AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE EVOLUTION OF STUDENT ACTIVISM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO (FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH), 1968 TO 2015

BY

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DECLARATION

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VUMA SETHUTHUTHU LUCKY

22/12/2021

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my grandmother Elena “Gogo” Vuma, my father Albert Kimeta Vuma, my late mother Thandi Mabokwane and my sisters, Sara Vuma and Boitumelo Mabokwane, my younger brothers, Mawewe Vuma, Magwayene Vuma, Khalanga Vuma, Nicolas Vuma; my son, Amukelani Gimeta Vuma and all my friends. Your love, prayers and care sustained me throughout my studies. My grandmother takes all the credit for all my academic achievements. She was a queen, a fighter, and above all a legend.

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ABSTRACT

The problem under investigation in this thesis is centred on the complex changes and transformation in student activism at the University of Limpopo (UL) during the period 1968-2015. The overreaching objectives of the study were to unpack the changing conceptualisation of student politics, tactics and strategies deployed in realising student needs and interests in the creation of South Africa's contested transition from the openly racist apartheid system to a liberal democratic regime enshrined in the 1996 constitution. Periodisation theory, which conceptualises and frames development or change and transformation of historical phenomena as unfolding in terms of distinctive time periods, was used to provide historical insight into the evolution of student activism. The cognitive merits and possibilities of periodisation theory were enhanced by integrating Altbach's Theory of Student Activism, which stresses the Importance of recognising and grasping the unique characteristics of student activists and their organisations in higher education systems. The resultant theoretical framework produced a cognitive structure which provided the researcher with concepts and ideation to make sense of the difficult and complex reconfiguration demanded, especially by the transition.

The methodology utilised in the study involved collecting and analysing data from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was acquired from a sample of former students who were registered at UL during the period covered by the study. The Thematic Content Analyses (TCA) approach distilled themes embedded in the data collected.

An overreaching finding of the study is that while it was relatively easy for Black students to conceptualise and decode the nature of oppression and struggle in an openly racialised system, such as apartheid, the ascendance to state power of Black leaders of liberation movements, some of whom were militant student activists prior to 1994, created a political landscape which made it difficult for students to decode what was required to deepen liberation and freedom. Some of the difficulties manifested themselves inter alia in the scandalous vandalisation of University resources, such as libraries, cars and classrooms. More than twenty years into "democracy", however, student activists began to penetrate and decode deeper layers of oppression, hidden by the dense fog of liberal democracy, which needed to be dismantled.

It is in this sense that the thesis views the eruption of the 2015 #Fees Must Fall movement and the accompanying curriculum decolonisation battles in South Africa as constituting a revolutionary landmark in the evolution of student activism. Student activists since 2015 seemed to have come to the realisation that liberal democratic rights and freedoms were incapable of dismantling white supremacy (racism), which is at the heart of the subjugation and oppression of Black people in South Africa and beyond. The thesis recommends, inter alia, that the relative invisibility of the role of women in studies of this nature is troubling and that historians must urgently solve this lacuna

ABREVIATIONS

AGC	Annual General Council
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ANSB	Afrikaans National Student Bond
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASA	African Students Association
ASB	Afrikaans Student Bond
ASUSA	African Students Union of South Africa
ASM	African Student Movement
APA	African Parents Association
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASCO	Azanian Student Convention
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BAWU	Black Allied Workers Union
BASA	Black Academic Staff Association
BAMCWU	Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BCP	Black Community Programmes

BEC	Branch Executive Committee
BUS	British Union of Students
BPC	Black People's Convention
CIE	Confederation of International Students
CODESA	Convention for Democratic South Africa
COPE	Congress of the People
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
CPSU	Cape Peninsular Student Union
CSAP	Council of South African Police
CUSA	Council of Union of South Africa
DA	Democratic Alliance
DASO	Democratic Alliance Student Organisation
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
DOE	Department of Education
DSU	Durban Students Union
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EFFSC	Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command
GSC	General Student Council
HBUs	Historical Black Universities
ICT	Information Communication and Technology
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party

IUS	International Union of Students
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDM	Mass Democratic Front
MERP	Millennium Economic Recovery Programmes
MK	uMkhonto We Sizwe
NEC	National Executive Committee
NAYO	National Youth Organisation
NCFS	National Catholic Federation of Students
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NP	National Party
NPC	National Planning Commission
NRC	National Reception Committee
NRF	National Research Funds
NUSAS	National Union of South Africa Students
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PASO	Pan-Africanist Student Organisation
PASMA	Pan-Africanist Movement of Azania
PEC	Provincial Executive Council
PGCE	Post-Graduate Certificate in Education

PYA	Progressive Youth Alliance
RAU	Rand Afrikaner University
SA	South Africa
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defense Force
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SAPS	South African Police Services
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SASO	South Africa Student Organisation
SASCO	South African Student Congress
SASM	South African Student Movement
SCA	Student Christian Association
SCO	Student Christian Organisation
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SANSCO	South African National Student Congress
SRC	Student Representative Council
SSRC	Soweto Students Representative Council
SSS	School of Social Sciences
Wits	University of Witwatersrand
TCA	Thematic Content Analyses
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

TVET	Technical Vocational Education Training
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
TYO	Transvaal Youth Organisation
UCM	University Christian Movement
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDW	University of Durban-Westville
UFH	University of Fort Hare
UL	University of Limpopo
UNB	University of Natal Black Section
UNIN	University of the North
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNIVEN	University of Venda
UNIZUL	University of Zululand
UP	University of Pretoria
USSA	University Sport South Africa
UWC	University of Western Cape
USA	United States of America
VC	Vice-Chancellor and Principal
WB	World Bank
YCL	Young Communist League

ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZINASU	Zimbabwe National Student Union

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CHAPTER ONE
STUDENT ACTIVISM AT UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO: FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM AND ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the context of the research, problem statement, study purpose and significance of the study, as well the theoretical framework and structure of the study. During the apartheid period student activism in South Africa focused on national issues to wage the struggle for freedom. This struggle took place to transform a political system from apartheid to a democratic system, by fighting against the injustices of apartheid system and the total liberation of Black people in South Africa (Ntuli, 2020). Students fought side by side with the leaders of liberation movements against the apartheid system of the National Party (NP) government. When the apartheid system was defeated, student activists shifted their focus from national to institution-focused issues. This shift originated from the expectations and new challenges that students were confronted with in the post-apartheid era. The said period was achieved after the fall of the apartheid government in 1994 and ascendance of the democratically elected government of the African National Congress (ANC), led by Nelson Mandela.

1.2 BACKGROUND, AND MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

Despite the intricate nature of student activism, it is immensely important to understand the dynamics, configurations and evolution of this phenomenon, as activism by students has posed serious threats and even toppled some regimes. In liberation movements throughout the African continent, if not the world, students have repeatedly been on the forefront of mass protests for social change (Chapman, 2008). This is not a recent development, but one that has evolved historically over time. Their roles feature prominently in politics, cultural and socio-economic change. In fact, the youths are considered to be the key agents of change in their respective countries (Chapman, 2001). As an essential segment of youth, students in any country are regarded as the most advanced group in addressing political issues in society (Balintuli, 1981).

Students of all ages have demonstrated their ability to have a significant impact on political, economic, social and educational systems across the globe, from Vietnam War Protests, Tiananmen Square Protest to #FeesMustFall in South Africa. The anti-war movement of the 1960s began on college campuses, as student members of an organisation called Students for a Democratic Society was formed at the University of Michigan. The organisation issued the Port Huron statement, which criticized the US foreign policy and attacked the Cold War assumptions underlying it (Barker, 2008). They claimed that they were people of the generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed in the universities, and looking uncomfortably to the world they inherited (Barker, 2008). As the war progressed, more voices of protest became more vocal, with marches springing up on university campuses across the United States of America. One of the most famous student protests was at Kent State University in 1970. Four students were killed during a protest when the Ohio National Guardsmen fired into the crowd (Barker, 2008). The shootings instigated a nationwide strike that forced many colleges and universities to close. At the Tiananmen Square in 1989, student protesters occupied the square in reaction to the death of former Communist Party Secretary General Hu Yaobang, who had been a reformist (Barker, 2008). His death was the spark that subsequently led to pro-democracy protests.

In Africa, most countries have benefited tremendously from student activism. For example, students played a central role in independence and anti-colonial struggles, as has been noted by Chapman (2008), Badat (1999), and Balintuli (1981). These include the pioneers of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggles, such as Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana and Nelson Mandela in South Africa. Beyond the African continent, Barack Obama is a classic example of a statesman whose leadership skills were honed within the political circles of students.

Obama was involved in student activism at the University of Chicago, while Mandela was a member of Student Representative Council (SRC) at the University of Fort Hare in 1940. Mandela was responsible for organising one of the largest branches of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) after it was established in 1944 (Friedman, 2013). Mandela was expelled from the University of Fort Hare because of his political activities and his defiance of the university authorities. He later enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) in 1943 (Friedman, 2013). At Wits, Mandela met

students of all races and was exposed to liberal, radical and Africanist thought, which motivated him to be more involved in the liberation struggle.

Student activism in South Africa can be traced as far back as the 1940s at Fort Hare. This study, however, focused primarily on the period from 1968 to 2015 at the then University of the North (UNIN), now the University of Limpopo (UL). In South Africa, Fort Hare is one of the oldest and historically Black universities in Africa. Fort Hare was home to many students from southern and central Africa, among them Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania; Kenneth Kaunda, former President of Zambia; Robert Mugabe, former President of Zimbabwe; Seretse Khama, former President of Botswana; and Charles Mugane Njonjo, former Kenyan Attorney General and Minister for Constitutional Affairs (Chapman, 2008). ANC leaders; namely, Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki, Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani, Desmond Tutu, Makhenkesi Stofile, and Manto Tshabalala-Msimang are some of the high profile South African political figures. All these political figures attended at Fort Hare, including the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) founder, Robert Sobukwe and KwaZulu-Natal Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi (Chapman, 2008). Some of the products of student activism at UL currently occupy high government political positions. Examples of these individuals are Cyril Ramaphosa (Current President of South Africa), Lazarus Chakwera (Current President of Malawi), and David Makhura (Current Premier of Gauteng). The mention of the old and current crop of leaders who cut their teeth for leadership in student politics is an indication that student activism is an evolving phenomenon.

In 1960, the University College of the North (at Turfloop) was founded as one of the University Colleges for Blacks. In terms of the apartheid policy, this state-controlled university, which was situated within the Lebowa Homeland, was intended to serve as an instrument for the entrenchment of the apartheid system. “Sovenga became the unofficial title given to the university college, a name originally given to the university’s post office and coined from the languages of the ethnic groups which the institution was intended to serve: **So**tho, **Ve**nda, and Tso**nga**: SOVENGA” (White, 1997:75). It was a symbol of the ethnic nature of the university college since it was created to serve the above-mentioned ethnic groups.

The university college was situated on a farm originally known to the local inhabitants as “Turfloop” (White, 1997). The university college became known as “Turfloop”. In 1969, the apartheid government granted the University College of the North autonomy from the University of South Africa (Act No. 47 of 1969), which brought an end to the College status as of 01 January 1970 (Ndebele, 1994).

The university was a centre of resistance to apartheid in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, with the South African Defense Force (SADF) often occupying the grounds during those years (White, 1997). The year 1968 has been used as a starting point in this study because it marked the breakaway of Black students from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) to form the South African Student Organisation (SASO). SASO had its inaugural conference in July 1969 at UL. At this conference, Steve Biko was elected its first president. The year 1968 also marks the high-point of student unrest worldwide, particularly in countries such as the United States of America (USA), France, Germany and Egypt (Hoefferle, 2012), (Kurlansky, 2004), (Zayed, Sika & Elnur, 2016). Furthermore, the year 2015 marks the beginning of the hashtag movements in South Africa. The recent re-energised student activism, as expressed in the hashtag movements, has re-awakened the interest of scholars in history, political science and related disciplines, to write or research more about student activism. Governments and institutional leaders should understand student activism and its dynamics.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Student activism in South Africa played a significant role in the struggle for liberation, especially in the Historically Black Universities (HBUs), such as the University of the North (UNIN), Western Cape (UWC), Durban-Westville (UDW), Zululand (UNIZUL) and Forth Hare (UFH) (Chapman, 2008). The University of the North, currently known as UL, played a significant role in the struggle against apartheid and also produced some of the prominent leaders who made key contributions in the struggle for liberation. For instance, Cyril Ramaphosa and Pandelani Nefolovhondwe are occupying high leadership positions in South Africa today. Student activism in South Africa has evolved over time, which resulted in major changes in the role and activities of student activism.

The role and activities of student activism in the pre-1994 are completely different from the role and activities of student activism since 1994, when the ANC came to power. This changing pattern was also noted by scholars such as Rapatsa (2017) as well as Cele and Koen (2003). This study examined the nature and factors behind these changes. Although a few scholars have researched on student activism in the period under review, little historical research has been done on the changing nature and role of student activism at UL. Student activism at UL made such an important contribution in the national struggle for liberation that it would be tantamount to gross omission if there is no thorough documentation of this history (Vuma, 2018). It is important to note that student activism exists in documents. However, not enough records exist on student activism at UL. This study sought to fill this gap.

1.4 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS/ CONCEPTS

1.4.1 Student Activism

Student activism in this study refers to various actions by students to raise or communicate issues of student concerns in an effort to address them. These actions are typically impelled by a student's perception of gaps that exist between the current or actual state of affairs in the university and beyond, and desired or expected state. Hence, this triggers student action to make an effort to correct the situation or to bridge the identified gaps. Student activism may be focused towards addressing issues such as student fees, academic concerns, accommodation, quality of meals, rules and regulations and others (Ntuli, 2020; Nkomo, 1983).

1.4.2 Blacks

Blacks in this study refers to all people of color discriminated against based on the colour of their skins during apartheid in South Africa; namely, Coloureds (mixed-race people), Indians, and various Black African ethnic groups.

1.4.3 Whites

Whites in this study refer to people of colour with European or Western origins. They are also described as colonisers, settlers and imperialists on the African continent.

1.4.4 Turfloop

Turfloop and UL are used interchangeably in this study to refer to the University of Limpopo (Formerly known as University of the North).

1.4.5 Student Organisations

A student organisation is a collective of students whose basis of affiliation to the organisation is either political, cultural, religious, academic or social (Badat, 1999). In the context of this study, a student organisation refers to students' basis of affiliation to the organisation, which is political, like South African Student Organisation or both political and religious, such as the University Christian Movement.

1.5 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 Aim

The following was the aim of the study:

To examine the change and transformation of student activism at UL from the year 1968 to 2015.

1.5.2 Objectives

The following were the objectives of the study:

- To identify the origin, essence and development of student activism.
- To examine the growth of student activism and factors that contributed to its growth in the UL.
- To discover the nature and preoccupations of student activism at UL from 1968 to 2015.
- To explore the changes and transformation of student activism that took place at UL from pre-1994 to post-1994.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study was guided by the Periodisation Theory, as postulated by Hollander, Rassuli, Jones, and Farlow (2005). "Periodisation is the process of dividing the chronological narrative into separately labelled sequential time periods with distinct beginning and ending points" (Robert, 1976:26). The historical narrative may be organised technically and geographically to cover separate events in different venues. Within such a framework, the account of what happened is presented chronologically and subjected to periodisation.

