists that Maxwele was an individual in his action, he was no ordinary individual. His individuality had been crushed by a history of repressive encounters with the violence of dominance which Rhodes and UCT had come to incarnate. The violence of colonialism and apartheid had denied him the luxury of fulfilling his ambitions as an individual. He belonged to that amorphous, homogenous and voiceless darkness whose purportedly primitive savagery offered a perfect license for others to penetrate and enlighten their circumstance with the benevolence of civilised savagery. Such ambitions of dominance did not allow him or any other black man or woman to aspire to be an individual – at least, not on their own terms. How then could he be anything but a collective? If the term individual had to be applied in his regard at all costs, he was more of a composite individual, whose agency, whatever it was, could not rise and shine because others insisted he did not deserve the status of a human being even, regardless of what he thought of himself or what he looked like. Whatever he was or wasn't, is or isn't, is aptly captured by

the title of Bloke Modisane's book: *Blame Me on History* (Modisane 1986 [1963]).

It is thus hardly surprising that Maxwele's views were shared by a "collective of students and staff working to purge the oppressive remnants of apartheid in pursuit of a truly African university."<sup>16</sup> Reference to *collective black pain* and *collective disgust* was not to deny individual agency and diversity among black South Africans. Rather, it was intended as a strategic essentialism (in the struggle for equality, restitution or reparation) in the same spirit that essentialisms were strategically deployed in the colonial and apartheid pasts by the imperial and settler white minority as a technology of exploitation, dispossession, debasement and domination. In many regards, for black South Africans to recognise their own pain, is to have come of age. Under apartheid, survival depended precisely on not dwelling on such pain that fed the repressive machinery of the violent regime and those it benefitted. In the following passage, Modisane gives us insight into how many a black South African coped with such mass produced and zealously disseminated pain under apartheid:

I have no use for human feelings, I stripped myself of them that day I looked upon the battered remains of the man who was my father; I pushed down the pain, forced it down, refused to cry and never cried since; every pain, every hurt, every insult I pushed down and held down like vomit; I have graduated bloody well, I cannot feel anything, I have no emotional responses, I am incapable of being humiliated, I have long ceased to experience the sensation of feeling a hurt. I am a corpse. (Modisane 1986 [1963]: 77)

For blacks to actually own up to pain on bodies as monuments of centuries of torture<sup>17</sup> the way Maxwele speaks about can only be explained by the likelihood that they must have invested much hope and aspiration in the declaration that apartheid had come to an end and that its victims could now dream about reactivating their humanity. To feel pain is to have hope, and to believe that human agency can result in creative innovations. Yet, if such hope is repeatedly frustrated even as freedom is celebrated, one is entitled to pinch oneself every now and again with the question: "Are you free or are you dumb?" in the manner of the

Vodacom advert, *Nightshift*. This is how Achille Mbembe understands the current urgency and impatience in clamours for decolonisation by the RMF and related movements, spearheaded by the eruption of rights-claiming and rights-denying wounded bodies, piling up, swearing and cursing, speaking with excrements and in allegories and analogies, asking to be heard. Thus to Mbembe, what we are hearing from the protesting students "is that there have not been enough meaningful, decisive, radical change, not only in terms of the life chances of the black poor, but – and this is the novelty – in terms of the future prospects of the black middle class." The students are impatient that, over twenty years into the so-called free and new dispensation, South Africans are yet to disrupt "enough the structures that maintain and reproduce 'white power and supremacy'," and that ensure that the majority mostly black South Africans continue to be "trapped in a 'bad life' that keeps wearing them out and down." They are revolting against the terms of engagement dictated to them, terms that have only compounded their predicament. The students are screaming in no uncertain terms their dissatisfaction with the lacklustre manner in which those in charge have gone about the business of transforming a skewed, racialized South Africa into an inclusive, egalitarian country.<sup>18</sup> To Mbembe, the anger and impatience of South African youth should be read as an accusation that those charged with transformation:

[...] have not radically overturned the particular sets of interests that are produced and reproduced through white privilege in institutions of public and private life – in law firms, in financial institutions such as banking and insurance, in advertising and industry, in terms of land redistribution, in media, universities, languages and culture in general.

'Whiteness,' 'white power,' 'white supremacy,' 'white monopoly capital' is firmly back on the political and cultural agenda and to be white in South Africa now is to face a new-old kind of trial although with new judges – the so-called 'born-free'.<sup>19</sup>

Sir Cecil John Rhodes' statue was attacked as a symbol of "Eurocentric, narrow-minded racism," and as a way of drawing attention to the unfinished and someti-

mes un-started business of transformation beyond symbols. Jonathan Jansen, VC of the University of the Free State recognised this when he acknowledged in a newspaper column that the protests are about a deeper transformation of universities – including the complexion of the professoriate – that remains largely unchanged, twenty-one years after the alleged end of apartheid.<sup>20</sup> Singling out the English speaking universities, Jansen elaborates:

"The three English universities in upheaval – Rhodes, UCT and Wits – struggle with second-order challenges of transformation. Having enabled access to black students over the years – also not without a struggle, despite their liberal pretences – the students now rightly demand greater recognition through who teaches them, what is taught, how the past is remembered (symbols such as statues, for example) and how they are made to feel (institutional culture) at universities where they still roam around campus like visitors. This is the heart of transformation, and these universities are only now beginning to realise what anger simmered below the epidermis of the superficial politeness of English culture, and boiled over with #RhodesMustFall."<sup>21</sup>

Adam Habib, VC of University of Witwatersrand agrees:

The Rhodes statue was simply a trigger point for a broader unhappiness about race, racism, and marginalisation at the University. The universities, particularly the historically white ones, have been immersed in a bubble. They assumed that their intellectual atmosphere and their middle class constituencies protected them from a social explosion around race. But this was not to be because there is legitimacy to the criticisms of the students. How can there not be when there are universities 20 years after our democracy that still have more than two thirds of their students white? How can there not be unhappiness when there are universities that are organised around racialised federal principles, which when an incoming vice-chancellor tries to change, he becomes subject to attack by external right wing organisations including AfriForum and Solidarity? How can these students not feel offended when even in the more liberal and historically English speaking universities like UCT and Wits,

the curriculum is not sufficiently reflective of our history or speaks to our historical circumstances.<sup>22</sup>

In an open letter on the website of UCT posted 19 March 2015, several students wrote that removing the statue would "end the unreflective public glorification of Rhodes at the expense of the legitimate feelings of those the statue offends on a daily basis."<sup>23</sup> Gillian Schutte<sup>24</sup> criticises the tendency by the privileged class to react with "shock and outrage," "decry the animalistic behaviour of the filthy-bodied, filthy-mouthed, uneducated poor," and criminalise the desperation of the protesting black majority, instead of opening up to understand and address the very conditions of hardship and inequality that have caused the protests, however outrageous. It is all too common, she argues, for the elite of this privileged class to "use elitist theory to delegitimise the intellectual premise for black protest in supercilious articles brimming with white supremacy masquerading as academic thought." She labels as "top-down" and "infantile" reactions that seek "to criminalise black struggle and to silence black rage," and condemns the deft insistence by the privileged class on their own meanings and values when black people, suffocated by excessive repression resort to poo protests.<sup>25</sup> On the use of human faeces by historically repressed blacks to make their point to the economically and politically powerful, Gillian Schutte writes:

At a time in our history where the collective is brutally suppressed and black anger is presented on mainstream media as the ultimate violence, the marginalised masses find new and inventive ways to make their grievances heard.

If this means spewing the human waste which they are forced to live in into the sanitised public spaces of the well-heeled, then we should applaud their bravery and inventiveness.

In a neo-colonial world order where democracy and human rights for the rich means 'shoot to kill' for the poor, it stands to reason that protest becomes a desperate cry for the recognition of the collective and individual humanity of the disenfranchised.

Like it or not, defecation is the most visceral and inevitable aspect of

being human no matter what your class, race or gender.

By importing the unfettered faeces of the poor collective, who live with dismally inadequate sanitation, into the deodorised spaces of those who are able to flush their own faeces away in toilets, they are successfully exposing the extreme and dehumanising cruelty of a capitalist system which privileges some and entirely deprives others.<sup>26</sup>

Xolela Mangcu, an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at UCT, has been at the forefront of the call for the injection of a significant number of black South African academics into UCT and other universities in post-apartheid South Africa<sup>27</sup>. At the University Assembly to discuss the Rhodes Statue and Transformation at UCT he told the VC: "Max, I find it racially offensive that whenever the issue of black professors comes up and you are asked about it, the issue of standards must come in."<sup>28</sup> Nhlapo<sup>29</sup> and many others have subsequently based their arguments on statistics provided by Mangcu. At UCT where by 2013 there were only 48 black South African academics out of a total of 1,405 – that is 3 percent, and not a single black South African woman full professor –, black students and staff are expected to bear institutional racism with a stiff upper lip, and to be subservient to the call of an intellectual tradition and logic of practice steeped in colonial symbolism and the celebration of primitive savagery as an essence of being black and African. In a country where only 4 per cent – 194 out of 4000 – of the professors by 20 July 2014 were black South Africans<sup>30</sup>, it is hardly surprising that "One hundred and fifty years of Black intellectual thought remains outside the social theory curriculum in South Africa."<sup>31</sup> Mimicry and hypocrisy are central to the game of keeping up appearances in order to be remotely visible as a black member of staff or as a black student. White privilege and arrogance reward with token inclusion those who are able to discipline their true feelings and embrace what they are fed without question. As Amina Mama, former Head of the Africa Gender Institute at UCT, argued during a meeting with the "RMF writing and education sub-committees," given that most vehicles for scholarly communication in South Africa and globally continue to be owned and controlled by whites, it becomes very diffi-

cult for writing that challenges colonial thinking and models to be tolerated and made visible. This predicament was reiterated by 15 RMF students when the Johannesburg Workshop in Theory and Criticism housed by the Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER) at the University of Witwatersrand made the pages of its *Salon* available to them<sup>32</sup>. Gamedze and Gamedze titled their introduction to Volume 9 of the publication "Salon for What?" and in it argue that "to be a radical African intellectual is to challenge, on fundamentally personal, institutional and societal levels," the "form of alienation that colonial education encourages," and that it is somehow ironic for the RMF students to have to resort to a publication named "Salon" to express themselves. That notwithstanding, it is important that they are able to write what they want to write, the way they want:

We write to assert our humanity as Black people, and to assert that, while the imagination that stems from this unrecognised, in-between condition is indeed flashy, exciting, 'avant-garde' (in its un-investigatedness) our humanity is at its root. [...] we [must] continue to write, and while we must navigate the inevitable 'Salon' of western knowledge structures, we are aware that we are writing in ways that these knowledge structures have not prescribed.<sup>33</sup>

We just have a feeling that there is something about writing that allows us to subvert the structures that have oppressed us and continue to do so, and while this space of writing is contested, we are armed to enter this contest in ways that cannot and do not occur to our oppressors. We write different, and so we feel that writing is important. It is important to write ourselves, to write our own story. We know that many, who are not us, have BEEN writing about us and have painted us in many different ways, of which none are creative nor imaginative enough. We are here to represent ourselves and share our thoughts on our situation and on what we are up against. We are thinking about how we might create something new: how we might pursue writing in a way that represents and humanises us as energetic and hurt bodies.<sup>34</sup>

Transformation can only happen, Shose Kessi argues, if black academics and

students can unapologetically foreground black pain as a legitimate concern:

The idea of logical reasoned argument outside of affect is nonsensical and serves to legitimise the idea that intellectual projects and academic freedom exist outside of historical structural analyses. It serves as a smokescreen that invisibilises whiteness or white feelings. I cannot count the number of times I have been in classrooms, meetings, and committees where the feelings of white students and staff dominate the space in suffocating ways that exclude and silence – under the guise of ‘logical reasoned argument’. The burden of black academics in these spaces is often one of appeasing and negotiation for fear of being dismissed and labelled as irrational, at best, or, at worst, for fear of the white backlash that typically spirals out of control. Black pain and anger is pathologised and condemned whereas white people’s anger is cajoled, understood, and considered rational.<sup>35</sup>

According to Panashe Chigumadzi, the founder and editor of Vanguard Magazine, being what is generally referred to in South Africa as a coconut is no reason for one to be blind to, ignore or dismiss the reality of racism. Drawing on her personal experience, she explains:

At the age of six I had already begun the dance that many black people in South Africa know too well, with our names just one of the many important sites of struggle as we manoeuvre in spaces that do not truly accommodate our blackness. I had already taken my first steps on the road to becoming a fully-fledged coconut, that particular category of ‘born free’ black youth hailed as torchbearers for Nelson Mandela’s ‘rainbow nation’ after the fall of apartheid; the same category of black youth that are now part of the forefront of new student movements calling for statues of coloniser Cecil John Rhodes to fall, and for the decolonisation of the post-apartheid socio-economic order.