This study adopted this framework to examine the evolution of student activism from UNIN to UL in chronological order. Each period has its own historical account which is informed by the situation of that particular period. For example, in the 1970s, the Black Consciousness (BC) was the force behind most student political activities in South Africa. However, in the 1980s the situation was different. During this period the United Democratic Front (UDF) was a force behind most student political activities in South Africa (Heffernan & Nieftagodien, 2016). This study describes historical events in chronological order and also assess the forces behind them, based on periodisation. Hollander et al. (2005) assert that, a study that uses periodisation as its framework must stick to certain principles; namely, consistency, reductionism and duration.

Consistency is more concerned about the regularity in dividing historical accounts. Reductionism emphasises the summary of historical events over a particular period, but with a clear message and a true reflection of those particular historical events. Duration emphasises the amount of the time elapsed between two historical events. This study examined an historical evolution of student activism at UL guided by these principles.

The Altbach's Theory of Student Activism (1964) provides the precise significance of understanding the formation, context, characteristics and background of student activists and student movements (organisations). Altbach's thinking on student activism is centred on key notions of student politics, representation, unrest, protest and organisation in the context of higher education. Furthermore, he argues that certain characteristics in different national higher education systems and types of universities matter for understanding student activism.

According to Luescher-Mamashela (2015: 5), Altbach's Theory of Student Activism provides an analysis on a complex multi-level system of categorical classification, as well as specific propositions regarding the emergence, outcomes and impact of student activism, response to student activism, and the characteristic features of student organisations and movements and of student activists. The analysis and presentation of Altbach's (1964) framework is guided by the following questions:

- Under what conditions does student activism emerge?
- What are the typical characteristics of student organisations/ movements?
- What are the typical characteristics of student activists?

- What are the effects of student activism?

This theoretical framework was very important in this study because it provided an approach to be followed in order to conduct an extensive scientific study about student activism, student movements and student organisations.

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The year 1968 was used as a starting point in this research. This is because it marked the breakaway of the majority of Black students from NUSAS and the formation of SASO, which had its inaugural conference in July 1969 at UL. At this conference Steve Biko was elected its first president. These two developments brought more changes in the national politics of Black institutions of higher learning in South Africa, including UL. It also served as a watershed period for the emergence of Black Consciousness. The year 1968 also marks the peak of student unrest worldwide, particularly in countries such as USA, France, Germany and Egypt (Hoefferle, 2012).

The year 2015 marks a watershed period in South Africa's higher education landscape. In this year, the country witnessed the outbreak of a series of hashtag movements that were mainly led by students, but supported by many people, ranging from civil society to the private sector.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The findings of this study are poised to contribute in highlighting the evolution of student activism at Turfloop. They would help to scientifically document the history of Turfloop student activism and show how student activism has evolved at Turfloop.

The study would also provide a clear understanding of the nature and character of student activism in the pre-1994 and post-1994. Hopefully, a book or journal articles will be produced, to further shed light on the evolution of student activism at Turfloop. Student activism at higher education institutions in South Africa is an important area to study, especially in the current era, because it helped students to keep the spirit of resistance alive when the liberation movements were banned and many of the leaders of the struggle were in exile. Finally, this study will help in expanding scholarly knowledge and public debate about the evolution of student activism in the country.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study had a number of limitations that defined its scope. Firstly, it took place during the Covid-19 pandemic. Covid-19 has affected everybody in all spheres of our life, including our mental health. Mental health and academic achievements are linked. The stress which we experienced during the peak of Covid-19 affected us mentally, and that had a negative impact on our academic lives. For example, many lost close family members, a setback which also affected us mentally. The restrictions, regulations and protocols which were set out by the South African government in order to contain and control the spread of the virus made the situation difficult for this study.

This study used unstructured and interactive interviews for data collection. In this method, the challenge was to secure appointments for interviews with potential participants due to Covid-19 restrictions. Some could only avail themselves for telephonic interviews and online interviews, while some refused any form of meeting with the researcher. Some of my potential participants were high profile people, such as the President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa; Gauteng Premier, David Makhura, Rejoice Mabudafhasi, and Frank Chikane, who were all directly involved in student political activism at UL. Due to their numerous responsibilities and tight schedules, it became impossible for the researcher to get hold of them.

1.10 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER ONE: BLACK STUDENT ACTIVISM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO: FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM AND ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

This chapter opens with the general introduction of the study, the purpose, statement of the problem, theoretical framework, and motivation for the study, limitations and closes with the chapter breakdown.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the existing literature around the topic under study. This is done carefully by examining theoretical orientations that informed the operationalisation of the research for the existing works.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter deliberates on the method used when conducting this study. Aspects such as research design, data collection and sampling are incorporated in this chapter. Finally, ethical considerations are also addressed here**.**

CHAPTER FOUR: ORIGINS, ESSENCE AND DEVELOPMENT/ DESTINY OF STUDENT ACTIVISM: 1968 TO 1983

This chapter focuses on the origins, essence, development/ destiny of student activism in South Africa 1968 to 1983. It also explains where/ when/ how (origins), content and nature (essence), and future prospects of student activism (destiny).

CHAPTER FIVE: APARTHEID OPPRESSION, REPRESSION AND CHALLENGES FACED BY STUDENTS: 1983 TO 1994

This chapter focuses on the apartheid system and how it was oppressive to students. It focuses on problems that were faced by students as a result of the apartheid system. It goes further and describes how student activists responded to the repressive environment created by the apartheid state.

The chapter also focuses on the impact of the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) on student activism at the UL. Furthermore, the chapter covers the downgrading of the SASO ideological approach and assesses the role of student activities at UL on the road to 1994.

CHAPTER SIX: RECONFIGURATION AND READJUSTMENT IN STUDENT ACTIVISM: 1994 TO 2014

This chapter focuses on the euphoria about the new democratic dispensation and raised expectations regarding the quality of life as well under the ANC and limits to transformation in the higher education sector. Student formations and links to political parties and changed political landscape post 1994 are also examined. It also focuses on the response of student formations to the slow pace of transformation in the higher education sector.

The chapter also covers the ideological differences as well as differences in strategy in resolving challenges facing students at institutions of higher learning. The chapter also examined violence as a strategy and throwback to the post-vandalism of university infrastructure.

CHAPTER SEVEN: #THE FEES MUST FALL MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter focus on series of hashtag movements in South Africa. The increase in in study fees was perceived as a symbol of colonial power. The #FeesMustFall movement was formed as a response to such colonial power and a demand for the decolonisation of the curriculum. The chapter includes the position of UL in the hashtag movements and its participation; how student activists in 2015 began to focus on what to do with the untransformed structures of colonial power, manifested in fee increases, the Cecil John Rhodes statue in Grahamstown and colonial curriculum in the higher education sector. It is also focuses on the issues raised by student activists in the hashtag movements and how the decolonised university curricula responded to the heart of the problem of liberation in South Africa, and finally, the problem of limits of transformation in societies subjected to the hegemony of Caucation / white supremacy.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FINDINGS AND GENERAL CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the major findings of the study are presented and a general conclusion of the entire study is provided.

1.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter introduces the study by providing the context of the research, problem statement, and purpose of the study as well as the study's significance and organisation of the chapters. The problem statements originates from the notion that the nature and character of student activism in South Africa has evolved and shifted its focus, from addressing national issues to changing a political system in the country, to institutional issues. Before 1994 in South Africa, student activism manifestations paid attention to issues of the struggle for freedom. Apartheid laws restricted Black students enrolling at the so-called White institutions. During this period, students were concerned with the achievement of a democratic South Africa and a total liberation of Blacks in South Africa. After participating successfully in dismantling the apartheid system, students expected radical transformation and conducive higher education environment. Thus, attention in student activism shifted to issues affecting students within the universities. The change in focus produced new forms of student activism manifestations, including student representation in university governance, student unrest, coupled with violent protests in some instances.

These were new modalities in which students organised themselves into protest movements, using social media and other methods of online communication. The next chapter focuses on a critical review of relevant literature.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided the general introduction to the study of the evolution of student activism, the context of the research, problem statement, and purpose of the study, the study's significance and the organisation of the chapters. The current chapter deals with the review of the existing literature on the topic under study. This chapter is vital in this study because it scans the field of study, determining what has already been done, identifying gaps and prospects. It is for this reason that the literature review is the backbone of a study. The chapter presents what has already been done in order to contextualise the present study. Furthermore, the researcher explores the findings and limitations of studies by other researchers on this subject. To this end, the review of related literature served as a critical aspect of this study. This was undertaken in order to avoid duplication of existing research.

The subject of student activism in South Africa exists in many documents. However, student activism at UL has received little attention from scholars from various disciplines, including historical and political studies. Most previous historical and political scientists and researchers tended to focus mostly on the so-called "big moments" or "big figures" and previously White Universities, while neglecting the important historical contributions of other regions, particularly in rural areas (Heffernan, 2015). For the purposes of this research, scholarly works from two disciplines; namely, history and political studies, were reviewed as part of this study.

2.2. STUDENT ACTIVISM OUTSIDE AFRICA: WESTERN EUROPE, THE AMERICAS AND ASIA

Altbach (1989) notes that throughout the nineteenth century in Europe, students were involved in activist efforts aimed at achieving nationalist goals. For example, student movements and organisations, alongside other intellectuals and academic staff, played a central role in revolutionary movements in Germany in 1848.

In China, students were at the forefront of activism aimed at modernizing the country in the early 1900s. Meanwhile, students in South America concerned themselves with academic issues that resulted in several university reforms on the continent. In the 1960s, students in Western Europe and North America became a strong force amid

national turmoil, in relation to which the university was neither exempted nor isolated (Altbach, 1989; Cohen, 1990). The concerns of Western students in the early 1960s drew much attention to the civil rights and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, placing student activism on the national political stage (Altbach, 1989).

Student activism is a world-wide phenomenon. For example, students were an important force in the revolutionary movements of 1848 in Germany and later in the unification of Germany and Italy in the 19th century (Altbach 1989). Almost every nationalist and liberation movement in the struggle for independence had a strong component of student participation in Asia and Africa (Altbach 1989). Furthermore, students in countries such as Vietnam, Kenya, India, and Ghana were involved in efforts to free their countries from colonial rule (Altbach, 1989). Therefore, the issue of student activism is not new and is not an issue that is limited to a certain country or continent.

There is considerable amount of research on student activism across the globe. Most research and analyses on student political activism in Southern Africa dates back to the 1960s, when most universities were established (Negombwe, 2012). However, Altbach (1989) dates it to the period before 1960. Negombwe (2012) observed that students have been involved in political processes and issues that include protests against imperialists, colonialists, political assassinations, corrupt governments, maladministration and prioritisation of issues of national importance and investment paths. The above-mentioned statement supports the claim made by Chapman (2008), that student activism is not only limited to university-based issues, such as shortage of books and extra charges for late return of books to the library; welfare matters, such as bad food, congestion in residences, poor catering services, freedom of movement in residential halls, and access to recreational and guidance services. Some of the students' issues with management within the university centred on administrative inadequacies, debates regarding the allocation of resources, discipline matters on campus, and disputes on management styles.

Chapman (2008) regarded students as the most advanced group in society. He emphasised that students are always more likely to be the first group to entertain issues of national importance, such as racism, struggles against oppression and many other related pressing issues of national importance. According to him, student

activism is not only limited to students' academic-related issues. Most countries have benefited tremendously from student activism. For example, students have played a central role in independence and anti-colonial struggles, as has been noted by Chapman (2008).

Wight (1966) wrote a very informative article, titled "Roots and Soil of student activism", wherein he attempted to unpack a multitude of areas of the roots of student activism. He stated that, after World War II, there are few countries in this world which have not been subjected to revolutionary changes in part or the whole of their internal institutional structures and in their relations with other nations. He further claims that in society, the group that is more prominent and more potentially significant for the present and future are the students. Wight studied the roots of student activism in Mexico, Colombia, Japan, India, Egypt and the USA. The aim of his study was to locate the origins of student activism in the above mentioned countries and also to determine if those countries have a different definition of student activism or not.

Wight's findings revealed similarities in student activism in the six countries under study, as follows: the rank and file is composed of youth, predominantly between the ages of 16 and 23, give or take a couple of years at either extreme; all examples have some kind of organisation with officers and frequently at headquarters office; all engage in group activities, the most frequent of which is mass demonstration in which the activists are protesting against something they do not like or the absence of something they are asserting; all are led by few initiating activists who propose certain targets for action and the kind of action to be taken, and whose continuing problem is to mobilise a following large enough to make the action effective; all of them raise problems of public authorities.

These organisations differ in the degree to which they can be characterised as a movement, in their organisational structure, in their relationships to other pressures and action groups. Furthermore, they differ in the characteristics of their leaders, the numbers and characteristics of their members and supporters, the kinds and characteristics of their activities, their emphases on particular operational fields (such as campus, community or national politics), the objects to which their actions are directed and in their ideological orientation.

In short, the findings of Wight were that, the definition of student activism and what constitutes student activism in these countries is the same.

However, the difference is in the students' actions and how they approach issues. For example, in Egypt student activists may prefer to use violence as a means to resolve student issues, while in Mexico student activists may prefer peaceful demonstrations and engagements to resolve their issues. Wight also notes the pressure of the matter on the table as a determining factor on which action to take. For example, where the issue was thorny and burning for students, the possibilities were that students would resort to violence or any proactive strategy that would put the authorities under pressure to act in their favour. He goes further and develops numerous hypotheses of causal relationships in the process of interpreting student activism. He defines three classes of insight as to the causes of student activism. These are, the stage of youth in the maturation process, actualisation of the image of the student involvement in societal problems and relation to action groups.

The researcher concurs with Wight on his findings on the universal definition of student activism and what constitutes student activism (Altbach, 1989). What is regarded as student activism in America, Asia and Africa is the same. The only difference is their character and approach to issues. This is a result of the conditions and challenges which students face in their respective countries, which differ from one country to another; hence their struggles are not the same (Altbach, 1989). For example, in industrialised countries, one may find students demonstrating for car parking, while in the developing countries one may find students demonstrating for healthy food or decent accommodation (Vuma, 2018).The protest approach for both challenges would not be the same. Clearly, the determination of those who are demonstrating for healthy food would be high because they are fighting for a basic need, rather than those who are fighting for a want (Vuma, 2018). Such differences dictate different actions, different characters and different approaches to issues.

Scott (1968) also made a fairly valuable contribution to research on student political activism in Latin America. Scott's work focused on understanding the motivation that draws students to national political issues, usually in some form of confrontation politics that sets them at odds with the existing power structures.

In order to get a grasp of this trend, Scott wanted to understand more about the value system that motivates students and schools in which they study. He also attempted to delve into the political system of the region and varying roles in this regard. Constructive or otherwise, the political system in question reflects the ability of the other social and political structures participating in the political process, to meet the needs of a changing society. His study looked at five Latin American countries; namely, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, and Mexico.

Scott established that most students are drawn to national political life because they are the most advanced group in the society, and before they become students, they are members of the general society. According to Scott “the youth are drawn into national politics because every revolution that takes place in their society affects them in one way or the other” (Scott, 1968:23). He further claims that, the other reason that makes students more visible in the national struggles is that, they are an essential segment of youth and the most advanced group in society. He also pointed out that, students play a central role in providing the political direction of their countries.

The researcher shares the same sentiment with Scott on his claim, “that students are drawn into national politics because every revolution that take place in their society affects them in one way or the other” (Chapman, 2008: 48). For example, during apartheid Black students in South Africa were affected by apartheid, as students as well as members of the general society. As a special group of emerging intellectuals in a society based in an environment that was meant for knowledge creation (University), they had to challenge the oppression of the apartheid government (Vuma, 2018).

Jung Cheol Shin, Hoon-Ho Kim and Hong-Sam Choi (2014), in their article, briefly overviewed the student movement working for political democratisation during the authoritarian governments in South Korea. The article focuses on how student activism changed as a reflection of political developments from dictatorship through to civilian democratic governments. Furthermore, it analyses how tuition-fee levels differed according to the organisational power of student unions within universities. Organisational power is represented by the student union’s political orientation, where strong political orientation implies that the student union holds stronger negotiation power in tuition-fee setting.

Empirical analysis leads to in-depth discussions on student movements and tuition fees in South Korea. Their main argument is that student activism evolves with time and conditions. Furthermore, student political activism during the rule of an authoritarian government and student political activism in a civilian democratic government cannot be the same because the conditions are different. The current study shares the same sentiment held by Jung Cheol Shin, Hoon-Ho Kim and Hong-Sam Choi; namely, that student activism evolves with time and conditions. For example, the conditions of student activism in South Africa during apartheid and the conditions of student activism in South Africa post 1994 are different because of the period and development that took place after apartheid (Chapman, 2008).

Fisher (1979) contributed an article on the major strikes that were led by students worldwide. Fisher's work focused on major student uprisings that took place in various countries around the world, particularly in Vietnam, England and South Africa. Fisher discovered that, most of the strikes were caused by either political, environmental, economic, or social change. The protests often arose as a result of curriculum, residence, food and educational funding. He emphasised that, student protests were not caused by university-based issues only. He found that in many cases, students were involved in protests for societal issues that are beyond university-based issues. He further argued that students' protests influenced greater political events in countries such as South Africa, Argentina, Canada and France.

He compiled the major students' protests around the globe under one document. However, the limitation of his work is that it was based on information from newspapers, radio and television. In other words he did not go out to those countries to do field work. The problem is that media reporters are more likely to exaggerate some facts when they report to listeners or readers. Media reporters are also more likely not to report the entire event. Rather, they tend to cover the part that will make their newspapers sell or attract more listeners. For example, during #FeesMustFall protests in 2015 in South Africa, only previously White Universities, such as the University of Cape Town (UCT) and University of Witwatersrand (Wits), received more media coverages, as compared to historically Black Universities, such as the University of Venda (UNIVEN) and UL (Sikhosana, 2017).

It is against the principle of research to rely only on media reports for the scientific studies such as Fisher's work. Despite the highlighted flaws in Fisher's work, his work is important because it touches on the militancy of student activism from various countries around the globe. It also shows similarities and differences from different countries in terms of their approach to student protests.

Franklin (2003) contributed a piece of work about student activism titled "Patterns of Student Activism at Historically Black Universities in the United States and South Africa, 1960-1977". His study examines the strategies and objectives of black student protests at historically black public universities in the USA and South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s. It also reveals several patterns. The focus of his study was on Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the University of the North and the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. The study focused on the patterns of student protests and the responses of university and government officials. According to Franklin (2003), Black student activism either on campus or in the larger society should be viewed within the context of the larger black freedom struggles taking place in the USA and South Africa during those decades.

In the case of state-controlled colleges and universities, such as Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the UL and the University of the Western Cape in South Africa, state authorities demanded that students who participated in protests and demonstrations be severely disciplined or expelled from the university. However, when university officials acted on those state-imposed regulations, these expulsions triggered protests, marches, boycotts of classes, and other demonstrations that led to the closing of universities. The study also identified similar traits in the attitude of students both in the USA and South Africa in dealing with oppressive and discriminatory governments.

Black students in the USA and South Africa were willing to sacrifice their education and withdraw from the university altogether when their demands were not met and changes and improvements were not forthcoming. In many instances these students never returned to the university, or did not return until years later, but often became full-time political organisers, committing their lives and futures to the larger Black freedom struggle.

Black student activism on campuses thus served as a training ground for participation in the larger freedom struggle. Franklin's (2003) findings on the pattern of student activism are similar to Chapman's (2008), as shown earlier. Chapman (2008) regarded students as the most advanced group in society, and he further emphasised the fact that they are always more likely to be the first group to entertain issues of national importance, such as racism, struggles against oppression and many other related pressing issues of national importance. Their activism is not only limited to academic related issues. Franklin's work also concurred with Altbach (1989) when he stated that almost every nationalist and liberation movement in the struggle for independence had a strong component of student participation in Asia and Africa.

The researcher also concurs with Franklin on the identified patterns of student activism. Specifically, students are members of the general society before they become students. Any societal issue that emerge in their country will affect them directly or indirectly and as the most active and advanced segment of society, they are more likely to respond or lead the communities in responding to that particular issue (Vuma, 2018). That has been the pattern of student activism globally.

2.3. STUDENT ACTIVISM: THE AFRICAN CONTINENTAL CONTEXT

Research conducted on student activism on the African continent has produced substantial information. Students at Makerere University in Uganda protested against the poor quality of food served at the institution in the 1950s. Soon thereafter, as a consequence and influence of other "anti-colonial and pan-African" efforts on the continent, issues beyond their immediate conditions on campus became a concern for student activists (Koen et al. 2006). For example, national political issues, such as the repressive regime of Idi Amin, formed part of the student activist agenda.

In Senegal, Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Zambia, to name a few, students and other young people formed part of the forces determined to achieve social, political and economic change. With the repercussions of colonialism still remaining in the structural and functional order of society, and indeed the consequences of recent independence, living conditions had become difficult to withstand. Problems faced by African states after independence range from increases in the price of oil, recurrent droughts, rising debt burdens, decline in official development assistance, widespread

government corruption, questionable national policies, neo-colonialism, poor health systems, poor education systems and dictatorship, to the rise of student activism.

Students shouldered the weight of those national problems, while dealing with the reality of campus-based problems. In response to these challenges, violent demonstrations, vandalism and boycotting of classes characterized student dissent. The majority of leaders of African liberation movements, such as Nelson Mandela (South Africa), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), are products of student activism. Their political credentials can be traced to their days as students at institutions of higher learning (Chapman, 2008). They later played a pivotal role in the struggle against colonial rule in their respective countries and subsequently became the heads of states.

The university is an environment which produces knowledgeable people who contribute to their countries either politically, socially, and economically. Early protests in Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa and Tanzania were, indeed, directed against external forces and colonial rule (Badat, 1999). Besides their involvement in the broader political events, students have also been involved in effecting academic-related changes. Such problems, as noted by Luescher-Mamashela and Mugume (2014), include protests against difficult examinations, incompetence of lecturers, shortage of books, introduction of new courses, and favouritism in teaching and examinations.

For instance, at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, students vigorously participated in the definition of what is legitimate knowledge since the late 1960s. At the University of Zimbabwe, students protested in 1989 against shortage of relevant and dated books and charges for late return of library books (Omari & Mihyo, 1991). Zeilig (2008) provides a graphic account of the problems affecting students in Africa's higher education institutions. These range from physical decay of buildings to slashing of library books and journal stocks. Issues of major concern, as noted by Zeilig (2008), include escalation of student fees, high living costs on campus, overcrowded classrooms and inadequate teaching. The above-mentioned problems are not over in most African universities because we continue to witness student protests that are triggered by the same problems. For example, in 2015 in South Africa the researcher witnessed the beginning of a vigorous student uprising known as #FeesMustFall.

The #FeesMustFall is a student-led protest movement in response to increases in study fees at South African universities. Student activism has received varied responses from governments and university authorities in different countries (Zeilig, 2008). Government responses to student activism range from ignoring student protests entirely and violently repressing demonstrations in order to silence them (Omari and Mihyo, 1991).

For example, the initial response of #FeesMustFall movement by the South African government was repressive. In most campuses, such as the University of Pretoria (UP) and UL, police were deployed in numbers to calm the situation. The police fired stun grenades, rubber bullets, and pepper spray. The South African government was doing all this in order to supress and silence the students. Unfortunately, their strategy did not succeed. As a result of these demonstrations, the South African government responded positively to the call of students by announcing a non-fee increment for 2016 in all South African universities. This decision was regarded as a victory for South African university students. It also showed that students have the power to hold the government accountable.

Government repression of student protests in South Africa is not an isolated phenomenon. The violent repression of student activism is featured in both developing nations and industrialised nations. In France and West Germany in the 1960s, repression of student protests resulted in deaths of students at the hands of the police (Altbach 1989). Furthermore, clashes between students and the police in Mexico City in 1968 resulted in what became known as the Tlateloco massacre. During the Iranian student riots of 09 July 1999 that began in the residences of the University of Tehran and spread to several campuses around the nation, several people were killed in a week of violent confrontations (Robin, 2004).

There are many examples of violent repression of student movements, where leaders were jailed, tortured and sometimes killed. Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro is one of the student leaders who suffered the brutality of university authorities at UL in 1972 in South Africa. On 29 April 1972, Tiro made a stirring speech at the university graduation ceremony, decrying the inequities of apartheid and its policy of Bantu Education (Heffernan, 2015).

His speech led him into trouble because the university management and the advisory council took a decision to expel him from the university. Heffernan (2015) argues that the contributions of rural regions, such as the Northern Transvaal in South Africa, have often been omitted from books of history. In his argument, he also stated that most historians tend to focus more on the so-called “big moments” or “big figures”, such as Soweto Uprising, and neglect other important historical events, particularly in the rural areas. The researcher shares the same view with Heffernan on the claim that most historians tend to focus on the so-called “big moments” and relegate rural history to the dustbins of history. They tend to implicate themselves on the politics of selection and selection bias of history. The researcher considered such weaknesses as a gap which needed to be filled by current researchers.

This is why the researcher found it necessary to study about a previously disadvantaged university which never got recognition and enough attention from researchers in the past. Heffernan’s article, like the current study, sought to redress that omission and to make a case for the importance of Turfloop, of Black Consciousness, and of Abraham Tiro as a critical influence on the schoolchildren of Soweto, and student activists around South Africa, during the early and mid-1970s. Heffernan (2015) also focused on the implications of Tiro’s expulsion and its significance to the student body. Heffernan’s observation is of direct relevance for this study.

Hanna (1975) explored the reasons that often led to student protests in the independent Black African states. Hanna stated that economic conditions in most African countries play a role in student protests. He notes that there have been demonstrations, boycotts or violent protests concerning the depressed economic conditions of the student’s countries. The other major cause of student protests, according to his findings, is the quality of student education. The relationship between the university and the regime, the regime and international “aggressors”, also have a potential to spark student protest.

There are two university-related issues that have often led to student protests; namely, personal freedom of students and the academic quality of their education. According to Hanna, students at many institutions of higher learning have expressed dissatisfaction with such restrictions as dress requirements, hours of co-educational

visits to rooms, and faculty censorship of student publications. There have also been complaints concerning matters of educational quality, such as Africanisation, faculty teaching ability, library resources and the content of examinations.

He has also hinted on the outcomes of the student protests. He observed that the political success or failure of a protest can be measured by the political outcome of the protest episodes. Hanna asserts that the outcomes of the protest is normally negative or positive. He provided the example of University Collage, Dar es Salaam, protests against Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere‘s 1968 decision to have university students participate in the national service programme. This led to a one year suspension of more than three hundred students.

However, he notes that a relatively small percentage of student protests lead to a significant change in the situation which initially catalysed the action. He cites the example of the University of Ibadan (Nigeria), where student protested against the regional pension bill. The protest contributed to its immediate withdrawal. Protests by students at the University of Ghana also led to reductions in penalties for students protests imposed upon some of the student leaders and led to changes in the procedures for penalising students. The foregoing clearly indicates that student protests have their own positive and negative outcomes. The outcomes of the protests are determined by the conditions of the time, the reasons for the protests and the pressures for the protests. It is not always the case that the majority of the outcomes of protest become negative, according to Hanna.

Byaruhanga (2006) examines the role of student activism in shaping Uganda's higher education. He focuses on the critical incidents of student protest, using eyewitness accounts drawn from past and present student leaders. To put the study in context, Byaruhanga provides a brief history of Uganda from pre-colonial times to the present, a short (and selective) overview of education in Uganda, and a consideration of certain theoretical debates on student activism in higher education. Byaruhanga defines student power as "the impact of student activism" (2006:07). He indicates that although student activism has brought some changes to higher education in Africa and has had a significant impact on national politics in the region. However, few studies on the subject have been conducted in Africa.

With no unifying framework on student activism available in the literature, what we have, he argues, is "a fragmentary tapestry of theoretical threads, based primarily on western experience" (2006:11).

In general, as Byaruhanga shows, African governments have been heavy handed in their response to student activism. Students and professors have been imprisoned, detained, raped, and killed. Yet student activism has been a significant social force. “In South Africa for example, student activism played an important role in ending apartheid and moving the country toward democracy” (Cohen, 2013:66). Student activists at Makerere University saw themselves as the conscience of Ugandan society, especially on issues of social justice, and represented a powerful voice for change in Uganda. During Idi Amin's rule in the 1970s, they focused on democracy and the overthrow of the military dictatorship, as well as the impact of their activism up to the present. Students are now represented at all levels of university governance, including the university council. A significant number of former student activists also hold positions of leadership in East Africa.

Byaruhanga’s work examines student activism periodically, beginning in the 1950s. For each period, there is a commentary on the political events followed by a chronicle of the critical incidents of student protests and their aftermath, with his interpretative reflection on the events. Student eyewitness accounts of the critical incidents help us understand their grievances as well as the response of the university administrators and the government, although a clearer description of the author's methodology for reporting the student accounts would have been useful.

The current researcher concurs with Byaruhanga on the critical need for more studies to revitalise higher education in Africa. To reduce poverty and intellectual and economic dependency, the tertiary institutions in the region must be able to turn out skilled graduates capable of managing national affairs in the years ahead. The current study on the evolution of student activism at UL, will assist in determining if indeed our institution of higher learning are capable of producing graduates who are well-equipped to manage national affairs.

According to Mlambo (1995), student activism has made an important contribution to the struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe. In the first few years of independence, students were among the most fearsome defenders of the regime. Three broad periods of student activism can be identified. The first pro-government period was followed by a violent break with the regime in 1988; the second period saw students declaring that they were ‘the voice of the voiceless'. With the onset of structural adjustment programmes in the early 1990s, the privileged status of students in higher education was rapidly eroded. The third period emerged after 1995 as student activism converged with the urban revolt that was beginning to shake Zimbabwe (Mlambo, 1995).

Mlambo addresses the question of whether educational institutions will in the future become the arenas of social struggle in the African countries as other avenues of dissent become progressively closed. He first provides a brief outline of the social and economic context in the African countries in order to cast student political activism in the wider picture of the rapidly deteriorating conditions. Such an outline is deemed necessary to understand the genesis of student activism, and in particular, how school-based concerns such as declining educational standards can escalate, providing the embryonic elements for the articulation of more widely-based social and economic questions which have no other avenue of expression in increasingly closed and repressive political regimes.

The vicious circle of student action and predictable government reaction, such as repeated closures of educational institutions, which further contributes to the decline in the quality of education, is then discussed. Finally, Mlambo touches on the problems of rising violence in student demonstrations, the solidarity which seems to be emerging between students and other social groups in some countries, and the potential implications for the struggles for democracy and political pluralism in sub-Saharan Africa.