We all know what a coconut is, don’t we? It’s a person who is ‘black on the outside’ but ‘white on the inside’. This term came into popular South African usage in apartheid’s dying days as black children entered formerly white schools. At best,

coconuts can be seen as ‘non-white’. At worst, they’re ‘Uncle Toms’ or ‘agents of whiteness’.

I’ve chosen to appropriate the term and self-identify as a coconut because I believe it offers an opportunity for refusal. It’s an act of problematising myself – and others – within the landscape of South Africa as part of the black middle class that is supposed to be the buffer against more ‘radical elements’.

Instead of becoming the trusted mediators between black and white, we are now turning to conceptions of blackness and mobilising anger at the very concept of the rainbow nation. The fantasy of a colour-blind, post-racial South Africa has been projected onto us coconuts, but our lived experiences are far from free of racism.<sup>36</sup>

Regardless of the blackness one targets, global or local, national or pan-African, to quibble about the reference to black pain is to want to erase a history in which blacks were defined and confined through particular encounters as a collectivity and not simply as individuals by their colonisers armed with ambitions of dominance that were sometimes veiled or disguised by claims of *mission civilisatrice* and continue to be rationalised by the nebulousness of claims to modernisation, development and globalisation. However loud the silence of some in their apathy to black pain may be, to proclaim this in public is to deny that universalisms, if not arbitrarily imposed, are always negotiated and navigated through the encounters of particularisms. Common denominators come not from hiding the personal but from taking personal experiences to the emotive public distilleries of contextually relevant forms of rationality. In the case of South Africa, to quibble about black pain is also to force black South Africans to live a post-apartheid lie that the playing field has been levelled and race and the benefits it accords and denies are no longer important, even as no concerted effort has been made, in real terms, to right past wrongs.<sup>37</sup>

As a numerical majority, black South Africans are miffed by their incapacity to assert themselves in the age of freedom<sup>38</sup>. They are impatient and flabbergasted that whiteness continues to be such a powerful force and to impose its vocabulary of provocation and victimhood on blacks despite political independence. Of the

multiple pains blacks succeeded in freezing under apartheid, post-apartheid South Africa seems to have mitigated little more than the pain of political disenfranchisement. It has reawakened material desires and aspirations that had been numbed *à la* Bloke Modisane who is cited above describing numbing as a survival strategy in the days when freedom was an extravagant illusion. Little wonder that the language of black pain now proliferates, especially among those who feel they have invested effort enough at schooling themselves in the values enshrined by the whiteness that has dominated them body, mind and soul for so long. What use is it to be termed middle class in post-apartheid South Africa only to be differentiated as “black” in that middle-classness because one, however corrupt in one’s capacity to accumulate in a hurry, can hardly measure up to the traditional middle class (white remains firmly white) because of decades (if not centuries) of accumulation and the passing down of wealth through successive generations of the family? And how can a black South African born post 1994 celebrate the generic category of a born-free when he or she cannot freely compete with their white counterpart because of persistent material and structural inequalities?<sup>39</sup> According to a survey of born-frees conducted in the course of the Rhodes Must Fall campaign, many born-frees declared they were likely to resort to violent protests because of the persistence of inequalities in the country.

According to the report, “unemployment rates are higher among younger people, women and Africans.” On the expanded definition of unemployment, the rate among African males aged 15 to 24 years is 67% compared with 75% of African females.

Violent protests in SA have almost doubled in the last three years and it is suspected that the economically disenfranchised youth may play a huge part in it.

Born frees are also receiving poor quality education, said the report, with literacy and numeracy scores in Grade 3 in this group barely above 50%. This has a major ripple effect later on as only 51% of matric candidates pass their final school-leaving exam.

The report found that “people aged 14 to 25 years old account for 29% of the country’s prison population.”

To speak of collective black pain and collective black disgust is to demonstrate that one is not duped by hollow claims of a common humanity and equality for all and sundry in a world structured by and around interconnecting global and local hierarchies informed by considerations or categories such as race, place, class, culture, gender and generation.

Bearing this in mind, one can understand how and why Rhodes' statue along with an untransformed UCT was seen by the protesting students as a chilling reminder of a history steeped in blood and ruthless indifference to the humanity of black South Africans. To Maxwele, his generation of black South African students is ready to succeed where its parents failed in tackling white power and privilege until satisfactory concessions are made. If a letter addressed to the Chairperson of UCT Council, Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, by another student Rekgotsofetse 'Kgotsi' Chikane<sup>40</sup>, who describes himself as "A student who wants transformation he can see," is anything to go by, Maxwele's dramatic "poo" intervention was meant as shock treatment for an institution that has systematically resisted transformation. The letter begins with a series of what the author terms plaguing questions, amongst which are the following:

Why must it be that a student at the University of Cape Town (UCT) is pushed to the point of having to throw faecal matter over the statue of Cecil John Rhodes in order to have a conversation about transformation at UCT? How is it that we are now at this point?

Chikane is frustrated by:

[...] the fact that there is no plan for real transformation on campus. Transformation that I can see. Honest transformation. Transformation that means something.

Chikane is worried by the "disconcerting" silence of the chair of UCT Council, a black South African like himself and a man of God, over the "institutionalised racism" that continues to stand in the way of transformation at UCT. To the author neither the VC nor the UCT Senate can be trusted to lead the process of "meaningful transformation" in the institution. To him, the discussion around the transformation of curricula and race relations "is largely ignored or recklessly diluted by those in decision-making positions." Policies

purportedly aimed at bringing about racial transformation are yet to yield tangible outputs and to have a meaningful impact. UCT has not only failed to transform, it has achieved little in opening itself up to represent black South African aspirations in any significant way. Chikane describes as "weak" the VC's repeated defence that the university cannot attract quality black South African academics because it cannot afford to offer competitive salaries to entice young black graduates to continue studying. The university is seriously in need of the injection of black academics and African perspectives to disabuse itself of the reputation among students of "being a European university stuck at the bottom of Africa." The "systemic" and "subliminal" form of institutionalised racism at UCT is, in his estimation, worse than that in any other university in South Africa. Chikane elaborates:

It is the form of racism that makes you ignorant about your subjugation because you are never challenged to seriously engage on critical matters. It's the form of racism that allows those who enter UCT from a position of privilege to never have to question their privilege. The privilege of being able to walk past a statue of Saartjie Baartman in the library and have no idea that simply placing her on display, with no justification, is an insult to her legacy and painfully offensive to many students.

Like his fellow students, Chikane was totally frustrated with the excesses of the conquering *amakwerekwere* represented by Cecil John Rhodes, a statue of whom was implanted in mocking imperial defiance high on the campus of the university, enjoying a magnificent view of the city and contemplating outer space. By smearing Rhodes' statue with excrement and covering it with garbage bags and signs of protest, the students were screaming their revulsion with the callous indifference that university authorities had repeatedly displayed vis-à-vis their plight in an institution in which they felt like perfect strangers or *amakwerekwere*. The statue of Rhodes, erected to celebrate an oppressor and imperialist who was able to buy his way into prominence with land and wealth he acquired through dispossession of their forefathers and foremothers, was a symbol of oppression and white privilege

– an impediment to real transformation. It was neither here nor there that some of the students protesting had benefited from funding by the Rhodes estate, or that the university was built upon land that was bequeathed to it in Rhodes' will. They were sick and tired of the arrogance of *amakwerekwere* like Rhodes who had turned the bona fide sons and daughters of South Africa and earlier generations of migrants into beggars and strangers in their own land. Instead of opening up to the idea of a truly inclusive and reconciled post-apartheid South Africa in the spirit of the "rainbow nation" propagated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the white establishment, in the estimation of the protesting black students, had clung to their privileges in a business as usual sort of way, while paying lip service to transformation<sup>41</sup>. The outcome has been, as Trevor Noah puts it in one of his comedy sketches: "We [in South Africa] used to be the 'rainbow nation'; now the colours are going their own way"<sup>42</sup>.

Anthony Butler<sup>43</sup> believes that by "speaking out frankly about the shortcomings of UCT's transformation strategy," black students were demonstrating "why they are better placed than their lecturers to understand their own experiences of being black." They were also offering their fellow undergraduate white students the opportunity to introspect and contemplate on their often taken for granted privileges. Not just their "affluent suburban backgrounds, well-resourced schools, and the societal dominance of their home languages," but also, and perhaps more importantly, the:

[...] less obvious aspects of their advantage: an expectation that when they underperform it will not be attributed to their race; a capacity to succeed that is not attributed by others to affirmative action; a happy expectation that potential employers will assume they are competent because of their skin colour; and an ease in negotiating the legacies of colonialism and white domination.<sup>44</sup>

The protest spread as more and more students joined, and politicians, the media (both conventional and social) became part of the fray. In a statement issued by Gwede Mantashe, ANC Secretary General, the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) "unequivocally" expressed support for the protesting "students in

their determined demands for transformation at universities across the country." NEC declared: "We appreciate that statues are mere symbols of our racist history and believe that the transformation needed must be concerned with entrenching fundamental and far-reaching structural, systematic and cultural change; reflective of the aspirations and realities of our democratic and non-racial order." Twenty years into democracy have made transformation a non-negotiable matter of urgency.<sup>45</sup> Higher Education and Training Minister Blade Nzimande, for example, vowed to turn 2015 into a year in which he would "uncompromisingly" push for the transformation of the country's universities, adding: "There remains an urgent need to radically change the demographics of our professoriate; transform the curriculums and research agendas; cultivate greater awareness of Africa; eliminate racism, sexism and all other forms of unjust discrimination; improve academic success rates and expand student support."<sup>46</sup> Speaking in her capacity as shadow Minister of Higher Education for the Democratic Alliance, as well as former DVC for University of Witwatersrand, Belinda Bozzoli admits that South Africa still has a long way to go in eradicating racism, and that "Proper reconciliation hasn't been truly achieved yet." To her, "Reconciliatory ideas vanished from politics with Nelson Mandela's death," and the purported lack of no money for new academic posts in South Africa would make it difficult for universities to open up any time soon to the inclusion of more black South African academic staff.<sup>47</sup> Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, spokesperson for the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) called for the reconstruction of public monuments in non-oppressive ways, adding that the party would continue to "agitate" and provide "ideological perspective" on the removal of colonial and apartheid era statues and monuments. Inspired by the RMF protest, a statue of Paul Kruger was allegedly defaced by members of the EFF in Tshwane, and a memorial statue in Uitenhage Market Square in the Eastern Cape was reportedly set alight by members of the EFF. The student protests had given the party's campaign to remove colonial and apartheid statues and monuments added impetus. It was only logical, Ndlozi argued, that with the end of apartheid, public spaces configured in the image of the repressive forces of the apartheid era be reconfigured to reflect the

dreams and aspirations of the new South Africa.<sup>48</sup> Anglican Archbishop Thabo Makgoba of Cape Town was of the opinion that: "The campaign against symbols of the injustice of our past, along with service delivery protests and public outrage over corruption, reflect the anger of South Africans at the inequalities that continue to plague us." He called on all and sundry to "harness the energy being poured into protest into rigorous self-examination and action to expand the current campaigns into a creative, society-wide drive for real transformation."<sup>49</sup>