Luescher-Mamashela (2015) critically reviews Altbach’s work on student activism (1964 – 2006). Luescher also investigates Altbach’s attempt in developing a comparative theoretical understanding of student activism in terms of its organisation, causes, ideological orientation and outcomes, along with the backgrounds and identity of student activists, the importance of national and institutional contexts and historical

conjunctures in the emergence of student activism and in the response of national and university governments to student protests. Thierry's article takes Altbach's thinking on student politics and activism and most recent theoretical contributions on changes in European higher education governance and student representation at a system and institutional level to consider four questions: Under what conditions does student activism emerge? What are the typical characteristics of student organisations/movements? What are the typical characteristics of student activists? What are the effects of student activism? In so doing, testable propositions for theorising student activism in, and beyond the twentieth century, are developed. Thierry's paper then challenges Altbach's own assertion that "student activism lacks any overarching theoretical explanation". According to Thierry, the above four questions can be universally used to understand student activism irrespective of the location and conditions.

Student activism was also notable in southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Zambia. In Zimbabwe, for example, Chideya (1989) states that under colonial rule, the country was known as Rhodesia, with an educational system that was designed to make African students humble, submissive servants who admired White values. According to Chideya (1989) student activism in the country became radical and militant against racism and oppression. However, the students paid less attention to the institutional administration as a manifestation of societal racism and more attention to the wider national struggle. Students prioritized their struggle; they could not fight with 'lizards' while faced with 'crocodiles'. They were fully aware that most of their problems emanated from colonial government. They wanted to deal with crocodiles first before they could start entertaining lizards. But what was very key about their struggle was unity against a perceived enemy (colonisation and racism). However, it is important to note that their attention to national issues did not mean all was well on campus.

There were educational concerns that existed. However, national issues of colonisation and racism were of prime concern and agitated student activism in Zimbabwe. Colonialism and racism became the main target of activism necessarily because both were the root of all problems confronted by the people of Zimbabwe. As students engaged in protests to demonstrate their dislike of colonial rule, the government utilised repressive measures against student action.

Consequently, most students were detained and the SRC president banned from entering Harare (Chideya, 1989).

This strategy of victimising student leaders for their activism and position against colonial government has been manifesting itself throughout the continent. Josephine Moshobane's ill-treatment is another classical example of evil acts committed by the colonial government in an attempt to silence opposing voices. Student activism has made an important contribution to the struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe, and that is not a unique case. In most African states, if not all of them, students played a very important role in the struggle against colonial rule (Vuma, 2018) Students struggled side by side along with political leaders of liberation movements. In South Africa, when the liberation movements were banned in 1960, it was students who continued to keep the spirit of resistance alive. At the attainment of liberation and independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's first years of independence were marked by student activism supportive of the democratically elected government, to the point that the SRC president pronounced that student struggles were focused towards nation-building (Chideya, 1989).

Zeilig and Ansell (2008) identified three phases of activism that occurred post Zimbabwe independence. The first tactic was called pro-government student activism, which rallied fully behind the government and a defensive mentality to protect the government. Students supported the new government in office because it was their preferred government and they had fought for it. Students also perceived the new government as the solution to all their problems on and off campus. Why was the new government seen as the solution to all their problems? This is because most -if not all- of their problems emanated from colonial rule and the absence of colonial rule meant their problems had been solved.

Chideya (1989) notes that students supported the government as it was popularly elected to represent the desires of the overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans. However, Chideya further notes that there was sporadic engagement in activism by students in relation to national and international matters. For instance, students engaged in student activism, advocating for the removal of corrupt government officials.

They also organised a march following the death of Samora Machel (President of Mozambique), which unfortunately turned violent. Consequently, there was a subsequent breakdown of relations between the students and government in 1988 (Chideya, 1989).

The breakdown of relations was a result of a failure to fulfil the expectations of the students. After the attainment of independence in most African states, society in general had high hopes. They anticipated quick turnaround strategies to improve the lives of those who were previously disadvantaged. Unfortunately, most African states had their own problems after the attainment of independence, which delayed the process of improving the lives of the poor. As a result, society lost hope and started rebelling against their own government.

The second phase of student activism occurred when student activists declared themselves as the voice of the voiceless (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). This phase was driven by the commencement of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) in Zimbabwe in 1996, which swiftly eroded the benefits and privileged status of university students. As a result, students were confronted with hardships from what student activists used to call “heaven on earth” (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). Moreover, in 1998 the departments responsible for offering student residences and catering were dissolved, leaving students in a dire situation, depending on private suppliers. Subsequent to the period of intense commotion over late disbursement of the student pay-outs and outsourcing of campus facilities, the university experienced almost five months’ closure (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). Students could not leave this without a fight. The introduction of SAP caused discontent amongst students and they started to liken the new government to the old government.

Generally, it is frustrating to be introduced to a certain standard of soft life and later have it taken away from you. The move by government to take away students’ benefits was simply an invitation to war. Students had invested much in that government and, as already mentioned, had more expectations. Such treatment triggered their spirit of resistance and the new government was seen as an enemy of progress. In 2000, the government introduced the Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP) and pronounced “cost-sharing” measures in the higher education sector, with tuition fees at state universities increasing up to 30 times, and further outsourcing of student

facilities such as residence halls (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). This announcement caused serious campus and countrywide student demonstrations. From 1998 students also began to raise issues openly and became confrontational with the government in raising their political demands.

The third phase of student activism occurred when students realised that they had been completely displaced from previous privileges by the reform of SAPs and were relegated to the poor. The reality started to sink in and the proposals of SAPs was now in action. Privileges were gone, tempers were high and disappointments were the order of the day. Subsequently, students embarked on a new strategy of student activism, to force the government to listen to their demands, restore their privileges and provide them with free education. Their strategy included forming coalitions and unity with the urban poor to form a political movement to engage in anti-SAPs revolts (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008).

Furthermore, a common cause was found between the student union; Zimbabwe National Student Union (ZINASU) and workers union, Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) which created new spaces to organise and mobilise support of the movement. Eventually, new spaces for connection between students and workers resulted with the establishment of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), which was founded and functioned across the country. This movement formed a new platform for resistance against the state policies, outside the traditional spaces of student political activism and trade unionism (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008).

Zeilig & Ansell (2008) also note that the strategy of student activism, in which students engaged in a political movement to mobilise support in solidarity with workers, was indeed a powerful strategy that shook Zimbabwe. Another example is student activism in Zambia. Buroway (1976) shows that student activism in Zambia has been common since the founding of higher education in 1966. Student demonstrations were mostly driven by foreign issues, including the struggle towards expression of hostility to Britain for supporting the racist Rhodesian regime and South Africa's apartheid government. The protest took place outside the British High Commission. Another demonstration by Zambian students occurred at the French Embassy in 1971, as students expressed disagreement with the French regime's decision to allow apartheid South Africa's manufacture of Mirage jet fighters (Buroway, 1976).

This demonstration resulted in confrontations between the students and police, and teargas was fired at the students. This included an incident where a police commander shot live ammunition at students, injuring one in the thigh. Consequently, many students were detained by the police and some were badly beaten.

Lulat (1989) states that since the founding of the university, students at the University of Zambia had at least eight major confrontations with the government, principally over foreign policy issues, but almost always incorporating domestic issues. The magnitude of the confrontations was such that it involved direct government intervention, ranging from expulsions and arrests of students, to complete closure of the university (Lulat, 1989).

Confrontations between students and governments over the SAPs commenced in the mid to late 1980s and spread with strict measures across the African continent. For instance, countries that experienced student unrest between 1985 and 1995 over the SAPs were Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Tunisia, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast, Sudan and Benin (Luescher & Mugume, 2014). There were a number of common features on the nature of post-colonial student activism in most African countries. This included student activism that shifted from national issues to bread and butter issues. grievances on academic quality which results from the economic downturn and SAP, revolts against teaching, poor conditions, rising costs of education, unpaid scholarships and general deterioration in educational conditions. These problems are common in many African states, including South Africa. The expectations of students were not met by democratic governments after independence. In South Africa to date, students are still fighting for basic issues in higher education, such as decent accommodation, adequate funding, raising costs of fees, outdated books in the library and many other problems which they thought wold not be found in the new democratic South Africa.

2.4. STUDENT ACTIVISM IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

A glance at global history shows that South Africa is not unique in having a politically vibrant student activists. It is evident that student activists globally have been participating in efforts to effect change, both in their immediate campus context as well as beyond it. This is supported by the activities of BCM and SASO on issues of national importance, which were directly affecting the Black communities.

They were participating in the public political arena, at some moments more aggressively than at others. Student activists have a long history of active participation in social, economic and political issues that do not necessarily, or directly, relate to academic concerns (Ntuli, 2020). Such participation is informed by the fact that before one becomes a student, he/she is a member of the general society.

The fact that you are a student does not absolve you from problems that confronting your community (Vuma, 2018). It is evident globally that the effects and impacts of student activism goes beyond campus issues (Altbach, 1989).

Higher education in South Africa does not exist in a political vacuum. In the 50s, the national government initiated and implemented Bantu Education with the intention of controlling “native education”, thereby placing education completely under state control (Hirson, 1979). Education was an instrument of indoctrination through which, in the words of Verwoerd, the natives would be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them (Hirson, 1979). Centres for education, therefore, were environments that maintained and reproduced racial segregation.

Moreover, it is through education, according to Verwoerd, that the social hierarchy was to be conflated with natural laws, thus impressing on the mind of the Black student an innate intellectual inferiority (Hirson, 1979). Following the implementation of the Bantu Education Act, the ANC initiated a campaign against the Act, as well as against numerous issues that plagued black lives at the time, such as the pass laws and the Group Areas Acts (Hirson, 1979). At Historically Black Universities, student activists opposed issues that resembled those of the rest of the country, echoing calls to address and reform South African society. Although Bantu education was designed as an instrument of indoctrination, it was however through student activists who were products of the same education who were in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. This was an unanticipated result of Bantu education.

Student activism, which reached its highest pick in the 1960s and 1970s, was intensified by decades of oppression and injustice in South Africa. However, what made them more visible and relevant was the fact that all the liberation movements in the country were banned. The poor conditions at Black institutions, as well as the continued oppression and disregard for black people under the Apartheid system, continued to fuel student activism (Hirson, 1979).

Resistance to White supremacy and paternalism, as displayed by the Apartheid government, continued to be the concern of student activists amidst concerns about unequal opportunities at all levels (Badat, 1999). Dissemination of anti-colonial ideas on the continent, as well as ideas of Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness, changed the vocabulary of students and of members of their communities.

The ideas of Black liberation through self-emancipation and Black empowerment revived student activism in higher education and in Black communities (Hirson, 1979). Following the 1970s, the 1980s saw some of the greatest resistance efforts under the Apartheid regime. Bundy (1987) notes that thousands of young people were detained, whipped and harassed in 1985. He further notes that throughout this period, schools continued to be places of political education and awakening. Political repression and oppression precipitated acts of resistance from victims' sit-ins, demonstration marches and protests erupted both on campuses and society at large.

Badat (1999:249) highlights that "while student organizations such as South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO) were struggling to establish themselves on campuses in the early eighties, this period was saturated with widespread mass student, worker and civic struggles and political campaigns". Students had become militant in their approach, intimidating any form or symbol of authority, including parents. The country had become ungovernable, leaving President Botha with little choice but to declare a State of Emergency on July 1985. Furthermore, the limited and policed role of Black students continued to be a point of contestation in higher education. Inability to significantly participate in decision making on issues that impacted them directly and indirectly, remained an issue on Black campuses. Biko (1978:05) notes that what was deeply desired beyond "black visibility" and tokenism on campuses was "real black participation". Under Apartheid, the lack of representation and participation was exacerbated by the fact that within multiracial student formations, Black issues and concerns, as articulated by Black students themselves, were not given the necessary attention. Within the NUSAS formation, this sentiment was most vividly illustrated.

NUSAS, a non-racial national student organization that opposed apartheid policy, was perceived as a platform in which Black students could gain support around pressing issues at the time, as it offered high numbers and resources (Hirson, 1979).

However, on Black campuses, debates and contentions arose, as some students, most probably because of the influence of black consciousness thinking, argued that affiliation to NUSAS would hinder the black struggle.

Hirson (1979) notes that it was the perception of some students that NUSAS, as a predominantly White English organization, was just as invested in protecting White domination, albeit in a less obvious way. On numerous occasions, the organization arguably displayed an inability to move decidedly, and radically, in favour of Black interests, by maintaining passive ways of opposition even when situations required aggressive moves. In 1967 at a national NUSAS conference, Black students were accommodated in a Black township outside of the White town in which their White colleagues were accommodated (Nkomo, 1984). Although NUSAS opposed this segregation, tensions and suspicions that had been brewing within the organization found an outlet in this event, with Black students interpreting it as an illustration of the organization's hypocrisy. This incident became one of the contributing factors for the breakaway of Black students from NUSAS and the formation of SASO.

Black students broke away from NUSAS because they felt that Black awareness among students should motivate them to pursue an exclusive Black identity rather than trying to articulate their interests through White-dominated student bodies. According to Burrows (2003), the increase in student activism in South Africa came about from the dramatic changes in national politics with the rise of the National Party (NP) to power in 1948 with Apartheid policies. These new developments were a huge shock to many South Africans and was observed as the greatest disaster that occurred in South Africa in the 20th century (McKay, 2015). Following that, the realities of NP rule became apparent towards the end of 1948, when the Afrikaner Studente Bond (ASB) pressurised the NP government to remove Black students from universities designated for White students, particularly the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) and University of Cape Town (UCT), which had a small number of Black students enrolled there. This culminated in the August 1948 pronouncement in Parliament by DF Malan, the newly elected Prime Minister of the NP government, that the state of affairs in South African universities was intolerable, and that a hostile relationship existed among Black and White students at some campuses, which would be eradicated by the introduction of higher education institutions designated to Black students (McKay, 2015).

The new government, dominated by Afrikaners, proceeded to institutionalise racial segregation through legislation, in a number of spheres. This became a catalyst for student political activism in White English-Medium Institutions (Burrows, 2003).

These campaigns were aimed at restoring academic freedom in these universities. The pronouncement by the prime minister culminated in the establishment of the Holloway Commission (Burrows, 2003). The Holloway Commission was established by the NP government to explore the feasibility and financial implications of providing separate universities for Blacks. The commission invited submissions from various stakeholders to express their views about the proposed plan. NUSAS was one of the stakeholders which made submissions and their stance was that the proposal should be rejected in its totality as it promoted academic segregation and interference with academic freedom (Ntuli, 2020). On the weight of all the submissions, the Holloway Report concluded against the implementation of separate universities for Blacks and Whites and recommended that the formula would be impractical and costly (Ntuli, 2020).

The NP government rejected the Holloway Commission recommendations. NUSAS rejected the proposal because as a liberal White student union, they held a particular conception of universities, which seemed to be contradictory to that held by the conservative Afrikaner dominated NP government (McKay, 2015). The position of NP was very clear on separate development, to help enforce the segregation of the races and prevent Blacks from encroaching on White areas or institutions.

The NP rejected the findings of the Holloway Commission. The NP government established the interdepartmental Van der Walt Commission in 1955, which was tasked to acquire further information on the funding and building five separate ethnic universities. NP was not convinced by the findings of the Holloway Commission and it was determined to realise the separation of Black and White students in institutions of higher learning. According to the NP, the ethnic universities would include two new higher education institutions in the Western Cape and Durban for Coloured and Indian students. The long-existing Fort Hare was planned to be converted to offer higher education for only isiXhosa-speaking students under state control, the creation of a University of Zululand for IsiZulu and IsiSwati speaking communities, the University of the North for the Venda, Northern Sotho and Tsonga (Ntuli, 2020).