The demonstrators mounted a "Rhodes Must Fall" campaign on Facebook and related social media, along with a Twitter account: #RhodesMustFall.<sup>50</sup> The "Rhodes Must Fall" Facebook page – which described itself as "a collective student, staff and worker movement mobilising for direct action against the institutional racism of UCT"<sup>51</sup> attracted sympathy posts from far and wide including from student movements in universities across the world.<sup>52</sup> It must be added though, as some of the students at the University Assembly made evident from some of the derogatory posts they read out – posts referring to blacks as monkeys, pigs, primitive savages and morons because "you can take them out of the bush but you can't take the bush out of them" – and filled with a catalogue of other negativities –, that not all the Facebook posts were supportive<sup>53</sup>. Transformation became the catchword, catchall and catchon about the unfinished business of recalibration of the hierarchies of humanity that had informed relations, privilege and poverty in apartheid South Africa. In this way, the Rhodes statue was merely an entry point for a series of demands seeking recognition and representation for those who felt hard done by the privileges of the white *amakwerekwere* that presided over their destinies, diminishing the self-esteem and sense of identity of especially black students and academics who felt they deserved better especially within a new and purportedly free South Africa. It is thus significant that many white students initially drawn to the protest persuaded by the general outcry in favour of mental decolonisation and transformation of curricula and relations within the institution, and the removal of the stature of Rhodes as a symbolic gesture, soon

found themselves being made to feel that they were weeping more than the owner of the corpse. For those of them who sought to become more involved, they were made to understand that their role was strictly limited to one of solidarity and support in a struggle that was clearly black. In other words, they questioned or were made to question, how it is possible for a *makwerekwere* in the image of Rhodes – a white, born-free or not, local or foreign – to seek to convince anyone that he or she could feel the pain of the oppressed black other, or claim to be in the same boat? To some black students, whites who joined the protest were merely keeping up appearances, making as if Cecil Rhodes and his excesses were all that is to blame for the predicaments of black South Africans and black Africans on campus in general. Did they really think that all that was needed was to name and shame Sir Cecil John Rhodes (as an individual as if he had lived his life entirely as an island with neither ancestry, kin, progeny or relationships with others) – the white *makwerekwere* who debased, humiliated and undermined Africans with impunity so as to appropriate their resources? If Rhodes, however iconic, was the only problem, why did his excesses and material superabundance or wealth appear to have trickled down through the ranks and generations, as if flowing in the blood of his white brethren to contaminate even the post-apartheid generation of so-called born-frees? Why did his legacy of a highly concentrated monopolistic economy persist? Why is the economy still firmly under white control? Could the fact – as evidenced by the "Fees Must Fall" and "End Outsourcing" student protests which subsequently rocked universities countrywide<sup>54</sup> – be blamed entirely on the incompetence and corruption of the new ANC mostly black elite in power as some have tended to insinuate?

### Not Every Black is Black Enough

It is commonplace to be caught between and betwixt any and everywhere in the world, especially in South Africa where it is all too easy to be crushed by the giant compressors of the regressive logic of ever diminishing circles of inclusion (February 1991; Adhikari 2005). Colonialism and apartheid functioned best through hierarchies of humanity and their multiplicities of agentive possibilities. It was the best form of divide and rule. Post-

apartheid South Africa and South Africans are in no hurry to give up on categories that have served them so well. So, it is hardly surprising that in the current clamour for decolonisation epitomised by RMF, some attitudes and declarations leave one in little doubt that not every black is black enough, both among nationals and foreigners. Just as there is a hierarchy of whiteness, so too is there a hierarchy of blackness. Neighbouring Botswana, which went through similar debates on citizenship, belonging, rights and entitlements in the late 1990s and early 2000s captures in a most fascinating way the complexities and intricacies of belonging and attitudes towards citizenship and foreigners which South Africa is currently experiencing, and from which South Africans can draw vital lessons for a future of inclusion (Nyamnjoh 2002, 2006).

In the current RMF and transformation debates, by insisting frequently that the statue was only a symbol or a metaphor for the wider lack of transformation at UCT, the protesting students echoed and were echoed by academic staff with similar concerns about the predominantly white reality of the institution despite the allegedly post-apartheid landscape of the country. Mangcu wrote several pieces featured by the national media, complaining of the snail pace of transformation at UCT, an institution where Whites dominate teaching positions and there are too few black South African academics at professorial level. He pointedly insisted that it was scandalous for UCT to have too few black South African academics, especially at professorial ranks, and yet claim to be a South African university. It was even more scandalous that out of a total of 1,405 academics at UCT, there was not a single black female professor of South African nationality amongst them. Mangcu makes a distinction between black South Africans, Coloureds and Indians, as do fellow South African academics and the State as well. Here is an excerpt from one of his articles on the matter:

First, by 2013, the number of black South African academic staff at UCT was 48 out of a total of 1 405 — that is, 3%. This was an increase from 46 in 2009. That is a net gain of two black people over five years. And listen to this: there is not a single black South African woman who is a

full professor at UCT. Not one, in 2013! That statistic is unacceptable in an inclusive democratic society.

Of the 174 South Africans who are full professors at the university, there are only five black South Africans (2.8%), six coloured males (3.4%) and two coloured females (1%). There are 10 Indian male full professors (5.7%) and only one Indian woman (0.5%). In short, Steve Biko's Blacks — blacks, coloureds and Indians — constituted just about 12% of the full professors at UCT who were South African in 2013. As Biko pointed out, the fate of coloureds, Indians and Africans in South Africa will always be interconnected on the margins. Yes, you guessed it right, 85% are white South Africans (148 out of 174). The parallels with the Land Act of 1913 could not be more striking.

In my faculty at UCT, the humanities, where you would expect pioneering research about our future, there are only two black South Africans who are full professors. There was a 100% increase with the appointment of a new dean of the humanities to bring us to a whopping two out of 47 full professors in the humanities. And they are in one department, sociology.<sup>55</sup>

Put differently, Mangcu was complaining that UCT was dominated by *amakwerekwere* of yesteryears (whites, coloured, Indians) — some of whom with divided loyalties by virtue of carrying more than one passport — and that even 20 years into the so-called liberation of the country from the yoke of apartheid, those claiming the status of bona fide black native sons and daughters of the land were yet to feel genuinely integrated into an institution that was supposedly theirs. Instead, the university authorities resorted to filling the place up with *amakwerekwere* of another kind, blacks from north of the Limpopo, as if every black was black enough in the South African context. This is a nuance which was aptly pointed out by Professor Sakhela Buhlungu, Dean of the Humanities Faculty at UCT (who, in recognition for his demonstrated leadership on drawing attention to the unfinished business of transformation, has earned the reputation of champion of transformation<sup>56</sup>) when he denounced as "most dishonest, most hypocritical and cynical" the common practice by universities in South Africa to "cop-out" from expectations of redress, equity and ac-

cess by counting as "equity candidates" for recruitment "international scholars, who just happen to be black." At the risk of unsettling a number of his fellow academics, Buhlungu subscribes to "three categories of academics: white South African academics, black South African academics and international scholars," and calls for "balance across the categories." In other words, he recognises the *amakwerekwere* within (white South Africans, who happen to be mostly those playing "tricks" and being hypocritical about transformation and to whom one black equals another, South African or not) and the obvious *amakwerekwere* in their varying degradations (non-South African whites and non-South African blacks — those who are recruited to the detriment of meaningful equity and redress and whose recruitment is often justified/rationalised with arguments to the effect that South African universities need to be competitive internationally).<sup>57</sup>

This begs a few questions about "decolonisation," the label that has found traction with the current RMF campaign. When does decolonisation entail Africanisation?<sup>58</sup> And when does it mean South-Africanisation only, without the whiteness? When does decolonisation as Africanisation enter into a meaningful conversation with decolonisation as whiteless-South-Africanisation? Above all, when do decolonisation as whiteless-South-Africanisation and Africanisation enter into worthy epistemological conversations with decolonisation as a universal aspiration à la Frantz Fanon and à la Steve Biko (as neither South Africa nor African can claim monopoly over victimisation by colonisation and apartheid as a racialized technology of subjugation and domination) that may or may not coincide with being African or with being South African, both in the general, generous and inclusive or exclusionary, parochial and autochthonous sense of these identities? This teething problem of decolonisation is a replay of the debate in the 1960s in the rest of Africa, the time most countries gained a semblance of independence<sup>59</sup>, even if South Africa's predicament is that decolonisation is happening at the same time as accelerated globalization, which in a way complicates the situation remarkably, through the mass production of black migrants by the collapsing economies of many African states. But even in the 1960s, as Fanon notes in *The Wret-*



*ched of the Earth*, narrow nationalism was already inciting nationals to violence against foreigners while calling for opportunities to be confined to citizens (Fanon 1967: 125-6). When is decolonisation more than simply opening out to engage with African and South African issues, knowledge and epistemology? What reason is there to quibble about making knowledge production focused on South Africa and Africa the central concern of a university that purports to be South African and African, and therefore to imply that it thinks, teaches and relates to the world from that vantage point of being South African and African? What manner of transformation is sufficiently accommodating of the complexities and nuances of being African or South African in a nimble-footed world where everyone is a potential *makwerekwere*, powerful or not, and where autochthony makes sense only in terms of how ready one is able to include history beyond that which is convenient for one and the interests one is defending for the moment?<sup>60</sup>

In a Facebook post reacting to an article by Achille Mbembe on the "State of South African Politics," Mojalefa Murphy – "a South African born Nuclear Physicist" and "skilled generalist and activist" – echoes Buhlungu's sentiments. He argues that to keep postponing redressing past injustices and providing for equal citizenship with black South Africans, university authorities in South Africa who remain predominantly white, prefer to reach out to and co-opt black African academics from the rest of the continent such as Mbembe to provide token black presence on campuses in order to give the impression of racial reconfiguration in the name of transformation. Murphy may be right that it is no secret that foreign black Africans "are generally preferred for employment in white managed South African outfits both in the public and private sector," possibly to foster the white supremacists' agenda of "exploiting the economy corruptly to feather nests abroad." In reward for their support, African academics in "white institutions of higher learning" are known to "sail through with ease" while many black South African academics are "overlooked for promotion to senior and professorial positions." It is wrong, he concludes, for whites and their black conformists in South Africa to "interpret the justifiable anger at whiteness as hatred for whites."

Black anger is nothing but an expression of collective black psyche as informed by the lived traumatic experiences of blacks for centuries of racial assault by white supremacists<sup>61</sup>. Such divide and rule practices as described by Murphy, if truly intended, ought to be condemned without mitigation. It is equally in the interest of those invested in decolonisation as both a local and global pursuit to understand and circumvent the game of divide and rule championed by an ideological predisposition to a world of interconnecting local and global hierarchies informed by factors or considerations such as race, ethnicity, place, class, gender and generation.

While some non-South African blacks may be perceived to be co-opted to serve the interests of white supremacists, a prioritisation of transformation as redress and equity for South African blacks exclusively, however justified contextually, disenfranchises or delegitimizes any compelling claims to black pain that non-South African black academics may have at UCT as an institution dominated by the privileged interests and taken-for-granted perspectives in tune with the *habitus* of being white in South Africa. Such exclusionary or selective indicators of blackness and black pain give the impression that black pain at UCT is experienced by degree and that however much solidarity non-South African blacks bring to the struggle, their black pain is always susceptible, a priori, to being defined and related to as inferior – the pain of black *amakwerekwere* or outsiders within – to the pain of black South Africans who overtly or covertly consider themselves as authentic sons or daughters of the native soil, those who really should have been in charge, had not the white *amakwerekwere* of yesteryears epitomised by Rhodes, conquered and tamed them with violence and superior technology, injecting and implanting themselves and their progeny as a more or less permanent blot on the native landscape.

Seen thus, the following critical reaction to Mbembe's piece alluded to above by Shose Kessi – a black senior lecturer of Tanzanian nationality in the department of psychology at UCT – would need qualification and nuance, to reflect the ever diminishing circles of inclusion even when race is a common denominator.

Being black or white is not all that there is to the transformation debate, which is also, and often more importantly, about rights and entitlements as nationals and citizens of a specific nation-state. In such localised autochthonous struggle for social visibility, resources and power, the new generation of *amakwerekwere* who are black, often powerless and dispensable, and who hail from Africa north of the Limpopo, matter very little whatever the magnitude of their own frustrations with the deeply colonial nature of the university institutions that have hired them, or where they are students. They are caught between and betwixt forces that often know little compromise. Seen in these terms, *amakwerekwere* such as Kessi, their commitment to genuine transformation notwithstanding, could easily find themselves in awkward situations (not dissimilar to those in which so-called born-free white students have found themselves when they have come out to show solidarity with their protesting black colleagues) where they are perceived and related to as if they were perfect strangers at a funeral weeping more than the owner of the corpse, or as fighting fights in which they have no stakes. Paradoxically, it seems to matter little what non-South African blacks think or feel, as they are open to caricature either way in the game of narrow nationalism that South African blacks find themselves compelled to play, systematically stifled as they have been by the callous indifference of whites and whiteness.

Kessi, a black African *makwerekwere* senior lecturer at UCT, is keen to highlight an all-black predicament in the institution. She presents herself as belonging to "the Black Academic Caucus" at UCT – "a group of over 80 black academics representing all faculties [...] engaging in institution-wide conversations and actions to address the exclusion of black experiences and scholarship in the area of curriculum, research, staff recruitment and development, and institutional culture" –, identifies with the struggle to the extent that it is inclusive of all blacks, and expresses what to her are all-black concerns. To her, black scholarship, whether by black South Africans or by *amakwerekwere* from beyond the Limpopo and in the diaspora, should prioritise the needs and aspirations of blacks. It should be scholarship that takes

into account the social and historical contexts of blacks, and in the particular case of South Africa and the continent, "the material, symbolic and structural conditions brought about by colonisation and apartheid." Important in such scholarship are "the affective and bodily experiences" of black scholars and black people. It is a scholarship that seeks to "dismantle the racist masculinist culture of our institution (city, country and continent) and [...] whiteness and patriarchy in the lived experiences of black staff and students." It is a scholarship that challenges a tendency in "rational" talk to portray black people as always the "problem" – either as helpless passive victims or as people whose sense of judgement is eternally clouded by too much emotion. To Kessi, it is precisely such emotion that is needed to understand the thingification, undermining, and experiences of exclusion of black bodies in the institution. Such emotions awaken consciousness of how the past invades the present and how to move forward. Far from closing off dialogue, Kessi argues that expressing "black pain" can be instructive on the workings of "oppressive power [...] and the intricate levels and dimensions at which it operates." To her, "Engaging with black pain develops a new level of consciousness where the affective experiences of exclusion are at the root of how critical reasoned argument can emerge and lead to decolonising and transformative practices."<sup>62</sup> Kessi illustrates her point thus:

When black students protest at being silenced in classroom debates, at being taught with materials that exclude or devalue their bodies and cultures, at having to live through the rape culture of our residences, these painful experiences inform the learning, teaching, and cultural practices that need to change. When black staff protest at being denied promotion, at being rejected by ethics committees, or at being depicted as incompetent simply because of their race or so-called 'black accents,' these experiences inform the teaching, research, and governance practices that need to change. In fact, all of these experiences tell us of the ways in which the dominant white male culture at UCT is perpetuated at the expense of black, women, and

LGBTQ experiences and intellectual excellence. As an academic institution that is forging and inspiring the minds of future generations, challenging these dynamics is fundamental to creating a society that fosters inclusivity, dialogue, and wellbeing.<sup>63</sup>

The fact of blackness as an attribute of being a particular type of human, ascribed, achieved or imposed, is not the monopoly of any particular African country, nor of the continent, calls for a conceptualisation and articulation of decolonisation of knowledge production and consumption that is carefully nuanced to provide for the complex intersections of race, ethnicity, geography, class, gender and generation. Even at our most legitimately aggrieved, we cannot afford to resort to the zero sum games of dominance of the oppressors, as this would only compound our subservience and predicaments.

### UCT Fires on All Cylinders

As the Rhodes Must Fall protest grew in intensity and stature, the university authorities went to work, firing on all cylinders, or just about, in an attempt to concoct a solution.<sup>64</sup> The VC and his senior administrators also admitted that UCT had tended to test the waters instead of confronting transformation head on. A few quotes by senior management and spokespersons at different points of the protest illustrate this assessment. Gerda Kruger, in her capacity as spokeswoman for the university affirms: "[UCT] has acknowledged that we have been slow to address certain facets of transformation, such as curriculum reform [...] we are committed to listening, discussing, debating and finding answers"<sup>65</sup>. Management "held meetings with students and set up white boards around the statue, wrapped in black plastic, where students could write down their opinions." In a circular UCT's first response to these calls for action was to convene a discussion about "Heritage, Signage and Symbolism" led by DVC, Professor Crain Soudien<sup>66</sup>. But before this could convene there had been further protests centred on the Rhodes statue, then swathed and taped in black rubbish bags. By the time these first negotiations with the university administration were convened, the student representative council position had hardened. The president of the Student Representative

Council (SRC), Ramabina Mahapa, said: "I understand it is part of history, but the institutional representation of black people at this university is negative." From here, the RMF movement escalated rapidly, culminating in a march and the occupation of the university's administration building, Bremner VC Max Price responded with university-wide debates and a special meeting of the university senate to consider proposals. Upfront, he said that he and his executive favoured removing the statue, but only the university council could take the final decision. An emergency meeting of the council was called for 25 April. Meanwhile, the stand-off rapidly became a national issue. Students at Rhodes University in Grahamstown went on protest in sympathy, and higher education minister Blade Nzimande gave his support for moving the statue<sup>67</sup>.

The extended debate considered various options. One was to leave the statue standing where it was but include a plaque at its base acknowledging the "injustices of colonial conquest enacted under Rhodes' watch." In addition, the option to leave Rhodes where he was would have to be "accompanied by another artwork to be located alongside Rhodes, to 'speak back' by way of alternative values and convictions." To the VC, it was the very strategic location of Rhodes' statue at the focal point of the university that had attracted connotations of being a "founder, hero, patron, role model and (an) embodiment of UCT's heritage."<sup>68</sup> Hence his personal opinion that the statue should be moved:

"I just think it should not be there – it should be moved. This will not compromise our ability to record and debate the role Rhodes played in the city's and continent's history. And it will not change our acknowledgment that UCT acquired its site from the Rhodes estate, and the positive contribution it has made to our institution and its students"<sup>69</sup>.

Despite his conviction that there was "a significant view that the statue should be moved," the VC opted for an extended consultation because "there has never been any formal consultation or organised discussion on this matter, and it would not be appropriate for the UCT executive, or council, to make such a recommendation without undertaking such a discussion"<sup>70</sup>. Adekeye Adebajo,

executive director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution at UCT, was among those who criticised the university for being rather officious in its response to the protest, "with a questioning of the methods of some of the students; an insistence on the need to follow "procedures" for "peaceful and safe" protests; encouraging "open debate and responsible action"; and threatening to take legal steps against any "unlawful behaviour"<sup>71</sup> The VC responded to Adebajo, accusing him of distortion of his views on Rhodes:

Adebajo succeeds in completely distorting the view I hold on Rhodes. First, he fails to mention that I, personally, have repeatedly stated that I regard Rhodes as a villain, the perpetrator of ruthless exploitation of indigenous people, land expropriation, illegal wars and vicious conquest.

Second he fails to remind readers that I, as well as the entire senior leadership group of the university, have publicly expressed our view that the Rhodes statue must be moved.<sup>72</sup>

The VC defended his decision to consult extensively despite his personal conclusion that the statue should be moved, by reiterating the following: "UCT is an argumentative university. This is an abiding strength: it shows our engagement with the issues of our times and our interest in ideas that matter. Undoubtedly the students are leading a national debate."<sup>73</sup> While some felt that UCT had wasted time deliberating the obvious, others like Adam Habib, VC of University of Witwatersrand, felt UCT had not deliberated and conversed deeply enough before a decision on the Rhodes statue was concluded.<sup>74</sup>

Following nearly a month of protests and meetings, Senate voted in favour of moving Rhodes' statue as follows: Votes in favour: 181; Votes against: 1; Absentions: 3<sup>75</sup>. The decision was endorsed at a special meeting of Convocation on Tuesday 7 April 2015, and on Wednesday 8 April the university's council decided unanimously to remove the statue to be temporarily housed for safekeeping in an unnamed storeroom approved by the Western Cape Heritage Resources Council, pending a formal application to the council to have the statue removed permanently, in accordance with the

National Heritage Resources Act.<sup>76</sup> The Chair of UCT Council, Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane asked for accelerated and acceptable roadmap of transformation. He credited the students in particular for the historic removal of Rhodes' statue:

What sparked this was a cry from the students. That transformation needs to be consolidated. Cecil John Rhodes, for the sins of his past, as an imperialist and a racist [...] stands in contrast to the values that this university enhances. And so Management of this university got into a process of consulting various structures of the university, including Senate, and terminating in our meeting last night when Council voted unanimously as recognition of what the students are saying and a demonstration of our commitment to transformation.<sup>77</sup>

On Thursday, 9 April, 2015, at 5.37 pm, the contentious "statue of Cecil John Rhodes was lifted a short distance by a huge crane from its pride of place. [...] pelted with whatever members of the gathered crowd could get their hands on, as it was lowered onto its waiting transport," while "Some onlookers stood in silence, a few took selfies and some sang and danced."<sup>78</sup> As the statue was driven off, the SRC vice-president of external affairs Zizipho Pae said moving it was paving the way for the "real work" of transforming UCT to begin. Other students waving banners that read "We have only just started," concurred. The students had won a victory on a statue, and they would continue to occupy Bremner building, re-christened "Azania House," until their demands for racial transformation were met. "This movement is not just about a statue, it's about decolonizing the colonial structure, the curriculum and everything it stands for," some insisted. On their transformation shopping list were plans to lobby in coming months "for the promotion of black lecturers and the enrolment of more students from disadvantaged communities," and to follow up on a proposal they had submitted requesting that "the names of various other 'colonial landmarks' at the university, including Jameson Hall, be changed. Jameson Hall was named after Leander Starr Jameson, a confidant of Rhodes."