These universities were to be subjected to the control of the Department of Native Affairs in terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This idea had been rejected by the earlier commission (Holloway Commission) as unreasonable and unnecessary.

The Van der Walt Commission demonstrated that the Ministry of Education, Arts and Science was no longer in complete charge of universities in South Africa. Hence, the minister would no longer be the only arbiter in respect of the type and direction of higher education policy as a considerable responsibility, for this would be assumed by the Department of Native Affairs (Ntuli, 2020). The appointment of the interdepartmental Van der Walt Commission signified a departure from a relatively open-minded investigation and decision-making to a more ideologically-driven approach that ignored conflicting opinions. NUSAS wrote a strongly worded letter regarding these new government developments to the Minister of Education, Arts and Science which was later released to the press condemning the Van der Walt Commission as a commission of bureaucrats used to plan apartheid, and contended that it had no substance in practicality and ethics.

The 'commissioners' were dismissed by NUSAS as mere civil servants who were neither experts in economics or educationists, who conducted the exercise of a commission at the behest of the NP government to do its bidding and institute apartheid (Beale, 1998). The year 1959, saw the National Party government pass the Extension of University Act that enforced racial segregation on higher education (Luescher, 2008). The bill specified that in future, Black students who wanted to enrol at institutions reserved for Whites would have to acquire permission from the office of the minister (Ntuli, 2020). Regarding the Fort Hare Transfer Act of 1959, Fort Hare was to be limited to educating isiXhosa-speaking Africans and in terms of the new universities for Africans, were to be put under the direct control of the newly formed Department of Bantu Education (Badat, 1999).

The open universities (Previously White English Universities) usually admitted Black students based on merit to study at these universities (Ntuli, 2020). For instance, UCT registered 12.4% of its students from the Black community before the racial segregation legislation was enforced. Out of 5 000 students registered and studying at UCT, 633 were derived from Black races with 461 Coloureds, 133 Indians and 39 Africans (Ntuli, 2020).

Similarly, a sizeable number of Blacks were already enrolled at other White universities, with “12.4% at UCT, 21.3% at University of Natal and 5.5% at Witwatersrand” and the bill sought to stop and reverse these figures (Badat, 1999). The main aim was to intensify segregation between Blacks and Whites in all spheres of society. However, this separation of Black students and White students also provided an opportunity for the apartheid government to structure the funding of higher education differently. More resources were channelled towards White institutions, while less resources were given to Black institutions. The aim was to ensure that White students receive superior, quality and well-resourced education while their Black counterparts receive inferior education.

In a chapter entitled: “Where an Ideal was Expressed, Hijacked, and Redeemed” (in Nkomo et al, 2006), Mawasha made an attempt to outline the general history of UL. His chapter was not specifically focused on the student activism, but he touched on some aspects of students’ activism, such as how the first SRC was formed. Mawasha‘s work explained how the University was created, the formation of the first SRC at UL, the conduct and leadership style of the university management and the challenges that were faced by students at UL.

It should be noted, however, that periodization as a key element in research has been overlooked in this work. Dates play an important role in validating the evolution of any struggle. Unfortunately, Mawasha did not demonstrate the roots of different phases of student activism or highlight the link between student activism and national struggle for liberation. He only gave a narrative of the general history of Turfloop. His chapter also does not provide enough detail on student activism at Turfloop. Rather, it only touches on the issues of student activism in passing.

Nkondo (1976) also contributed a very informative book. However, Nkondo‘s book does not focus specifically on student activism. It was fundamentally a report of the testimony the Black Academic Staff Association (BASA) gave to the Commission of Inquiry, chaired by Judge Ishmael Mohamed on the crisis and political unrest at Turfloop. His work has value for this study because it contains most of the challenges that were faced by the University from staff members to students. Members of BASA did not differ much from Black students in terms of the challenges that they faced as a result of apartheid government policies.

Some of these challenges were racial discrimination, unequal treatment of staff and harsh working conditions. For example, a White lecturer was not treated the same way as a Black lecturer. Furthermore, White lecturers were given special treatment and higher salaries than Black lecturers irrespective of whether they were doing the same job or not.

Black Students also suffered racial discrimination and unequal treatment as compared to White students in White institutions. For example, the quality of education in White universities was much superior than in Black institutions; even the facilities were more advanced than in Black institutions. In addition, White institutions were prioritised. Black academics and students shared similar challenges, especially racial discrimination.

The most current historical study on student activism at UL was conducted by Vuma (2018). Vuma (2018) focused on the role played by the University of the North student activism in the struggle against apartheid from 1968 to 1994. In his study, Vuma (2018), argued that the contribution of the UL Student Activism in the struggle against apartheid was divided into two epochs, with two different dominant ideologies. His study reveals that the dominant ideology at the beginning of the period under investigation was Black Consciousness, inspired by Steve Biko. However, with the passage of time, this ideology was watered down by a liberal ideology, which underpinned the Freedom Charter with the rise of the UDF.

According to Vuma (2018), in the 1970s, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was the force behind most student political activities. However, in the 1980s, the situation was different; UDF became the force behind most student political activities. Vuma (2018), in his study, further emphasised that student activism at institutions of higher learning in South Africa was important to study, especially during this era because students helped to keep the spirit of resistance alive during the banning of liberation movements and the exile of many of leaders of the nationalist struggle. Vuma's study, however, had its own limitations when compared to the current study in that his study focused on the contribution of UL student activism in the struggle against apartheid. However, Vuma's study failed to explain how student activism has evolved from then to date.

In addition, Vuma's study focused on the period, 1968 to 1994, which is a period before South Africa attained her democracy. The current study focuses on the historical evolution of student activism from pre to post-apartheid. The current study seeks to shed light on the developments that took place in student activism particularly, post-1994. It is important to note that the current study will benefit tremendously from Vuma (2018)'s study because it is one of the few historical studies which have focused strictly on the history of UL and its contribution in the struggle against apartheid.

Badat (1999) made a major contribution to the study of student activism in South Africa in his book titled **"*Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid from SASO to SANSCO 1968 to 1990*.** Badat 's book is centred on the analysis's of two Black higher education organisations that span the period 1968 to 1990. One is the South African National Student's Congress (SANSCO); the other is the South African Student Organisation (SASO), popularly associated with the person of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness. He analyses the ideological and political orientations and internal organisational features of SASO and SANSCO and their intellectual, political and social determinants. Badat analyses the roles of SASO and SANSCO in the educational, political and other spheres and the factors that shaped their activities.

He also assesses their salient contributions to the popular struggle against apartheid education, race, class and gender oppression and the extent to which their activities reproduced, undermined and transformed apartheid and capitalist social relations. According to him, student activism through SASO and SANSCO played a very pivotal role in the struggle for liberation in the country. He argues that students played a central role in the independence and anti-colonial struggles in South Africa. Badat also makes a revealing observation. He notes that during that era students helped to keep the spirit of resistance alive during the banning of liberation movement and the exile of many of the leaders of the struggle. Badat made a fairly valuable contribution to research on Black student politics. It is clear that his study is not divergent from the current research and it is thematically linked, though variables differ.

The variables differ because the focus of his work was on the two Black students' higher education political organisations SASO and SANSCO, while the focus of the current research is on the evolution of student activism at UL.

Furthermore, Badat's work is limited in terms of providing a comprehensive history of student political activism. It only covers the role played by SASO and SANSCO in the struggle against apartheid at the institutions of higher learning. However, his work is valuable for this study because SASO and SANSCO were both active at UL. SASO has played a dominant role at UL since its inception in 1968.

In his book, ***Student Culture and Activism in Black South African Universities***, Nkomo (1984) examines the nature of student culture and activism in Black universities in South Africa. The main argument of Nkomo's work is that, segregated education for Blacks accidentally produced a distinct and contradictory culture of resistance for a substantial part of the African student body. Ethnic-based African universities became cradles of student resistance to apartheid and nurtured a new generation of activists, responding to factors external to the formal university structure and curriculum.

Nkomo provides a comprehensive and critical analysis of the principal legislation and subsequent amendments, the ethnic-racial personnel composition, structures, and curriculum of the institutions, expenditures, and the promotion of an official institutional culture that sought to impose an Afrikaner orientation and produce submissive African student graduates. Nkomo's main argument is that when the apartheid government introduced the Bantu education Act of 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, its main aim was to isolate Africans and provide them with inferior education, which would direct Africans to the unskilled labour market and transform them into willing servants of Whites. Unfortunately, this did not happen because, as stated earlier, ethnic African universities became cradles of student resistance to apartheid and nurtured a new generation of activists responding to factors external to the formal university structure and curriculum. In addition, ethnic African universities opened a platform for most African students to dedicate their knowledge and energy to the struggle for liberation. These universities allowed the most advanced segment of youth in society, the students, to be in the same environment and be able to combine their ideas in the fight against apartheid.

Kane-Berman (1978) provides the first book-length analysis of the Soweto Uprising. For him, the most important factor in explaining student resistance in the townships was the influence of Black Consciousness (BC) ideology.

Fredrickson (1995) also contends that BC ideology had a major impact on student activism and resistance. He states: “the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was not without political consequences. The circulation of ideas beyond the colleges and universities to the high school students of Soweto helped to set off the revolt of June 1976” (Fredrickson, 1995:91). He also supports the claim that BC was instrumental in influencing the South African Students’ Movement (SASM). According to him, the government had no doubt that BC was responsible for the revolt and that SASM was clearly under BCM influence. Hyslop upholds the influence of BC on SASM. He states that “one important political influence was BC, which emerged out of African university campuses in the late 1960s” (Hyslop, 1999:9). He asserts that BC spread to schools through young teachers, providing school students with new political ideas. For him there were several reasons for students’ receptiveness to BC influences.

These include discontent over school overcrowding, a changing political situation that made the state look more threatened than it had been in the 1960s, a growing economic uncertainty as the economic boom of the 1960s tailed off; and the rising influence of BC which reduced the political influence of conservative Black elites in the educational sphere. According to Hyslop, BC was instrumental in influencing the political activities of ethnic African universities. The ideologies of BC played a very important role in influencing Black students to break away from NUSAS and form a complete Black student organisation which was rooted in the ideology of BC (SASO) which made a valuable contribution in the struggle for liberation. He further argues that BC played a very important role in the struggle for liberation especially in the 1960s and 1970s during the time when liberation movements (PAC & ANC) were banned in the country.

The banning of liberation movements in the country and the arrest of political activists left many people in the country afraid to continue with the struggle for liberation. However, the emergence of BC provided a new political ideas and contribute in keeping the spirit of resistance high and eliminating fear amongst political activists. Hirson (1979) disagreed with Kane-Berman (1978) and Hyslop (1999) on the influence of BC. He argues that BC ideas had little impact on school children. More important to their behaviour, were the reorganisation of secondary schools and the threat of eventual unemployment. His analysis also discredits BC ideology as having little or no influence on the SASM or the Soweto Uprising.

Instead, he gives credit to African working-class militancy. Vuma (2018) disagrees with Hirson's claim that BC had little impact on school children. Vuma believes the rise of the BCM and the formation of SASO raised the political consciousness of many school children. For example, most of the leaders of Soweto Uprising, such as Tsietsi Mashinini, Khotso Seatlholo, Sibongile Mkhabela and Super Moloi, became openly active members of BCM post Soweto Uprising.

The key adult supporters of Soweto Uprising, such as Henry Isaacs, Mamphela Ramphele, and Deliza Mji, were advocators of BC ideology. Therefore, if the Soweto Uprising did not have any elements of BC ideology, then the above-mentioned leaders would not have supported the uprising. Black teachers who subscribed to BC ideology were critical of instilling BC ideology on the school children. Onkgopotse Tiro, a prominent BCM leader, was one of those teachers who were critical of instilling BC ideology at Morris Isaacson High School, which produced BCM leaders such as Esau Mokhethi and Tsietsi Mashinini (Heffernan, 2015). Tiro also acted as the SASO representative to SASM forums and Meetings (Heffernan, 2015). Pandelani Nefolovhodwe was also one of the prominent BCM leaders who became a teacher in Sibasa, Venda in 1973. "Nefolovhodwe was teaching Maths and Science but he strove to politically conscientise his learners by encouraging them to read all the available newspapers, and holding weekly discussions on current affairs. He will also pick particular learners for more overt political education" (Heffernan, 2015:12).

The link between BCM leaders and SASM leaders is clear evidence of the influence BC ideology on Soweto Uprising. The BCM began when Steve Biko, Barney Pityana and other students launched SASO in 1969, mobilising Black students at tertiary institutions (Cloete, 2016). They adopted a philosophy of BC, and their adherents launched several allied organisations, including the Black People's Convention (BPC) and Black Community Programmes (BCPs). The BC activists also turned their attention to school-going students, and in September 1972 they launched the Transvaal Youth Organisation (TYO) (Cloete, 2016). In July 1973 they launched the National Youth Organisation (NAYO). The relationship between BC and school-going students had an impact on how students thought as well as how they approached the entire struggle for liberation (Cloete, 2016).

The Soweto uprising of 1976 is important to this research because soon after this event more student activism was observed countrywide. It served as the motivation to other learners and students in other regions around the country. The Soweto uprising had a direct impact on UL student activism because on the 17 June 1976, the day after the June 16 uprisings in Soweto, students burnt down the UL library (Cloete, 2016). The university libraries were targeted because they were perceived as symbols of oppression (Cloete, 2016).

Fort Hare alumnus Massey (2010) also contributed a book about the rise of student activism at Fort Hare. In his work, Massey (2010) combines a trove of previously untapped university records with the recollections of dozens of former students to dig deep into the complex past of the institution that educated figures like Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Robert Mugabe. According to Massey (2010:3) “through the eyes of former students, we see just how the university turned sharply off the course intended by its missionary founders and apartheid trustees, giving birth to many of the most important leaders in South Africa’s struggle for democracy”. Massey interviewed Fort Harians ranging from Govan Mbeki and Wycliffe Tsotsi to Jeff Baqwa and Thenjiwe Mtintso, who explained the vital role Fort Hare played in the development of their activism.

He pays particular attention to the 1960 government takeover, showing how the authorities’ attempt to stifle student protest ended up creating the hothouse conditions that eventually brought apartheid to its knees. Massey ‘s work is helpful in the current study because UL and Fort Hare were both Black universities with the same, challenges such as Bantu education and also with the same visions of student activism such as dismantling apartheid. Based on the above-mentioned statement, this study will benefit from Massey‘s work, by understanding student activism from different Black institutions, as opposed to the just institution under study.

Stuurman (2018) joined the community of academics and contributed a valuable paper titled: Student activism in a time of crisis in South Africa: The quest for ‘black power. This paper examines student social activism in the higher education sector in South Africa, especially the Nelson Mandela University, as well as the patterns that exist and frame student social activism in pursuit of ‘black power.’ Furthermore, the paper notes the strong sense of solidarity and unity amongst students, despite existing challenges.

Stuurman (2018) acknowledges that higher education in South Africa has been in crisis in recent years. University systems in many parts of South Africa have witnessed student protests, as well as ongoing violence, resulting in many campuses turning into spaces of violent confrontation between students and police.

Cele and Koen (2003:22) predicted what is noted by Stuurman in their paper by saying that “While national political protest has declined, African students still face problems that require national solutions. In the short-to long term, this could lead to renewed mass protests as many student leaders currently express open dissatisfaction with the limited role they currently play in addressing political, as opposed to economic, concerns”.