The protests spread to other formerly white universities such as University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, Rhodes University in Grahamstown, Stellenbosch University, and the University of KwaZulu Natal. But reverberations have also been felt at universities such as North West, Tshwane and the Western Cape.<sup>79</sup> In all of these institutions, as Tasneem Essop, a Masters student in Political Studies and the Secretary-General of the 2013 SRC at University of Witwatersrand, puts it, black African students were in "rage against the forms of institutional racism that students have been told to live with." The students were protesting and taking to social media to challenge "the silencing of black students" in colonial institutions that no longer had a place in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa. As Essop argues, in all of these universities the protests spoke to "a much broader failure in higher education since 1994 and a much deeper problem of exclusion" for black South Africans. She maintains that the increased number of black students and black staff on campus does not matter much if institutional racism and inequality are not tackled at a structural level. "Having been a student leader at Wits University, I know all too well the consistently frustrating pace of transformation at our institution. Wits, like most other former white universities, has a deep-seated, institutional and systemic form of racism that is swept under the carpet." It is quite possible, she argues, for the majority of students in a programme to be black, and yet, for a student "to go through a humanities curriculum without meeting one African, female lecturer and without learning anything outside of a deeply Eurocentric curriculum." Faced with such intricacies, transformation requires careful and meticulous thinking through to get it right. Without such meticulous care and thinking through, current clamours for transformation are likely to end in failure just as did past initiatives in the 1990s, Essop warns. To her, if fewer black postgraduate students graduate as is often the case, this is "partly because of socioeconomic circumstances outside of universities which force them to enter the workforce earlier, rather than to remain in academia," and partly because of the failures of universities to take the financial, social and academic conditions of black students seriously. "Many black students have had to come to terms with

the fact that, despite their relative privilege at universities, they do not benefit from the structures of the academy in the same ways as white students." Like the RMF campaigners, Essop's sights are set beyond the symbolic: "Once the symbols – the statues and names – have been removed from our campuses, the same rage that we see now, must be focused on the heart of these academies. That will be real battle to transform the often invisible structures and mechanisms that sustain institutional racism."<sup>80</sup>

At Stellenbosch University, which insists on Afrikaans as the exclusive language of undergraduate instruction, protests to open up the university inspired a film by Dan Corder of Contraband Cape Town, working with Open Stellenbosch titled *Luister* [Listen]<sup>81</sup>. Produced in just 17 days, *Luister*, a 35-minute documentary, is made up of interviews with 32 students and one lecturer at Stellenbosch University, detailing their experiences of racist abuse, discrimination and exclusion. The film is centred on responses to the question: "What is it like to be a black person at Stellenbosch University?" All 32 student interviews were filmed over six hours on 2 August 2015. The following quotes of pronouncements by students stand out in reviews and discussions of the film in social media and newspapers: "I feel like it's wrong to be black [...] I sometimes ask myself when I'm alone, why did God make me black when a lot can happen in a good way when you're otherwise?"; "The colour of my skin in Stellenbosch is like a social burden [...] I mean just walking into spaces, there's that stop, pause, and stare where people cannot believe that you would enter into this space"; "Being black within the Stellenbosch community you know that you're not accepted and you kind of ask yourself what's wrong with me, like what did I do wrong?"; "In the beginning I actually started to assimilate, you know, wanting to lose myself and attain whiteness. Maybe this will work better and they'll accept me more because I'm trying to be like them. And I realised that I cannot do that. I'm not willing to sell my soul to whiteness. I have to be proudly black." Released 17 August 2015, the film had attracted over 343,222 views (3,784 likes, 735 dislikes on YouTube) by 5 October 2015 when I accessed it. It has trended on social media in South Africa, attracting the attention of political leaders of all leanings. Debate over the film

reportedly resulted in the suspension of Metro FM host Unathi Msengana, and to Stellenbosch University management being summoned to appear in Parliament for an urgent meeting on transformation.<sup>82</sup> Transformation is hardly merely a case of add a little black and stir, while continuing with the same structure and the same rules. Commenting on *Luister*, Jonathan Jansen calls on white Afrikaans universities to make peace with the fact that African students are rightly knocking on the doors of learning simply to gain access to public institutions, and ensure that these students are protected from the risks to which they are exposed in universities where they are a racial minority. He elaborates:

As I have said over and over again, in a country shaped by centuries of white supremacy, and with a violent history of trying to push Afrikaans down the throats of black people (Soweto 1976), race will always trump language in the transformation debates. In other words, because of our history the right to access will always take on much more political significance than language rights. The longer leaders of the Afrikaans universities take to accept this simple truth, the more their campuses will be the target of upheavals for years to come.<sup>83</sup>

As a direct result of the protests spearheaded by Open Stellenbosch, on Thursday 12 November 2015, Stellenbosch University management announced its decision to discontinue insistence on Afrikaans as the primary language of instruction with effect from January 2016. Here is an excerpt of the statement:

Language should be used in a way that is oriented towards engagement with knowledge in a diverse society and to ensure equitable access to learning and teaching opportunities for all students. Since English is the common language in South Africa, all learning should be facilitated in at least English to ensure no exclusion due to language. The University remains committed to the further development of Afrikaans and isiXhosa as academic languages.

[...]

The primary language of communication and administration at Stellenbosch University will be English, with Afrikaans and isiXhosa as additional languages. The

additional languages may not be used to exclude anyone from full participation at the University. This implies that all communication at Stellenbosch University will be in at least English, including meetings, official documents, and services at reception desks and the call centre, etc.<sup>84</sup>

This announcement was celebrated by the Open Stellenbosch campaign group with a Facebook post that read: "The Language Policy Has Fallen".<sup>85</sup> In a BBC report, Milton Nkosi adds: "Dropping Afrikaans means that, psychologically and symbolically, the walls of apartheid are still crumbling 21 years after racial segregation was officially removed from the statute books."<sup>86</sup>

Back at UCT, senior management are busy putting together what they deem will be a solid foundation to begin the serious business of meaningful transformation. They are aiming to engage all constituencies and to be inclusive. The VC is particularly keen to bring on board "those who have felt marginalised," and "those who may have unpopular or rather different views on where and how to change the university." He seeks to provide for co-creation and co-ownership of and unity around the roadmap for change and into the future at UCT, to ensure that the university is truly "a place where all staff and students feel at home and valued."<sup>87</sup> In the interest of proceeding with a collective transformation project, the VC announced "an executive decision to grant an amnesty in respect of all protest-related incidents that occurred between the first protest on 9 March 2015 and 18 May 2015," insisting that "No disciplinary action will be brought against any student or staff member in respect of these events." Furthermore, "I have written to the Student Representative Council (SRC), Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) and Transform UCT, to inform them of the executive decision, and I trust that as a result we will move swiftly to begin meaningful discussions on the way forward." In addition, referring to a group of students who had occupied a building, the VC wrote: "We have provided RMF and those occupying Avenue House with a dedicated venue in a hall next to Avenue House, and they will have to leave Avenue House at the latest middle of Monday, 18 May 2015." He urged that the amnesty should not be seen as a sign of "capitulation to pressure"<sup>88</sup>.

On the urgent and important business of transformation, the VC outlined the measures taken by UCT Council at a special sitting on 22 April 2015 during which several SRC proposals were considered. Council agreed to establish a task team (including student members) to review the names of buildings and works of art across campus, in the interest of creating an environment conducive to diversity. Also established was a task team to review the current function, role and powers of the Institutional Forum and explore how it could play a more effective role in steering and negotiating transformation. A review of the functioning of DISCHO (the Discrimination and Harassment Office) was scheduled to take place before the end of 2015. Provision was made to extend membership of the Curriculum Review Task Team, a subcommittee of the Teaching and Learning Committee, to students, and a different framework for thinking about curriculum reform was to be developed. A review of the structures, resources and functioning of Transformation Services Office was scheduled. Faculties were encouraged to hold open assemblies and fora where students are encouraged to voice their experience within the faculty, drawing on the example of the faculties of Health Sciences and Law where the initiative was already underway. It was announced that the employment equity plan for 2015 to 2020 had been intensively debated and was scheduled to be tabled in Senate and Council in June 2015. A review of the functioning of the system of employment equity representatives, particularly in selection committees, was underway. Funding was being sought to invest in "ensuring that the career paths of every black academic in the junior ranks is individually mapped out, with requirements for the next promotion clearly spelled out with a plan for personal development, including pairing up with senior mentors." It was announced that the composition of promotions committees was undergoing review in all faculties, to provide for greater transparency, rebuild trust and fairness, and ensure that the changes were effective for the 2015 promotions calendar. It was also announced that Transform UCT (a grouping of black academic staff) had participated in the annual Academic Heads of Department (HOD) workshop on the role HODs could play in transformation at department level. A day-

long workshop or summit to design the agenda for tackling transformation was planned. The list of things done and planned was not intended to be a comprehensive statement of UCT transformation plans, but rather an indication that things were on the move with renewed energy and devotion. The VC concluded with this appeal: "Once again, I invite all departments, staff and students, the SRC, Transform UCT, RMF, the trade unions and transformation structures to seize this opportunity to plot the course for UCT to achieve leadership and excellence in transformation..."<sup>89</sup>

This programme of action approved by Council was followed by the appointment of Associate Professor Elelwani Ramugondo as "Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation".<sup>90</sup> Here is an excerpt of the statement announcing the appointment:

The Rhodes Must Fall protests, as we know, were about much more than the statue. They reflected deeper underlying frustrations with the pace of transformation. The response of all constituencies within the University of Cape Town – from Council to students, Senate, faculties, professional and support staff, unions, to the Institutional Forum (IF) – has been an overwhelming commitment to take much bolder steps and to focus more energy and resources on the multiple dimensions of transformation that lie ahead. This needs dedicated attention from my office, and also additional coordination as leadership across the university – the deans, academic heads of department, executive directors, Student Representative Council and IF – all drive new transformation efforts within our respective spheres of governance and influence.

In order to ensure the necessary executive focus on the transformation project over the next 12 months, I am appointing a Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation, who will work in my office, help me keep abreast of all the initiatives and advise me on ways of accelerating the various programmes across the university. This is since I cannot possibly be directly involved in them all while still performing the VC functions that I must inevitably carry out. While in no way being a gatekeeper

to my office, she will also be available to meet with any groups and individuals who wish to raise issues related to transformation policy and practice – whether these are concerns or proposals.

I am pleased to announce that Associate Professor Elelwani Ramugondo has accepted my invitation to become my Special Advisor and will take up the position on 18 June 2015 for a 12-month period.