The time of crisis which Stuurman is referring to, is the one predicted by Cele and Koen? What exactly does he mean by “Student activism in a time of crisis in South Africa? Stuurman (2018), in his paper, was not specific in pointing out the specific crisis which he is referring to but looking at the period of his study. The researcher tends to assume that he was referring to general problems that are faced by South Africans at the moment, ranging from corruption, poor service delivery, poor health system, poor education system, nepotism, neo-colonialism, tribalism, high rate of unemployment, poor economic performance, maladministration and many other problems. It is an open reality that after 1994, the majority of South Africans had high expectations about the improvement of the quality of their lives. They hoped for better life for all as promised by the ruling party. Unfortunately, after 26 years in democracy, people have started to realise that the effort towards the improvement of their lives is moving slowly, while the quality of life for leadership is improving rapidly.

Black students devoted most of their energy and time to the struggle against apartheid, with the hope that the eradication of apartheid will bring a well transformed and resourceful education system, which will improve the lives of the oppressed and marginalised South Africans. Unfortunately, things did not go as anticipated. This is why we find ourselves in a crisis as a country. Campuses throughout South Africa are turning into spaces of violent confrontation between students and police.

Each and every year there is a reoccurrence of the same problems confronting students, ranging from lack of funding for post-graduate students, outstanding balance of fees, inadequate student accommodation, inadequate government funding for undergraduate students, outdated library books, unqualified lecturers, harassment of student leadership by management and many other problems. These are some of the challenges which student activists in the pre-1994 period believed would not be experienced in the new democratic South Africa. What Stuurman has witnessed at the Nelson Mandela University is a true reflection of what is happening in other universities in the country. The country is thus a ticking bomb. There are many problems, some of which are beyond university setting, and are very thorny to the society in general. The quest for and Black Powers emerges during this period because the majority of Black people are frustrated, and feel side-lined in the main stream of our economy. Our people are frustrated by the problems highlighted above, which emanate from poor leadership and lack of political will to improve the lives of those who were previously disadvantaged.

Oxlund (2010), contributed a very informative article titled “Responding to university reform in South Africa: student activism at the University of Limpopo”. About 26 years ago South Africa’s first democratic government inherited a tertiary sector marred by racial segregation. Since then higher education policies have been implemented with the aim of turning the sector around. Oxlund (2010) used UL as a case study to examine the impact of those policies from the perspective of students. He did so by combining situational analysis of the student protests that erupted in 2007 at UL (Turfloop Campus) with a critical review of the impact that the new policies have had on university funding and autonomy.

The landscape of higher education in South Africa has been dramatically reshaped since the advent of democracy in 1994, which brought to an end half a century of apartheid governance and its system of Bantu education. Based on the idea that Black South Africans should not be educated above a certain level, the latter played a crucial role in the infrastructure of the apartheid state, through the enforced separation of races in all educational institutions. As a result, the so-called Bantu institutions of higher education aimed to produce candidates that could be absorbed into the administration of the ethnic homelands that had been artificially created as native reserves for the Black population groups (Oxlund, 2010).

The landscape of higher education inherited by South Africa's first democratic government was therefore in need of restructuring. Although the government has been trying to undo the impact that apartheid planners had exercised on the higher education system, this has proved a difficult task. The sector was immediately de-racialized and opened up in 1994; however, policy shifts towards a competitive market in higher education created new challenges for historically disadvantaged institutions (Oxlund, 2010).

The researcher concurs with Oxlund, that the policy shift towards a competitive market in higher education has created new challenges for historically disadvantaged institutions in South Africa. Why has it created challenges for historically disadvantaged institutions? Aristotle once said, "The worst form of inequality is to try to make unequal things equal. After 1994, both previously White and Black Universities started to receive equal treatment.

Government subsidy was given to universities based on graduation output and research output. While apartheid government was spending three times as much on the education of a White learner than that of a Black learner. As a result, the previously White Universities had the best infrastructure, highly qualified academics, well equipped libraries and had the ability to attract the best students on the continent. Therefore, during the process of reform, why do you want to treat both equally? It is illogical. Most previously Black Universities were stationed in rural areas, servicing rural population which were constituted by the poorest of the poor. Black Universities suffered for a very long time under apartheid because they were not a priority when it came to funding. Therefore, to say institutions of higher learning would be funded based on output emphasized that those who were already well established would continue to receive more, while the previously disadvantaged received less. As a result, the rich institutions became richer while the poor institutions became poorer. In this light, it is not surprising that Historically Black Universities are experiencing a history of tension, riots, demonstrations and unrest even post 1994.

The former Minister of Education, Professor Asmal, who not only oversaw the implementation of the National Plan for Higher Education, but was in fact its main driving force once said "Today the student hero is no longer the one who can toyi-toyi better than the others, but the one who can argue logically and convincingly" (Asmal,

2002). The Minister urged students to rally behind his brand new National Plan as a matter of historical urgency and to replace ‘defiance and unreasonable demands’ with proper negotiations ‘with vice-chancellors and government officials’ in order ‘to convince members of council or management of their points of view (Oxlund, 2010).

The researcher found the advice from the minister to students very problematic. His advice was informed by his desire to excel in his portfolio as the Minister of Education. What were the students supposed to do if they were still confronted with the same problems which their brothers and sisters were faced with before 1994? The Minister could not be both a player and judge. The Minister was part of the leaders who had fought for liberation in South Africa, so was it going to be appropriate and logical for him to be told by the apartheid government on how to deal with apartheid? Obviously not; your opponents cannot tell you on how to approach them in a war.

According to Oxlund (2010) “From the perspective of students at the University of Limpopo, the reform of higher education in South Africa has had little to offer. Because as much as apartheid as an active way of governing no longer exists, the legacy of the apartheid infrastructure is making itself felt in new ways in a democratic South Africa that demands of its historically disadvantaged institutions that they compete with institutions that were historically privileged on a basis of equality”.

According to Rapatsa (2017), lack of ideological strategy underpinning South Africa’s unending revolution, which is needed to inform students’ struggles, is responsible for pervasive tendencies of vandalism and destruction of property during student protests. Rapatsa (2017) further argues that, lack of a clear ideological strategy by the current crop of student leaders, which emanates predominantly from some of the post 1994 misconceptions, such as ‘apartheid, was defeated’, while the transition was a result of a negotiated settlement and accompanied by enormous compromises, create violence and anarchy. At the centre of attention in this article is not whether the issues that culminate in student protests are legitimate, the article is more interested in the problem of violence and destruction of much needed property by the new crop of student activists.

The current study shares the same sentiments as Rapatsa (2017), particularly on the approach which most student political activists use to display or register their dissatisfactions on different campus issues.

The current crop has to understand that time has evolved and they must move with the times, in order to be in a better position to deal with issues rather that to continue borrowing from the older generation. The situation and conditions have changed. Therefore, they must also move with the times and be in line with new developments. Burning libraries for a student Bar or Wi-Fi in a democratic country like South Africa is no longer revolutionary but an act of criminality.

Cele and Koen (2003) authored a very informative article titled, “Student Politics in South Africa: An Overview of Key Developments”. The article discusses the structure of South Africa’s racially divided higher education sector and shows its development since the establishment of the first post-secondary institution in 1829. Cele and Koen (2003) discuss the structure of South Africa’s racially divided higher education sector and briefly trace its development from the establishment of the first post-secondary institution in 1829. It also traces the key organizational changes that characterize the development of national political Black student structures and discuss student identity concerns. It goes further by describing the importance of the changes during the 1990s that provide insight into the current challenges faced by student leaders.

The paper also suggests that SRC’s and national student political organizations have changed from protest-oriented structures to structures focusing on economic, rather than political issues in the post-1994. Cele and Koen (2003) also note that several developmental changes clearly exist between the turbulent demonstrations in the 1980s and activities in the 1990s. To highlight this, they briefly touch on four issues: a change in the form of protest, increasing concern about a clear decline in the association between student leaders and national political organizations, the dissipation of a common vision that binds student activities and shifts in favour of co-operative governance at all institutions. In their view, this has changed the nature of student struggle from anti-government and anti-university council activities, to participation in elected forums and representing students around institutional issues. More broadly, it signals a shift from focusing on national issues to narrowly addressing institutional concerns.

Cele and Koen (2003:22) concluded their paper by saying this *“*While national political protest has declined, African students still face problems that require national solutions. In the short-to long term, this could lead to renewed mass protests, as many

student leaders currently express open dissatisfaction with the limited role they currently play in addressing political, as opposed to economic, concerns".

In 2003, Cele and Koen were visionary in their prediction of what is likely to happen in the country in future. The year 2015 was a watershed in South Africa's higher education landscape. The country witnessed the outbreak of a series of hashtag movements that were mainly led by students but supported by many people from civil society, public and the private sector. These hashtag movements included #RhodesMustFall, #OpenStellenbosch, #TransformWits, Black Students Movements and #FeesMustFall.Through these #movements, students in the country brought the country to standstill, demanding free quality, and decolonized education The contribution of Cele and Koen on the overview of key developments of student activism in South Africa is very informative and beneficial to the current study. What is more interesting about this study is the fact that their predictions became reality in 2015. It is more encouraging to see academic papers predicting issues of national importance which later turns to be correct. It shows that scholarship is at work.

Heffernan and Nieftagodien (2016) contributed a book entitled: ***Students Must Rise: Youth Struggles in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto 76***. Heffernan and Nieftagodien take the Soweto uprising as their point of departure, but look at student and youth activism in South Africa more broadly, by considering what happened before and beyond the Soweto moment. The early chapters of this book assess the impact of the anti-pass campaigns of the 1950's and the political ideologies of BC. It also outlines the role of religion and culture in fostering political consciousness and organisation among youth and students in townships and rural areas.

The later chapters explore the wide-reaching impact of June 16th itself for student organisations over the next two decades across the country. The two final chapters consider contemporary student-based political movements, including #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall, in the long and rich tradition of student activism in South Africa. The year 2016 marked the 40th anniversary of the 1976 June 16th uprisings. This book rethinks the conventional narrative of youth and student activism in South Africa, by placing the most famous moments, such as the "1976 students' uprising in Soweto" in a deeper historical and geographic context.

According to Heffernan & Nieftagodien (2016:02), the Soweto student uprising of 1976 was a decisive moment in the struggle against apartheid. It marked the expansion of political activism to a new generation of young activists, but beyond that it inscribed the role that young people of subsequent generations could play in their country's future. Since that momentous time students have held a special place in the collective imaginary of South African history. This is valuable contribution because it focuses on the early student activism and tries to link it to the current student activism.

It also contains a chapter that focuses on the political activities of the products of the University of the North (UNIN) student activists, particularly people such as Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and Onkgopotse Tiro, who became teachers after their studies. It also assesses their influence on learners in those schools that they were teaching. This book contributes to a relatively deep understanding and acknowledge of the important role played by student political activism in the struggle for liberation.

2.5. CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed for this study shows that student activism is a worldwide phenomenon and students are drawn into national political life because they are the most advanced, energetic and militant group in the society. This literature also emphasises the fact that students are not isolated from their communities because before they are students, they are members of their communities. Because of their intellectualism, energy and militancy, they tend to be the first to tackle issues that confront their communities. The literature also confirms the fact that student activism is not limited to university-based issues, such as the curriculum or lack of proper facilities. It goes further to affirm that student activism is an evolving phenomenon. The identified literature affirmed that student activism as a topic exists in documents but not enough records exist on student activism at UL. In the next chapter presents the methodology which guided and structured this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focused on a review of select relevant literature on student activism. The main purpose was to provide insight into the body of knowledge that has been produced on student activism at the global, continental (African), and national (South African) levels. The thrust of the review was to integrate the critique of this literature into a framework that provides a context within which research on the evolution of student activism at UL can be positioned or located. In this way the chapter avoided the problematic characteristic of being viewed as a stand-alone component of the study. The current chapter focuses on explicating and delimiting the nature and characteristics of the study area, as well as the epistemological and methodological processes deployed to generate historical knowledge on the evolution of student activism at the UL in the period under investigation. It is necessary to notice that the subsection on data analysis, in particular, was also conceived as a means to delimit the subsequent chapters of the research. In other words, the themes which emerged in the analysis of data constituted the basis for subsequent chapter organisation.

3.2 STUDY AREA

The apartheid government established the Holloway Commission to investigate the possibilities of implementing separate Education Bill of 1959 (White, 1997). The Holloway Commission Report concluded against the implementation of separate universities for Blacks and Whites and recommended that the formula would be impractical and costly (Ntuli, 2020). However, the apartheid government rejected the Holloway Commission's recommendations. After rejecting the findings, the apartheid government established the interdepartmental Van der Walt Commission in 1955. The new Commission was tasked with acquiring further information on the funding and building of five separate ethnic universities (Ntuli, 2020). In its report, the Commission recommended that universities for the various ethnic group be established.

The Commission also recommended that the proposed university colleges should serve an ethnic group, enriching it both spiritually and materially, as well as promoting the broader interests of South Africa (White, 1997). Each should be entrusted with the task of developing all aspects of the culture, technological development, and promotion of the general progress and welfare of the ethnic group concerned (Nkondo, 1976). Each should guide the ethnic group towards greater responsibility, knowledge, self-sufficiency and self-development.

In 1959 the apartheid government passed the extension of University Education Act (No.45 of 1959) (Nkondo, 1976). The Act enabled the Minister of Bantu Education and Administration to provide for the establishment, maintenance, management and control of university colleges, for limitations on the admission of non-White students to certain university institutions, and for other incidental matters (Nkondo, 1976). As a result of this Act, five university colleges, affiliated to the University of South Africa, were established in 1960. The five established universities were the following:

a. University College of Western Cape (for the coloureds)
b. University College of Durban-Westville (for the Indians)
c. University College of Zululand (for the Zulus)
d. University College of the North (for the North-Sotho, South Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana and Venda)
e. University College of Fort Hare (for the Xhosa). Fort Hare had been in existence since 1916 affiliated to the University of Rhodes.

According to Dr Verwoerd, then the Minister of Education the reasons for doing so was, “We do not want Black students in the same Universities as the young White students of today, who will be the leaders of tomorrow”. We do not want the Whites to become accustomed to the natives, that they feel that there is no difference between them and the natives (Wolfson, 1976: 23).

In 1960, the University College of the North (Turfloop) was founded as one of the University Colleges for Blacks. In terms of the apartheid policy, this state-controlled university, which was situated within the homeland of Lebowa, was intended to serve as an instrument for the entrenchment of the homeland system.

Sovenga became the unofficial title given to the university college, a name originally given to the university post office and coined from the language of the ethnic groups which the institution was intended to serve: **So**tho, **Ve**nda, and Tso**nga**: SOVENGA (White, 1997:75). It was a symbol of the ethnic nature of the university college. The university college was situated on a farm originally known to the local inhabitants as "Turfloop" (White, 1997:75). The university college became known as "Turfloop" and by which it is sometimes referred to in this study.

In 1969 the apartheid government granted University College of the North autonomy from University of South Africa (Act No. 47 of 1969) which brought an end to the College status as of 1 January 1970 (Ndebele, 1994). The university was a centre of resistance to apartheid in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s with the South African Defense Force (SADF) occupying the grounds often during those years (White, 1997). After the end of apartheid, the university struggled through various re-organisation and rationalisation schemes, yet always managed to survive. Enrollment fluctuated wildly in the years after liberation, and while some faculty did not transition very easily, some were able to seize the new opportunities (White, 1997).

In 2005, the University of the North merged with the Medical University of Southern Africa (Medunsa) to form UL. The two universities, then with separate campuses, were about 300km apart, the former in Turfloop while the latter was in the north of Pretoria in Ga-Rankuwa. The merger led to an amalgamation of academic, governance and management structures and the establishment of four faculties; namely, Health Sciences, Humanities, Management and Law, and Science and Agriculture, boasting an average of 22 000 student population. Ten years into the merger, the Ministry of Higher Education and Training recommended an increase in the number of medical institutions in South Africa. This led to the unbundling of the two institutions in 2015, with the Turfloop campus retaining the name of the UL while the Medunsa campus was renamed Sefako Makgatho Health Sciences University (SMU).The demerger saw the birth of the first medical school in Limpopo Province at the UL since the democratic dispensation in 1994.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study employed a qualitative research methodology because it allows for an in-depth and detailed analysis of a research phenomenon (Morse & Richards, 2002:

173). “The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the “human” side of an issue, often contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals” (Bernard, 1995:46).

A descriptive research design was used because it offered the participants an opportunity to describe the evolution of student activism in their own words. Accordingly, it offers the participants an opportunity to give words to their experiences and describe events and situations (Maxwell, 2004). The information gained through a descriptive study is not limited to preconceived questions and categories. It also provides rich and detailed data that lead to focussed descriptions of a given phenomenon in the social world (Punch, 2005:64). A descriptive research design was relevant to this study because it employs unstructured and interactive interviews as one of its methods of data collection. The interviews provided rich and detailed data that led to a better understanding of the evolution of student activism at UL.

3.3.1 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

The population for this study were students registered at UL during the period 1968-2015. In particular, those who were active in the student politics during their time as students at UL, and former members of Black Academic Staff Association (BASA) particularly, those who had studied at UL and eventually worked there, was the population in this study. The interviews were conducted until saturation was reached.

Non-probability sampling was used. Within non-probability sampling, snowball sampling was used for this study. In snowball sampling, the researcher begins by identifying someone who meets the criteria for inclusion in the study. The criteria for inclusion were the following: the participant should have been a former UL student between 1968 and 2015, preferably those who were involved in student political activities, non-activists, former members of BASA and former members of the Student Representative Council (SRC). After the interviews, participants were asked to recommend other people who met the criteria for inclusion, until data saturation was reached. Saturation was reached when, in the process of interviewing relevant participants, no new and significant information was forthcoming. The saturation point for this research was reached after 30 participants had been interviewed.

In order to sample archival material in historical research, certain procedures are usually adopted. The first criterion was to take into consideration the periods under investigation. In other words, only archival material or written documents produced during the period under investigation was used. The second criterion for the selection of archival material relates to the issue of relevance. Specifically, this relates to the need to select and identify documents related to politics: minutes of meetings of student activists, their programme of action, policy documents, constitutions and any other relevant documents on student activism. The third criterion related to the identification of archival material produced by officialdom related to participants' responses to student activism. This study followed all the above-mentioned procedures for the selection of historical documents used in this study.

3.3.2 DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The secondary data was derived from UL archives, newsletters, official university documents, magazines, speeches, government records and autobiographies. Primary information was obtained through unstructured and interactive interviews, and telephonic interviews. Where permission was granted, the interviews were tape-recorded to facilitate easy analysis of data at the end of data collection process. Unstructured and interactive interviews, and Telephonic interviews were conducted through a list of guiding questions and more data was collected without limitations. In collecting data from archival material mentioned above, the document review guide composed of key issues related to student activism was created.

3.3.3 DATA ANALYSIS AND EMERGING THEMES

Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) was used to analyse the data. This type of analysis is highly inductive; that is, the themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon it by the researcher (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Data was analysed to generate meaningful themes. This process of thematic analysis involved reading through textual data, identifying themes in the data, coding and interpreting the structure and content of the themes and sub-themes. The following steps were followed:

Transcription

The first step in analysing interview data was to have tapes transcribed. This process included the literal statements and as much as possible, noting significant non-verbal and para-linguistic communications, particularly in interactive interviews.

Listening to the interview records

This process entailed listening to the interview tape several times as well as reading the transcription a number of times. This process provided a context for the emergence of specific units of meaning and themes later.

The purpose of this step was to get a sense of the whole interviews, a gestalt. After a sense of the whole of the interview as a context, then the process was ready to begin the rigorous process of going over every word, phrase, sentence, paragraph and noted significant non-verbal communication in the transcript in order to elicit the participant's meanings.

Delineating units of general relevance to the research questions

This step was the beginning of critical phrase in the explication of data. After the units of general meaning had been noted, the researcher addressed the research question to the units of general meaning, to determine whether what the participants had said respond to and illuminates the research questions or research objectives. Those who appeared to do so were noted as the units of relevant meaning. Statements which were clearly irrelevant to the phenomenon being studied were not recorded.

Clustering units of relevant information

After the researcher had gathered the list of non-redundant units of relevant meanings, he bracketed his presuppositions and tried to stay as true to the phenomenon as possible. The researcher then tried to determine if any of the units of relevant meaning naturally clustered together.

Determining themes from clusters of meaning

In this step, the researcher interrogated all the clusters of meaning, to determine if there is one or more central themes which expressed the essence of these cluster. The step addressed more of the relevant segments and cluster of meaning.

Contextualization of themes

After general and unique themes had been noted, it was helpful to place these themes back within the overall contexts or horizons from which the themes emerged. The horizon was essential in understanding the phenomenon because the role that the phenomenon plays within the context was one of the determiners of the meaning of the phenomenon. At this stage it was helpful and instructive to write up a composite summery of all the interviews which accurately capture the essence of the phenomenon being investigated. Such summary describes the phenomenon in general, as experienced by the participants.

Thematic content analysis of the data collected revealed significant themes in the evolution of student activism at UL. An overarching theme which emerged, focusing on the apartheid era, relates to the need by students to fight against the oppressive apartheid system. A related theme, which emerges in the post-1994 era, involved the need to reconfigure student activism to confront the remnants of the apartheid system. Other themes which emerged were the following: origins of the structures of segregated South Africa university system, essence of student activism related to students' conception of what was required in the struggle against oppression, readjustment of activism under conditions of unfolding liberal democratic dispensation, recent hashtag movements directed against fee increases, oppressive curricula and other symbols of White supremacy, such as statues of colonial rulers. As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, these themes have constituted the basis for the subsequent organisation of the study into chapters.

3.4 QUALITY CRITERIA

The trustworthiness, credibility, dependability and conformability of this study was enhanced through triangulation of both primary and secondary sources (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The inclusion of former UL students who studied between 1968 and 2015 in the study had the potential to neutralise or dilute the level of bias that could affect the self-interested and narrow responses of the former student political activists that are often meant to advance a particular political course.

Voluntary participation by informants also helped to ensure honesty. Each person who was approached was given the opportunity to refuse to participate in the project, in order to ensure that the data collection sessions involved only those who were

genuinely willing to take part and prepared to offer information freely. The opportunity for the scrutiny of the project by colleagues, peers and academics also helped to enhance the trustworthiness of this study.

Credibility is also referred to as the 'truth value' (Maruster & Gijsenburg 2013). This refers to the degree to which the conclusion of a study makes sense. In this study, the researcher achieved credibility by structuring the study to seek and attend to complexity throughout, by referring back to the research design process. This means the researcher checked the accuracy of data collection and data analysis before reaching the conclusion of the study.

Maruster and Gijsenburg (2013) define conformability as the degree to which conclusions flow from the information collected and not from any biases on the part of the researcher. The researcher drew his conclusion by analysing the data and not adding any information that was not generated during the data collection process. The researcher also ensured that adequate data was available, accessible, relevant and was collected so that the conclusion arrived at was properly confirmed.

In history, investigations are considered dependable by being described as consistent and stable over a period of time (Miles et. al. 2014). Dependability entails that one has a reasoned argument for how data was collected and also that the conclusion arrived at are consistent with the data collected.

Furthermore the notion of dependability also involves the idea that the collected data adequately answer the questions posed in the investigation. In order to achieve this the researcher constantly referred to the objectives of the study, in order to determine whether the data which was collected fulfilled the requirements of the objectives and the questions.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The following ethical principles guided this study:

3.5.1 Voluntary Participation and Informed Consent

The researcher disclosed fully the purpose (aim and objectives) of the investigation. All participants were informed about the nature and purpose of the investigation.

Nobody was coerced or forced to participate in the study or to respond to or answer any question. In addition, participants were free to withdraw from or opt out of the study if they so wished.

3.5.2 Avoidance of Harm of any Sort: Physical, Emotional, or Spiritual.

The researcher avoided asking questions and behaving in a manner, which violated and undermined the morals and values of the participants. In fact, the researcher ensured that each participant's cultural realities, ideals, dignity, religious beliefs, and persuasions were fully respected. Harm can be both physical and psychological and can be in the form of stress, pain, anxiety, weakening self-esteem or an invasion of privacy. In the beginning of the study, the researcher committed that, if the research process can accidentally harm the participants. When that happens, the researcher is supposed to refer the participants for counselling, either to a social worker or a psychologist. Fortunately, nobody indicated that he/she was harmed by this study.

3.5.3 Anonymity

The researcher ensured that the wishes of those participants who wanted to remain anonymous and who did not want the information they provided to be traced to them under any circumstances were respected. The researcher explored the use of codes or pseudonyms to realise this ethical principle.

3.5.4 Privacy

This study ensured that it safeguarded the privacy and identity of the research participants. Where there was a direct quotation, the researcher refrained from using identifiable characteristics that could be used to trace the participants, especially those who requested to remain anonymous. However, for those who did not want to be anonymous, their identification was provided in the text and reference list. Since this was not a secretive study, the researcher asked the participants if they wished to have their identities revealed or wanted to remain anonymous when reporting the findings of this study.

3.5.5 Confidentiality

To ensure confidentiality of information/ data collected, no other person or organization, except the researcher, had access to the recorded tapes. Furthermore, the tapes were labeled confidential and locked in a safe place.

3.5.6 Avoiding Plagiarism.

Copying extensive material from others is an ethical issue. The researcher gave credit for the work of others and quotation marks indicated the exact words claimed by others. The key idea in this case was not to present the work of others as if it was the researcher's own. Even in cases when material was paraphrased, credit was given to the original source.

3.5.7 Avoiding Deception of Participants

Participants were aware that they were actively participating in a research study. Deception occurs when participants understand one purpose but the researcher has a different purpose in mind. To counteract the problem of deception, the researcher provided clear instructions that reminded participants about the goal, aim, and objectives of the study.

3.5.8 Use of Appropriate and Straight Forward Language in Communication

The researcher avoided using language or words which were biased against persons because of gender, sexual orientation, racial group, and religion. All forms of pejorative words or notions relating to persons were avoided.

3.5.9 Beneficence

Conducting research in which data is extracted from people, communities, and producing a report/knowledge which benefits only the researcher is a very serious ethical issue. This, in fact, is exploitative. All research conducted in our public institutions of higher learning must lend itself to the improvement of society or the people/institutions who participate in the research process. The beneficence ethical principle was actually operationalised at the point of the identification and definition of the research problem; in the case of this investigation, the principle was student activism. The problem is important. The researcher will ensure that the research report is transformed into a published book, journal articles, or transmitted by popular media accessible to the public.

3.5.10 Ethical Ideal of Harmony.

One of the most ethical requirements related to research involving African communities or Africans is the need to ensure harmony within and between communities and people. The researcher avoided sustaining, exaggerating, or creating divisions/conflicts within communities and between communities and people.

Instead, the researcher strived to create and build harmony within and between communities and people. One way of operationalising this principle was to ensure the equal treatment of all participants and avoid any form of favoritism.

3.5.11 Permission to Conduct Research

The researcher commenced this study after getting ethical clearance from the relevant university authority/structure.

3.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter described and analyzed the methodology which guided this investigation. The methodology involved the collection and analyses of both primary and secondary sources. Central to this methodology was the deployment of Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) to identify key themes. It must be noted that these themes assisted in the construction of the titles of different chapters and their focus. The next chapter focuses on the origins, essence and development of student activism.

CHAPTER FOUR

ORIGINS, ESSENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF STUDENT ACTIVISM: 1968 TO 1983

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided the methodological part of this study. The current chapter seeks to provide an overview of the origins, essence and development of student activism in South Africa from 1968 to 1983. The chapter provides the origin of student activism and how student activism has developed over time in South Africa. It does so by tracing the origin of universities in South Africa and how they have evolved over time. It also provides a brief history of the University of Fort Hare as the first Black institution of higher learning in the country. The reason is that the current study focuses on one of the previously disadvantaged Black universities. As a result, it is of paramount importance to understand the foundation and history of the first previously Black universities in the country. It goes further to explain the breakaway of progressive Black students from the White racist NUSAS liberal student organisation and the formation of the Black-directed SASO. Finally, the chapter assesses the role played by the BCM in the struggle against the apartheid government.

4.2 The Origin of Universities in South Africa

The origins of the universities can be traced back to the establishment of the South African College in 1829 as a “proprietary” institution. The institution provided matriculation and post-secondary qualifications and minimized reliance on travelling to Europe for further study (Cele & Koen, 2003). The College opened with a cohort of 115 students and a staff that included a professor of English and Classical Literature, a professor of Dutch-Classic Literature and of Modern Languages, a professor of physical sciences, and a professor of mathematics (Cele & Koen, 2003).

Independence was however short-lived, as the provincial government at the Cape first provided a “grant in aid” towards salaries in 1834, nominated two of 17 Council of Director members from 1837 onwards. By 1878 it had nominated all 20 members who constituted the Board of Directors (Cele & Koen, 2003). Subsequently, government control over higher education became a lasting theme in South Africa. Steps in its evolution involved passage of the University Incorporation Act in 1873 (Cele & Koen, 2003).

Together with the Royal Charter provisions of 1877, this led to the establishment of the University of the Cape of Good Hope as the first university that set its own examinations (Cele & Koen, 2003). Later, the need to establish a residential teaching university saw the first national government wresting control over higher education from provincial governments when the Union of South Africa was established in 1910. This enabled national government to determine the future shape and size of higher education institutions and was followed by legislative attempts to demarcate the boundaries between university education and other education levels.

One further consequence of the formal development of higher education was the entrenchment of racial segregation. From 1920 to 1950 this involved limiting the enrolment of black South Africans at historically White universities, and their enrolment in particular courses, while allowing Blacks to pursue social mobility aspirations through private education at the multiracial South African Native College, formed in 1915 (Gwala, 1988). Following recommendations from a government-appointed Commission of Inquiry on Native Education in the early 1950s, racial segregation in higher education shifted to centralizing control over “Bantu” and Coloured education with future enrolment at universities being linked to government-determined ethnic group affiliation (Gwala, 1988). In 1959 this led to the passage of the Universities Extension Act, in terms of which the University Colleges of the North (for Sotho, Venda and Tsonga speakers), Fort Hare (for Xhosas), Zululand (for Zulu and Swazi speakers), Western Cape (for Coloureds) and Durban-Westville (for Indians), were established (Nkondo, 1976). Previously, the first batch of White English and Afrikaans universities were established in 1916 when Parliament granted statutory recognition to the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch, which started out earlier as Colleges in the 1870s.

Besides language differences, these institutions historically differed sharply in terms of their missions. First, English universities were said to be dedicated to the intellectual pursuit of truth, justice, academic freedom and autonomy, while Afrikaans universities were required to promote social order, facilitate the advancement of Afrikaans speakers and serve the community in which they functioned. These institutions were, in actual fact, ethnic.