Associate Professor Ramugondo has been at UCT since her student days, having obtained her BSc Occupational Therapy (1992), her MSc and her PhD here. Her career as a faculty member started as a lecturer in a development contract post in 1998, and she has moved up the ranks, having been promoted ad hominem to associate professor in 2010. She served as head of the division of Occupational Therapy from 2010 to 2013. Associate Professor Ramugondo has supervised seven PhD and 13 Masters students, amongst whom eight are black South Africans.<sup>91</sup>

Among her many qualifications for the position, Associate Professor Ramugondo was said to have "led some interesting innovations in curriculum reform within her discipline and profession." Her portfolio included working with "the task teams being established to review names of buildings and artworks." She was expected to "attend faculty assemblies to hear the issues raised," get "involved in the reviews of the Discrimination and Harassment Office and the Transformation office," oversee "the new plans to accelerate employment equity and career development," identify "issues in the institutional climate that need to be addressed," and time permitting, "join the expanded curriculum review process." She was also to serve as "an assessor member of the IF and University Transformation Advisory Committee".<sup>92</sup>

Harry Garuba, a Nigerian Associate Professor who heads the School of African and Gender Studies, Anthropology and Linguistics, is sceptical that committees such as those set up by the VC can deliver the rooted transformation of curricula and syllabuses needed to definitively banish Rhodes' legacy. "I don't want the discussion around

curriculum reform to die a slow, deliberative death, as so many issues do when landing at the feet of committees." He labels as "disingenuous" past explanations advanced by university management for the "disgraceful paucity of black professors." Of essence are conversations and debates about the nature and form of a decolonised curriculum in South Africa. Because others have travelled this road before, Garuba argues, South Africa does not need to start at ground zero. There are lessons of earlier debates and conclusions reached on the continent and elsewhere to draw on. Examples cited include the University of Nairobi, where Ngugi wa Thiong'o and two of his colleagues initiated a transformation debate that challenged the English department to open up its usual continuities in British content to include writings in English from Africa and elsewhere. They demanded the insertion of Kenya, East Africa and Africa at the centre of their research and teaching, and sought to reconceptualise university curricula relevant to their context, and not merely an extension of the West into Africa. What the debate in Kenya that eventually led to a major curriculum transformation in East Africa teaches us is that curriculum transformation is not simply a question of adding new items to an existing curriculum. It requires a radical interrogation of the very basis for constituting the object of study.<sup>93</sup>

Transformation should aim to activate and bring into conversations sensitivities and sensibilities informed by African live-worlds, experiences and predicaments. He invites us to "recognise the cultural and scientific production – the knowledge – of previously devalued groups of people." Borrowing from Edward Said, Garuba argues that a possible way forward could be a contrapuntal approach, which "takes into account the perspectives of both the colonised and the coloniser, their interwoven histories, their discursive entanglements – without necessarily harmonising them or attending to one while erasing the other." Such contrapuntal thinking should take place at every level, and should include a pedagogy that seeks to integrate in a significant way the knowledge of the marginalised into what one is teaching. It is not enough to have moved Rhodes' statue. This must be followed up with moving "the hegemonic gaze of the Rhodes that is lodged in our ways of

thinking, in our curricular and pedagogical practices, our professional practices as teachers, academics, scholars and students. We need to take a critical look at our everyday routine." In short, we need to remove the Rhodes that lives in our disciplines and the curricula that underpin them".<sup>94</sup>

There is reason to doubt just how ready to turn the page UCT really is. Since the Mahmood Mamdani years (1996-1999), there has been more rhetoric than substance about transformation (Nyamnjoh 2012a&b; Morreira 2015), if the address on the challenges of curriculum transformation to the RMF students by the current A.C. Jordan Chair and Director of Centre for African Studies at UCT, Professor Lungisile Ntsebeza, is anything to go by (Ntsebeza 2012, 2014).<sup>95</sup> It is equally worrying that despite its offer of amnesty, UCT has not resisted the temptation to spot and discipline those it perceives as scapegoats for the current RMF campaign. In this regard, it has singled out Maxwele (who has dared to think, speak, write and act as he sees fit in the interest of the collectivity for whom he is determined to take leadership on matters of social, intellectual and economic transformation) for exemplary discipline and punishment. In the totalising and often totalitarian logic of systems under attack, it is hardly surprising, given Maxwele's prominence and leadership role in the RMF campaign, that UCT as an institution would seek to undo him in any way it could. The obvious, for an institution that purports to thrive on consultative democracy even when the problem is the majority white establishment and its logic of practice, was to resort to legalisms and pro-establishment civilities. Not only was Maxwele accused to have done the unthinkable by smearing Rhodes with human waste,<sup>96</sup> he was portrayed as no stranger to insubordination to constituted authority (including when he purportedly showed President Jacob Zuma's motorcade the middle finger on a Cape Town street in February 2010), alleged to have threatened whites with extinction, and was suspended from the university in May following an altercation with a female white lecturer over study space on campus during a public holiday.<sup>97</sup> Maxwele was charged, inter alia, with having "raised his voice at the lecturer; shouted aggressively that 'the statue fell, now it's time for all whites to go'; and

showed aggressive behaviour, which included banging on her office door," and to have said: "'We must not listen to whites, we do not need their apologies. They have to be removed from UCT and have to be killed.'"<sup>98</sup> The statement suspending him for two months read: "On May 7, Mr Maxwele was given a provisional suspension order because his continued presence on the campus was considered to pose a threat to the maintenance of good order. This provisional suspension order was made final after a hearing."<sup>99</sup>

Accusing the university of intimidation, conspiracy and of using his suspension to achieve political ends by silencing the voices of student activists, Maxwele challenged the suspension and released his own version of events, complaining about the tendency in the white world to criminalise and treat as dangerous savages black men.<sup>100</sup> He was dissatisfied with the manner in which the university had handled his own complaint on the matter: "My complaint has not been dealt with to date when the complaint against me has been handled with haste and decisiveness," he claimed.<sup>101</sup> The university released a statement refuting Maxwele's<sup>102</sup> claims, an amnesty which Maxwele dismissed as "purely political",<sup>103</sup> and citing its offer of "amnesty to protesters for a specific period during which they illegally occupied two UCT buildings and disrupted a council meeting" as evidence of its fair-mindedness in dealing with the RMF campaigners. The suspension was eventually overturned on technical grounds by the independent university student disciplinary tribunal<sup>104</sup>. Disappointed with the outcome, the university resolved to issue afresh a suspension order, and to accord Maxwele a right of appeal within 72 hours, a procedure ignored previously. According to Maxwele, UCT acted without due course when they suspended him a second time, despite his vindication by the discipline appeals committee. Following his resuspension, Maxwele turned to the Western Cape High Court for justice. The court granted an interim order allowing him to register and attend classes and tutorials.<sup>105</sup> It took a High Court ruling in his favour for the suspension to be set aside. To him this was evidence of UCT wanting to silence him at all costs.<sup>106</sup> To interested observers like Nhlapho, the disciplinary proceedings

against Maxwele was added proof that "UCT, a white university, wants black students to submit to white domination without complaint, or that their complaint be processed within the defined legal channels, processed and reduced within a white dominated system, when 47% of whites in South Africa already think Apartheid was "not that bad"<sup>107</sup>

## Notes

1. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-students-in-poo-protest-against-white-imperialism-20150310-2>, accessed 01 October 2015.
2. Upon his return, he issued a statement on 18 March, detailing the measures and programme of action on Rhodes statue protests and transformation. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9034>, accessed 05 October 2015. This is an excerpt of his statement:  
  
Last week's student protests have resulted in a massive outpouring of anger and frustration – much about the issue of the statue, much more about experiences of institutional racism, aggravated by students' perceptions that they are not being heard, or that their demands are not achieving the response they seek. There are also similar frustrations experienced by a number of our members of staff. There have also been many voices critical of both the mode of the student protest, and the view that the statue should be removed. Given this recent escalation of debate and protest, I think it appropriate to replace our original programme with a more accelerated process to facilitate a more rapid decision about the statue.
3. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/uct-rhodes-statue-protest-both-sides-1.1831688#.VfWLGpce4TZ>, accessed 17 September 2015.
4. Adekeye Adebajo <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/23/debate-over-rhodes-is-one-of-transformation>, accessed
5. Adekeye Adebajo <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/23/debate-over-rhodes-is-one-of-transformation>, accessed
6. Simon Lincoln Reader, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/27/one-monument-cannot-capture-all-countrys-ills>, accessed 03 October 2015.
7. See <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/rhodes-scholars-play-a-vital-role-in-sa-1.1843802#.VfWkSjce4TZ>, accessed 03 October 2015.
8. Greg Nicolson <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-04-09-op-ed-statues-of-thought-and-symbols-of-resistance#.VfWk5ce4TZ>, accessed 03 October 2015.
9. Greg Nicolson <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-04-09-op-ed-statues-of-thought-and-symbols-of-resistance#.VfWk5ce4TZ>, accessed 03 October 2015.
10. <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/6/anti-racism-protesters-in-south-africa-take-aim-at-a-statue-with-poop.html>, accessed 17 September 2015.
11. Admits the protests to bring down the statue, UCT retained its position as the highest ranked university in Africa, giving it the status of the Harvard or Cambridge of Africa, both universities globally ranked first and third, as well as being first ranked universities in the USA and UK respectively. See <http://www.destinyconnect.com/2015/05/27/uct-still-africas-top-ranked-university/>, accessed 03 October 2015.
12. See Siona O'Connell, UCT: A Campus at Odds with Itself, <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-08-uct-a-campus-at-odds-with-itself>, accessed 17 October 2015.
13. Siona O'Connell, <http://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/what-uct-s-not-telling-their-first-years-1.1806441#.ViKF1ise4TZ>, accessed 17 October 2015.
14. See Siona O'Connell, UCT: A Campus at Odds with Itself, <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-08-uct-a-campus-at-odds-with-itself>, accessed 17 October 2015.
15. See Martin Hall, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-31945680>, accessed 01 October 2015.
16. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-14-this-is-the-year-varsities-will-transform-blade>, accessed 30 September 2015.
17. This is how a female student at the UCT University Assembly: The Rhodes Statue and Transformation described it in a poem when she took the stage to express her frustration at being repeatedly told and expected to forgive and forget her white exploiters and debasers. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWVJnBVnyPc>, accessed 07 October 2015.
18. See <http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/achille-mbembe-on-the-state-of-south-african-politics/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
19. See <http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/achille-mbembe-on-the-state-of-south-african-politics/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
20. <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-students-to-protest-over-racial-transformation-20150319>, accessed 01 October 2015.
21. See <http://www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2015/09/04/The-Big-Read-The-storm-rages-unabated>, accessed 03 October 2015.
22. Adam Habib, [http://www.wits.ac.za/newsroom/newsitems/201504/26107/news\\_item\\_26107.html](http://www.wits.ac.za/newsroom/newsitems/201504/26107/news_item_26107.html), accessed 05 October 2015.
23. See Open letter from former SRC presidents: 'Rhodes must fall', <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9037>, accessed 06 October 2015; See also <http://allafrica.com/stories/201503230163.html>, accessed 01 October 2015.
24. A founding member of Media for Justice, a social justice and media activist as well as a documentary film-maker.
25. See Gillian Schutte, <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/becoming-a-master-of-subterfuge-1.1907710#.VfWmype4TZ>, accessed 01 October 2015.
26. See Gillian Schutte, <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/becoming-a-master-of-subterfuge-1.1907710#.VfWmype4TZ>, accessed 01 October 2015.
27. See Xolela Mangcu's Ripping the veil off UCT's whiter shades of pale University's move to 'downgrade' race fails to hide the truth about inequality, 6 July 2014, Sunday Times, p. 18. See also: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2014/11/03/sas-black-academics-are-getting-raw-deal>, accessed 06 October 2015; Xolela Mangcu, 10 steps to develop black professors, City Press, 20 July 2014.
28. See University Assembly: The Rhodes Statue and Transformation, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWVJnBVnyPc>, accessed 07 October 2015. On this point Mangcu was echoing a point made emphatically by Jonathan Jansen at the 21 October 2014 Public debate: Transformation in higher education at the Baxter Concert Hall, that the idea of standards is often mobilised to exclude those not wanted, as very few universities in South Africa, UCT included, can demonstrate the standards they often claim when challenged to be more inclusive. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=thiUDeIySw>, accessed 08 October 2015.
29. Tokelo Nhlapo, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-03-11-ucts-poo-protest-violence-is-a-perfect-reaction#.VfXL4Jce4TZ>, accessed 04 October 2015.

30. See Xolela Mangcu, 10 steps to develop black professors, City Press, 20 July 2014; Max Price, Addressing the shortage of black and women professors, <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=8891>, accessed 06 October 2015.
31. See Xolela Mangcu, What a less Eurocentric reading list would look like, <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9275>, accessed 06 October 2015.
32. See [http://www.jwtc.org.za/the\\_salon/volume\\_9.htm](http://www.jwtc.org.za/the_salon/volume_9.htm), accessed 12 October 2015.
33. See [http://www.jwtc.org.za/the\\_salon/volume\\_9.htm](http://www.jwtc.org.za/the_salon/volume_9.htm), accessed 12 October 2015.
34. See [http://www.jwtc.org.za/the\\_salon/volume\\_9.htm](http://www.jwtc.org.za/the_salon/volume_9.htm), accessed 12 October 2015.
35. Shose Kessi, <http://thoughtleader.co.za/blackacademiccaucus/2015/09/25/of-black-pain-animal-rights-and-the-politics-of-the-belly/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
36. Panashe Chigumadzi, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/24/south-africa-race-panashe-chigumadzi-ruth-first-lecture>, accessed 03 October 2015.
37. How can one quibble about black pain in what Mbembe describes as the only country in which a revolution took place which resulted in not one single oppressor losing anything? See <http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/achille-mbembe-on-the-state-of-south-african-politics/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
38. See <https://medium.com/@tomolefe/a-long-comment-on-mbembe-s-state-of-south-african-politics-5cd1030a1990>, accessed 01 October 2015.
39. According to a survey of born-frees conducted in the course of the Rhodes Must Fall campaign, many born-frees declared they were likely to resort to violent protests because of the persistence of inequalities in the country.
- According to the report, "unemployment rates are higher among younger people, women and Africans." On the expanded definition of unemployment, the rate among African males aged 15 to 24 years is 67% compared with 75% of African females. Violent protests in SA have almost doubled in the last three years and it is suspected that the economically disenfranchised youth may play a huge part in it.
- Born frees are also receiving poor quality education, said the report, with literacy and numeracy scores in Grade 3 in this group barely above 50%. This has a major ripple effect later on as only 51% of matric candidates pass their final school-leaving exam.
- The report found that "people aged 14 to 25 years old account for 29% of the country's prison population."
- See "Born free but still in chains: South Africa's first post-apartheid generation," <http://www.biznews.com/briefs/2015/04/29/sas-born-frees-likely-to-drift-into-violent-protests-says-report/>, accessed 03 October 2015.
40. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/uct-rhodes-statue-protest-both-sides-1.1831688#.VfWLGpce4TZ>, accessed 17 September 2015. For a similarly critical open letter on the Rhodes Must Fall Movement addressed to the President of UCT Convocation Barney Pityana, by Leigh-Ann Naidoo, a PhD student in Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, see <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-04-14-open-letter-to-barney-pityana-on-the-rhodes-must-fall-movement/#.VfWV15ce4TZ>, accessed 17 September 2015. Naidoo concluded her letter with this call to action: "Don't stand by and watch these students and their message and action be criminalised. They are speaking truth to power as you once did. And you know what it feels like to be served with legal papers, bannings, trials, and police harassment. Perhaps Max Price will go to sleep at night feeling accomplished to have contained and shut down the possibility for real change driven by brave black staff, students, workers and alumni. But will you?" In his defence, Professor Barney Pityana reportedly said, "amid a chorus of boos and jeers": "'It is untrue that I said the statue must stay [...] I said it is important to raise this issue at all levels and to think about how to handle history [...] the only reason why I am here is to facilitate debate [...] if my presence is not helpful I am more than happy to step down.'" See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2015/03/26/pityana-replaced-as-co-chair-of-rhodes-debate>, accessed 2015. See also University Assembly: The Rhodes Statue and Transformation, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWVJnBVnyPc>, accessed 07 October 2015.
41. See <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/6/anti-racism-protesters-in-south-africa-take-aim-at-a-statue-with-poop.html>, accessed 17 September 2015.
42. See Trevor Noah, Its My Culture Full Show, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DBYgnTIAg4c>, accessed 06 October 2015.
43. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/27/uproar-at-uct-has-only-been-good-for-it>, accessed 17 September 2015.
44. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/27/uproar-at-uct-has-only-been-good-for-it>, accessed 17 September 2015.
45. See <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/party/anc-nec-backs-rhodes-statue-protests-at-uct>, accessed 02 October 2015.
46. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-14-this-is-the-year-varsities-will-transform-blade>, accessed 30 September 2015.
47. See <http://allafrica.com/stories/201503230163.html>, accessed 01 October 2015.
48. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/politics/2015/04/07/eff-calls-for-public-spaces-to-be-reconstructed>, accessed 02 October 2015.
49. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-protesters-vow-to-continue-occupation-of-building-20150410>, accessed 02 October 2015.
50. See <http://allafrica.com/stories/201503230163.html>, accessed 01 October 2015.
51. See <https://www.enca.com/south-africa/cecil-rhodes-statue-should-be-moved-uct-vice-chancellor>, accessed 05 October 2015.
52. See for example, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/American-students-support-RhodesMustFall-Campaign-20150326>, accessed 17 September 2015. In a message of solidarity posted on The Rhodes Must Fall Facebook page, members of the Black Student Union at the University of California, Berkeley, USA wrote: "We write to express to you our strongest solidarity as you embark in the courageous struggle to take down one of Africa's biggest enemies, and colonizer, Cecil John Rhodes." "We believe that, when we as Black students and youth organize ourselves in a disciplined manner, the decolonization of our education and the total liberation of our people is inevitable." Other displays of support came from universities within South Africa, and also from universities outside of South Africa such as Oxford University and the University of the West Indies. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-26-rhodesmustfall-protest-spreads-to-other-campuses>, accessed 05 October 2015.
53. See University Assembly: The Rhodes Statue and Transformation, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWVJnBVnyPc>, accessed 07 October 2015. The students who read out these posts requested management do disengage itself through positive action to demonstrate that



- they were not complicit in perpetuating such racist innuendos.
54. For short critical analyses of the protests' achievements and shortcomings, see Vito Laterza and Ayanda Manqoyi, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-11-06-looking-for-leaders-student-protests-and-the-future-of-south-african-democracy/#.VkiN67-3ud8>, accessed 15 November 2015; and David Dickinson, <http://theconversation.com/fee-protests-point-to-a-much-deeper-problem-at-south-african-universities-49456>, accessed 16 November 2015. Both articles insist on the much deeper structural inequalities and challenges at South African universities and the wider society that need urgent attention. On his part, Paul Kaseke makes a case for student leaders to "be elected on merit, not party affiliation," arguing that the momentum and solidarity generated by the student protests were soon dissipated once the party political considerations of the various student leaders were prioritised over and above the broader interests and concerns of the student body. See <http://theconversation.com/why-student-leaders-should-be-elected-on-merit-not-party-affiliation-49549>, accessed 17 November 2015. Kaseke's point is buttressed by the situation at the University of the Western Cape, where students continued the protests despite the announcement on zero fee increment by President Zuma, calling on the university to write-off student debts worth more than R270-million, and resorting to violence and physical confrontation to make their case. In an article title "UWC caught between a rock and a hard place," Thulani Gqirana bemoans the "demands that lack legitimacy" as well as "a student leadership not elected through a democratic process," and "who lack negotiation experience". See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-11-17-uwc-caught-between-a-rock-and-a-hard-place>, accessed 17 October 2015.
  55. See Xolela Mangcu's Ripping the veil off UCT's whiter shades of pale University's move to 'downgrade' race fails to hide the truth about inequality, 6 July 2014, Sunday Times, p. 18. See also: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2014/11/03/sas-black-academics-are-getting-raw-deal>, accessed 06 October 2015; Xolela Mangcu, 10 steps to develop black professors, City Press, 20 July 2014.
  56. See for example, Public debate: Transformation in higher education, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=thiiUDeIySw>, accessed 08 October 2015. This debate, which took the form of a panel discussion, was chaired by Sakhela Buhlungu. Titled 'The University and Society' and hosted at the Baxter Concert Hall on 21 October 2014, participating panellists were Dr Max Price, UCT's Vice-Chancellor, Professor Jonathan Jansen, Rector and Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Free State, and Professor Mamokgethi Phakeng, Vice Principal: Research and Innovation at the University of South Africa.
  57. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-06-brazen-trickery-in-transformation>, accessed 30 September 2015.
  58. Further reflections on this issue, see for example, Achille Mbembe, <http://wiser.wits.ac.za/system/files/Achille%20Mbembe%20-%20Decolonizing%20Knowledge%20and%20the%20Question%20of%20the%20Archive.pdf>, accessed 09 October 2015; <http://wiser.wits.ac.za/content/podcast-achille-mbembes-public-lecture-decolonizing-university-12046>, accessed 09 October 2015.
  59. Many African countries have since regretted the fact that they obtained token political independence – usually derogatorily referred to by critics as "flag independence" to the detriment of the economic independence they ought to have sought vigorously in order to avoid the excessive economic dependence on former colonial masters and the West at large in the postcolonial era. Kwame Nkrumah's slogan – seek ye first the political kingdom and all else shall follow – was an extravagant illusion to which the post-apartheid ANC government seem to have fallen prey.
  60. See <http://www.destinyman.com/2015/04/23/ucts-latest-move-towards-transformation-may-not-be-the-best-way-forward/>, accessed 03 October 2015.
  61. See [http://www.mediaforjustice.net/achille-mbembes-state-of-south-african-politics-undermines-black-south-africans/?fb\\_action\\_ids=10154170807341124&fb\\_action\\_types=og.likes](http://www.mediaforjustice.net/achille-mbembes-state-of-south-african-politics-undermines-black-south-africans/?fb_action_ids=10154170807341124&fb_action_types=og.likes), accessed 01 October 2015.
  62. See Shose Kessi <http://thoughtleader.co.za/blackacademiccaucus/2015/09/25/of-black-pain-animal-rights-and-the-politics-of-the-belly/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
  63. See Shose Kessi <http://thoughtleader.co.za/blackacademiccaucus/2015/09/25/of-black-pain-animal-rights-and-the-politics-of-the-belly/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
  64. See the following statements by Vice Chancellor Max Price, beginning from 18 March, when returned from Senegal: Rhodes statue protests and transformation <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9034>; Appointment of Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9212>; UCT and Rhodes Must Fall sign agreement <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9175>; UCT grants amnesty to protesters <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9155>; Urgent update on the Rhodes statue and Bremner occupation <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9100>; Response to Sunday Independent article: 'Adebajo distorts Price's view on Rhodes' <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9068>; Update on Rhodes statue and occupation of Bremner Building <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9063>; Progress in discussing the removal of Rhodes statue <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9051>; Price applauds students for bringing transformation issues into focus <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9042>. His deputies and other instances of senior management were equally busy.
  65. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2015/04/10/botha-statue-may-be-toppled-next>, accessed 17 September 2015.
  66. See CT Talks: Heritage, Signage and Symbolism <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4NngPJ00M5Ho>, accessed 06 October 2015.
  67. See Martin Hall, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-31945680>, accessed 01 October 2015.
  68. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/vice-chancellor-statue-should-be-moved-1.1833822#.VfXERpce4TZ>, accessed 02 October 2015.
  69. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/vice-chancellor-statue-should-be-moved-1.1833822#.VfXERpce4TZ>, accessed 02 October 2015.
  70. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/vice-chancellor-statue-should-be-moved-1.1833822#.VfXERpce4TZ>, accessed 02 October 2015.
  71. Adekeye Adebajo, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/23/debate-over-rhodes-is-one-of-transformation>, accessed 02 October 2015.
  72. Max Price, Response to Sunday Independent article: 'Adebajo distorts Price's view on Rhodes', <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9068>, accessed 06 October 2015.
  73. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-leadership-want-Rhodes-statue-moved-20150325>, accessed 02 October 2015. See also Hello Slaapstad, a vide on

Rhodes Must Fall by Yazeed Kamaldien, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z2PV5D9LtA0>, accessed 07 October 2015.

74. Adam Habib, [http://www.wits.ac.za/newsroom/newsitems/201504/26107/news\\_item\\_26107.html](http://www.wits.ac.za/newsroom/newsitems/201504/26107/news_item_26107.html), accessed 05 October 2015. It is ironic though, that Habib would fail to practice the very deep, engaging deliberative conversation when confronted with the case of Mcebo Dlamini, the University of Witwatersrand SRC President, who posted his admiration for Adolf Hitler on Facebook, outraging the South African Union of Jewish Students, among others. Dlamini was summarily expelled from the university, leading him to complain: "If I was a white student, I wouldn't have been charged." See <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/if-i-was-a-white-student-i-wouldnt-have-been-charged-dlamini/>, accessed 05 October 2015; see also, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SRC-presidents-comments-racist-and-offensive-Wits-VC-20150428>, accessed 05 October 2015. Subsequently, Habib was described as a dictator by striking students protesting "a 10.5 per cent fee hike," with some referring to him as "Adolf Habib." The fee increase was said to affect black students in particular, who continue to feel marginalised and to be plagued by poverty. In the words of Mcebo Dlamini, "We continue with the struggle to educate black people. Wits must lead society but they neglect us. Our families look up to us to change this poverty cycle." When the protesting students held VC Habib hostage, the university Council was summoned summarily and the decision to increase tuition and residence fees was suspended, at the end of a meeting that lasted 21 hours. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/habib-held-hostage-by-students-1.1931589#.ViISHCse4TY> and <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-17-wits-protest-habib-forced-to-hear-student-demands>, accessed 17 October 2015; <http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2015/10/18/Victory-for-students-as-Wits-backs-off-on-fees>, accessed 20 October 2015. See also a call for affordable university student fees "to allow for greater access to the poor, poor working class and even middle class families" by Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, <http://www.msn.com/en-za/news/education/ramaphosa-calls-for-affordable-university-fees/ar-AAfu7Yv?li=AAaxc0E>, accessed 17 October 2015. The fees protests dubbed "#FeesMustFall" on twitter caught on like wildfire, spreading to other universities,

including Rhodes, UCT and Stellenbosch, resonating with students across the country, and attracting international support and solidarity from university students globally. For details, see for example, <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2015/10/19/Rhodes-shuts-down-as-students-blockade-entrances>; <http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2015/10/19/UCT-appeals-for-calm-ahead-of-Tuesday%E2%80%99s-fees-protest>; <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-19-rhodesmipmustfall-brings-rhodes-university-to-a-standstill>, accessed 20 October 2015. These protests were evidence not only of well-structured (even if spontaneous and lacking in a central coordinating leadership beyond the party political affiliations of the individual members of the different SRCs involved) student movements countrywide, but also of repeated statements by leaders of the RMF movement that bringing down the statue was just the beginning of a long list of items on their transformation menu, including the right to free education promised them in the constitution and repeatedly reiterated by the ANC leadership, including the late Nelson Mandela. Following an emergency meeting of university leaders nationwide in Cape Town on Tuesday 20 October 2015 with the Minister of Higher Education Blade Nzimande, a meeting at which students were represented, an agreement was reached to cap fees increase at 6% for 2016. The striking students rejected the agreement, insisting on zero per cent increase. On Wednesday 21 October, universities nationwide were grounded by student action, the highlight of which being the mobilising of the police to disperse with violent force a group of UCT and Cape Peninsular University of Technology students who descended on Parliament building in Cape Town, requesting to be addressed by Minister Nzimande. When the student protests persisted and intensified, President Zuma organised an emergency meeting at the Union Buildings with vice-chancellors, chairs of university councils and student representatives on Friday 23 October, at the end of which they resolved in favour of "a zero increase of university fees in 2016." A task team to address a package of important related issues was also agreed upon. Among the issues the team would follow up on were demands for free education, the need to address institutional racism in universities, the question of the extent of institutional autonomy for

universities, and the challenge of transformation of curricula and higher education in South Africa. "Government understands the difficulty faced by students from poor households and urges all affected to allow the process to unfold to find long term solutions in order to ensure access to education by our students," President Zuma urged. See <http://www.scribd.com/doc/286630723/President-Zuma-no-fee-increase>, accessed 23 October 2015. For short critical analyses of the protests' achievements and shortcomings, see Vito Laterza and Ayanda Manqoyi, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-11-06-looking-for-leaders-student-protests-and-the-future-of-south-african-democracy/#.VkiN67-3ud8>, accessed 15 November 2015; and David Dickinson, <http://theconversation.com/fee-protests-point-to-a-much-deeper-problem-at-south-african-universities-49456>, accessed 16 November 2015. Both articles insist on the much deeper structural inequalities and challenges at South African universities and the wider society that need urgent attention. On his part, Paul Kaseke makes a case for student leaders to "be elected on merit, not party affiliation," arguing that the momentum and solidarity generated by the student protests were soon dissipated once the party political considerations of the various student leaders were prioritised over and above the broader interests and concerns of the student body. See <http://theconversation.com/why-student-leaders-should-be-elected-on-merit-not-party-affiliation-49549>, accessed 17 November 2015. Kaseke's point is buttressed by the situation at the University of the Western Cape, where students continued the protests despite the announcement on zero fee increment by President Zuma, calling on the university to write-off student debts worth more than R270-million, and resorting to violence and physical confrontation to make their case. In an article title "UWC caught between a rock and a hard place," Thulani Gqirana bemoans the "demands that lack legitimacy" as well as "a student leadership not elected through a democratic process," and "who lack negotiation experience". See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-11-17-uw-caught-between-a-rock-and-a-hard-place>, accessed 17 October 2015.

75. See statement issued by Pat Lucas, dated 27 March 2015, titled, Further Info on UCT Senate Vote in Favour of Moving Rhodes' Statue.

76. In September the university issued an update on the application for a permanent removal, announcing that it had sought and obtained an extension of the deadline for the submission of the application for permanent removal of the Rhodes Statue and Heritage Statement, from 28 September 2015 to 12 November 2015, in order to allow for extensive comments from all parties concerned. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9367>, accessed 05 October 2015.
77. See The short rise and long fall of Rhodes statue, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y-rTQrybZpk>, accessed 07 October 2015.
78. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2015/04/10/video-the-short-rise-and-long-fall-of-rhodes-statu>, accessed 17 September 2015.
79. See Kwezilomso Mbandazayo, United Front Interim National Co-Convenor, <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politics/students-should-unite-in-struggle-against-failed-u>, accessed 05 October 2015.
80. Tasneem Essop <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/student-rage-and-the-battle-for-transformation-at-sas-universities/>, accessed 05 October 2015. For more at University of Witwatersrand where students have joined the revolutionary bandwagon, and "standing up to the conditions of whiteness their parents accepted, confronting a colonial history manifest in the present," as Greg Nicolson puts it, see his review of a documentary titled "Decolonising Wits," by Aryan Kaganof, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-07-15-decolonising-wits-a-disconnect-of-content-and-context/#.Vfhlpce4TZ>, accessed 05 October 2015.
81. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF3rTBQTQk4>, accessed 05 October 2015.
82. It led to the production of a documentary *Luister* [Listen], a film exposing South Africa's ongoing racism problem, with Stellenbosch University as a case in point. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/07/luister-south-africa-film-racism-stellenbosch>, accessed 05 October 2015. See also, Greg Nicolson, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-09-01-stellenbosch-luister-could-lead-to-change/#.VfmAjpce4TZ>, accessed 05 October 2015; for the Stellenbosch University appearance before Higher Education Portfolio Committee in Parliament, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3cufFANKfUg>, accessed 05 October 2015.
83. Jonathan Jansen, <http://www.rdm.co.za/politics/2015/09/03/campuses-in-sa-are-in-turmoil.-what-s-the-root-cause-of-the-upheaval>, 05 October 2015.
84. See <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=3172>, accessed 13 November 2015.
85. See South Africa's Stellenbosch University aims to drop Afrikaans after protests, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34807291>, accessed 13 November 2015.
86. See Milton Nkosi, Why South African students want to be taught in English, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34811562>, accessed 16 November 2015.
87. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9155>, accessed 20 September 2015.
88. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9155>, accessed 20 September 2015.
89. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9155>, accessed 20 September 2015.
90. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9212>, accessed 21 September 2015.
91. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9212>, accessed 21 September 2015.
92. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9212>, accessed 21 September 2015.
93. See Harry Garuba, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-17-what-is-an-african-curriculum>, accessed 04 October 2015.
94. See Harry Garuba, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-17-what-is-an-african-curriculum>, accessed 04 October 2015.
95. See also Decolonizing the Curriculum by Prof Lungisile Ntsebeza filmed by Wandile Kasibe, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JF8KVQSQcnk>, accessed 08 October 2015. In his address, Ntsebeza, who says he is not out to change anyone's course, discusses a university wide course he envisages on the teaching of Africa, including the possibility of offering a major in African studies. The fact that he is still talking in rudimentary terms is an indication that little of substance, especially structurally, has changed in the teaching of Africa at UCT since the Mamdani years. For additional insights and reflections provoked by RMF, see Cherry Bomb, on colonial legacies and the violence of liberal whiteness at UCT – April 2015, <http://fleurmach.com/2015/07/14/on-colonial-legacies-and-the-violence-of-whiteness-at-uct-april-2015/>, accessed 09 October 2015; Puleng Segalo, <http://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/equityinstitutionalculture/documents/Reflections%20on%20Conference%20-%20P%20Segalo,%20UNISA%20.pdf>, accessed 09 October 2015.
96. Clearly revolted by the act, Simon Lincoln Reader represents it as follows:  
Desecrating anything with human faeces is one of the most contemptible forms of protest; in the context of the University of Cape Town debacle, it was worsened by the reality that staff — black staff — were left to sanitise the defiled statue of Cecil John Rhodes. It has been near-impossible to gauge the objective due in part to the blinding incoherence of the protest leader — a troubled boy who has an impressive rap sheet of attention-seeking. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/27/one-monument-cannot-capture-all-countrys-ills>, accessed 03 October 2015.
97. See detailed UCT press statement on the matter, <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9198>, accessed 03 October 2015.
98. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Maxwele-My-comments-about-whites-just-allegations-20150608>, accessed 03 October 2015.
99. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-students-suspension-lifted-on-technical-grounds-20150612>, 03 October 2015.
100. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-rejects-Maxwele-conspiracy-theory-claims-20150609>, accessed 03 October 2015.
101. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Poo-flinging-UCT-student-says-suspension-is-politically-motivated-20150511>, accessed 03 October 2015.
102. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Students-suspension-not-related-to-protests-UCT-20150515>, accessed 03 October 2015.
103. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/uct-amnesty-purely-political-maxwele-1.1860007#.VfXD8Jce4TZ>, accessed 03 October 2015.
104. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-students-suspension-lifted-on-technical-grounds-20150612>, 03 October 2015.
105. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Interim-order-allows-Maxwele-to-attend-UCT-classes-20150722>, accessed 05 October 2015.

106. See <http://citizen.co.za/772402/maxwele-wins-case-against-racist-uct/>, accessed 04 October 2015.
107. Tokelo Nhlapo, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-03-11-ucts-poo-protest-violence-is-a-perfect-reaction/#.VfXL4Jce4TZ>, accessed 04 October 2015.

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