Second, in contrast to the Afrikaans universities, which did not admit any Black students until the 1980s, the open English universities admitted small numbers of Black students from the 1920s onwards, but maintained segregation practices until the early 1970s, by either accommodating Blacks in separate residences (Cele & Koen, 2003). Beyond this, other restrictive practices involved providing for separate recreational and sporting activities and establishing separate student organizations. However, many of these formal restrictive practices later disappeared as black students challenged the contradiction inherent in admitting students as intellectual equals, but continuing to separate them for social and political reasons (Gwala, 1988).

In contrast to the long history of universities, technikons, the other tier of South Africa's binary higher education system, only received formal recognition from 1955 onwards. In that year, technikons were included in the definition of higher education institutions with the passage of the Vocation Act, No. 70 (s34) and the recognition of advanced technical education (Cele & Koen, 2003). Twelve years later, Colleges of Advanced Technical Education were established with the passage of the Advanced Technical Education Act, No 0 of 1967 (Cele & Koen, 2003).These institutions were renamed technikons in 1979, but continued to exist as ethnically segregated institutions in which political activity was strictly controlled for many years. Indeed, student activism is largely associated with universities in South Africa, as technikons play an important vocational role. However, historically, technikons have experienced few institutional disruptions that do not relate to economic issues (Gwala, 1988).

4.3 The Brief History of University of Fort Hare

As mentioned earlier, this study focuses on a Historically Black University. Therefore, it is important to have a historical background of the University of Fort Hare as the first higher education institution for Blacks in South Africans**.** The arrival of European settlers in South Africa, created conflicts with the indigenous African population. The conflict arose because of competition for resources such as land and the undermining locals in general. These led to conflicts between European settlers and African kingdoms. While African kingdoms were being conquered in the nineteenth century, missionary education was being introduced in which a westernized African elite began to emerge in the Eastern Cape through the missionary-run Lovedale College and later the South African Native College at Fort Hare (Chapman, 2008).

The increase in stringent laws in favour of the White population helped to inspire a growing mood of African nationalism among the mission-educated African elite. This gave birth to student politics and activism at the University of Fort Hare in the 1930s and Fort Hare became the institution for the progressive and nationalistic ideas advanced and embraced by Black students.

Fort Hare has held on to this activist reputation for decades up to the present. This is because of their alumni, such as Govern Mbeki, Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Robert Mugabe, Nelson Mandela, Seretse Khama, Julius Nyerere and ZK Matthews. Most of these alumni would make their mark there and some went on to become presidents of their liberated countries. As apartheid began to rear its ugly head and became official government policy in 1948, the Eastern Cape/Ciskei become a focal point of popular resistance against apartheid in the 1940s and 1950s.

Growing resistance to apartheid policies triggered the banning of liberation movements such as the ANC and the PAC in 1960. State-sponsored terrorism grew in the 1960s and student activism increased as well. Throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, vehement resistance against apartheid structures would continue (Chapman, 2008). It was student organisations which came in to close the vacuum which was created by the banning of the liberation movements in the country. Students picked up the baton and continued to advance the struggle for the emancipation of Blacks in the country.

Missionaries in the Eastern Cape had control over African education until the mid-1950s. They established educational facilities cantered around boarding schools, which were designed to upgrade the training of African teachers, preachers, clerks, and law agents (Chapman, 2008). Missionary activity among Bantu-speaking peoples in South Africa during the nineteenth century was concentrated most heavily in the Ciskei and Natal, and the mission experience had profound consequences for African converts in both regions. By the 1880s and 1890s, the work of European missionaries were beginning to create a recognizable class of westernized, educated Africans (Williams, 2001).

Without a university open to them in South Africa, mission-trained Africans began leaving for overseas countries to gain further academic training in the late nineteenth century.

The majority attended Black colleges in the USA, notably Lincoln College (Pennsylvania), Wilberforce College (Ohio), Hampton Institute (Virginia), and Tuskegee Institute (Alabama) and were often sponsored by independent African and African-American churches (Chapman, 2008). At least a hundred Africans from the Cape Colony alone left to study overseas between 1898 and 1908 (Chapman, 2008).This undoubtedly caused some concerns among White missionaries and government authorities because they knew that education would enlighten them and give them courage to challenge the oppressor.

These American-trained Africans returned home with visions of social, economic, and political progress for their people, ideals of racial toleration, and expectations of gradual but steadily increasing participation by educated tribesmen in a wider, multi-racial South Africa (Walshe, 1969). The fear of Black American notions of equality spreading amongst educated Africans led to plans to establish an institution of higher learning for Blacks in South Africa (Walshe, 1969). Furthermore, demands for higher education were being taken seriously by some missionaries and school officials, who feared their control over African education would be weakened if a college for Africans was not established on Cape soil (Williams, 2001).

The fear of the oppressor was giving the responsibility of educating the Black child to external nations and institutions which did not share their aims and objectives in terms of managing and controlling the Black nation. As a result, they saw a need to be in charge of the Black education, in order to channel it in their desired direction. The period from the late 1800s to the early 1900s was a time in the USA of strict racial segregation, known as Jim Crow, and extreme racial tension (Walshe, 1969). The execution of Blacks was widespread in the Southern USA. John Dube and Pixley ka Izaka Seme were among the South African students studying in the US during that period. Upon their return to South Africa, they called for an organizing meeting of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in Bloemfontein in 1912 to contest for the rights of Africans (Chapman, 2008).

There were others influenced by their experiences in the USA. DDT Jabavu, the first African faculty member at Fort Hare, visited Tuskegee Institute in 1913. Alfred Xuma, the President of the ANC from 1940 to 1949, also had extensive connections with African-Americans and was a student at Tuskegee (Chapman, 2008).

Z K Matthews, the first Fort Hare graduate and the school's first African principal, won a scholarship to study race and culture contact at Yale University from 1933 to 1934 (Walshe, 1969).

On February 8, 1916, the South African Native College at Fort Hare, which later became known as the University of Fort Hare, was officially opened by Prime Minister Louis Botha in the Eastern Cape Town of Alice. Fort Hare had two full members of faculty, Alexander Kerr, who travelled from Scotland to take the post as the first principal; and John Tengo Jabavu, the son of DDT Jabavu, who was just returning from overseas training in Great Britain (Chapman, 2008). That the institution was centred on Christian missionary values is not surprising, as it received much of its support from the Methodist, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches (Williams, 2001).

The constitution of the South African Native College emphasized that the College should be a Christian College, and while no special religious tests might be applied, all members of the staff were expected to be professing Christians and missionary sympathisers (Chapman, 2008). The African mission-community maintained control over most African political organizations in the Ciskei region during the 1920s and 1930s. Many of them, such as the Bantu Union, Ciskei Native Convention and Cape Native Voter's Association, generally resisted protests that promoted racial consciousness or advocated strikes, boycotts, and civil disobedience (Walshe, 1969). The mood of African students began to change in the 1930s and 1940s because there was an increasing sense of African nationalism in part due to the passage of stringent laws that favoured the White population (Williams, 2001).

The Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 codified the pass laws which greatly restricted the freedom of Africans (Williams, 2001). Labour laws benefitted White workers while restricting the rights of Africans. Between 1924 and 1933, the Hertzog administration passed more legislation in favour of the White population, especially Afrikaners (Chapman, 2008). Parliament passed the Native Administration Act in 1927, which extended government authority over Africans in every province, except the Cape.

The Governor-General was made Chief over all Africans, with the authority to appoint native commissioners, chiefs and headmen, define tribal boundaries, alter the composition of tribes, and move tribes or individuals at will from any place to any other place within the country (Chapman, 2008).

The Governor-General also controlled African-owned land and all judicial procedures affecting Africans, both civil and criminal. The 1927 Act employed the Native Affairs Department as an agency of social control to repress dissent, promote cultural ethnicity, and distance Africans even further from the rule of law as applied to White South Africa (Williams, 2001). The changes in policy would help to politicize a new African elite and ultimately give birth to student politics at Fort Hare in the 1930s (Walshe, 1969). The creation of a new radicalised Fort Hare was not sudden. It happened gradually over a decade, as Fort Hare remained a relatively calm campus.

There was a resurgence in African opposition politics and popular resistance at the national and regional levels during the 1940s and 1950s, and the Ciskei was the focal point of popular resistance during the first half of the twentieth century (Chapman, 2008).To Africans, Fort Hare was the symbol of their intellectual and social achievements which produced the main body of educated Blacks. These educated Blacks later played a prominent political role not only in South Africa but throughout the African continent. Fort hare became a base and the foundation of student activism in South Africa. A relevant history of student activism in previously Black universities cannot exclude the contribution of Fort Hare in national student politics. Even after the introduction of 1959 University Extension Act, Fort Hare continued to be a beacon of hope which produced leaders who became instrumental in keeping the spirit of resistance alive. Most previously Black universities, including UL, continue to be inspired by Fort Hare and its rich history of liberation.

4.4 STUDENT POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

After the establishment of the University College of the North in 1959, the rector, Professor EF Potgieter realised the impossibility of running student affairs alone (Mawasha, 2006). Therefore, he created a student leadership committee, which was hand-picked by him to represent students. The students rejected this model of representation.

According to Msemeki (2020: interview) “as the students we rejected that form of leadership because we felt like the hand-picked leadership will represent the interests of their master who picked them than the interests of students”. After the rejection of this model, the rector took a bold step of allowing the creation of an elected SRC. In June 1960, senate approved a committee to draw up a constitution for the SRC.

A student mass meeting was convened in order to inform the general student body about these new developments (Mawasha, 2006). The mass meeting elected a committee which was going to be responsible for drafting the SRC constitution (Mawasha, 2006). The elected members of the committee were Maja Serudu, Mossolini Mametša, Sefoloko Ramokgopa and Ezekiel Makhene (Msemeki, 2012: interview). The committee successfully managed to produce the constitution and it was approved in a mass meeting held early in 1961 (Mawasha, 2006).

“The approval of the constitution was followed by the first SRC elections in Turfloop. Gessler Nkondo was elected the first SRC president of Turfloop in 1961. The other members of the SRC were Sefoloko Ramokgopa, Ezekiel Makhene, Cornelius Motsumi, Mossolini Mametša, Angeline Mokgabudi, Agnes Bopape and Maja Serudu. Ezekiel Makhene succeeded Nkondo as the SRC president and he was succeeded by Sefoloko Ramokgopa” (Mawasha, 2006:67). According to Msemeki (2020: interview) “Having an SRC at Turfloop was an achievement to the general student body. But the challenge was that, the SRC had limited powers and this became a problem because it made them to be unable to resolve some of the issues that were affecting students”. The limited powers of the SRC can be supported by the incident when the SRC chairperson of all sports codes, Cornelius Motsumi invited a soccer team from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). Motsumi was expelled for inviting Wits soccer team in Turfloop without the approval of the university management (Mawasha, 2006).

The SRC tried to intervene in his expulsion, with the hope of saving him from being expelled but because of their limited powers they failed. The SRC was elected annually by the students and consisted of members who either represented student organisations or were independents. The duties, functions, privileges and terms of office were set out in the SRC constitution and election by-laws approved by the university council as institutional rules. The SRC became an important stakeholder of the University.

The aim of student political organisations was not only to contest SRC elections, but also to use the leadership responsibilities of the SRC as a preparatory school for future leaders who would continue with the struggle for liberation. The student council played a very important role in the political activities of the students at UL.

The student political organisations worked hand in hand with the SRC and most of the SRC leaders were products of student political organisations. The student council became a platform for funding to student organisations such as SASO and University Christian Movement (UCM). The council had access to university resources such as telephones, printing, computers, university cars and venues.

Those resources were shared with student organisations in order to keep them alive and vibrant. Some SRC leaders were also leaders of student organisations; for example in 1972 Onkgopotse Tiro was the SRC president and at the same time the chairman of SASO Turfloop branch. This allowed him to use SRC resources for SASO activities (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview). It was the SRC that made it possible for SASO to be inaugurated in Turfloop. Furthermore, it was the SRC that made it possible for BCM and BPC to host a Viva Frelimo rally in UL. The achievement of independence in Mozambique inspired the BCM and SASO, to organise a 'Viva Frelimo' rally. The leadership of SASO believed that, if Portuguese colonialism could be defeated in Mozambique, so could settler-colonialism in South Africa. These rallies were the only national campaigns to be staged by SASO and it accelerated tensions between SASO and the apartheid government (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview).

The Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, banned the rally, but the SRC under the leadership of Gilbert Sedibe as the president informed the students that the rally would continue and was not going to be a SASO rally or BPC rally but an SRC rally. Therefore, it would fall outside the remit of the Minister‘s banning orders. This is a clear indication of how the SRC cooperated with student organisations. Most former SRC leaders of UL played a central role in the struggle for liberation. To name a few, Nkondo became the first chairman of Black Academic Staff Association (BASA) and played a very important role in the Africanisation of UL, Tiro, the former chairman of SASO Turfloop branch and SRC president in 1971/72 was central in the activities of BCM, Aubrey Mokoena, the former chairman of SASO Turfloop branch and SRC president in 1972 became a founding member of UDF and played a central role in the activities of UDF, Cyril Ramaphosa, the former chairman of UCM and SASO Turfloop branch and the SRC president of UL in 1977 also played an important role in the activities of BCM and UDF and he was also a key man during the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

This shows the important role of the SRC and student organisations in grooming future leaders of the country and the world in general.

4.4.1. THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF NUSAS

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was founded in 1924 as a forum for South African Students (Larkin, 2001). NUSAS were affiliated to the governing bodies of all nine White Universities and University Colleges in the Union. The inspiration for the creation of NUSAS came from Leo Marquard, an alumni of Oxford University and a teacher at Grey University College (Larkin, 2001). Marquard was inspired and influenced by the British Union of Students (BUS). NUSAS was modelled on the British NUS and drowned its inspiration and operation style from NUS (Larkin, 2001). NUSAS described itself as a non-political organisation.

It is important to understand the background of NUSAS before attempting to understand the student activism of any institution in South Africa. This is because NUSAS had a rich history of student activism in South Africa and was the first student union in South Africa. This organisation aimed at representing and promoting the interests of university and college students. NUSAS was open to students of all races. "At the organisation's first inaugural conference in Bloemfontein in 1924 the following universities were represented: Pretoria, Natal, Witwatersrand, Rhodes, Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom and Cape Town" (Badat, 1999:72). "The Confederation of International Students (CIE) which was founded in 1919 in Strasbourg, France, to represent the interests of students internationally, inspired the formation of a national union of students of that magnitude in Britain in 1920" (Badat, 1999:72). This in turn influenced students in Commonwealth countries to follow suit and South Africa was no exception.

Leo Marquard, who was fortunate enough to have attended CIE congresses in Europe, was instrumental in the formation of NUSAS (Badat, 1999). Marquard had studied at Oxford University, where he had completed his Bachelor of Arts Honours and Diploma in Education 1923 (Alfred, 2003). During his studies he became influenced by activities of the National Union of Students in Britain (Badat, 1999). On his return to South Africa, he worked at Grey College in Bloemfontein as a teacher (Alfred, 2003).

It was at this college that he established NUSAS in 1924. Despite not being a student, Marquard became the organisation's founding president (Alfred, 2003). In 1926 NUSAS was involved in overseas exchange programmes through its executive

members in order to learn more about the running of the organisation. “In 1927 NUSAS formed a student parliament in Durban and this structure was run like a political party. It became controversial and contradictory to its founding principles of being a “non-political organisation”. Membership of the new structure within NUSAS was confined to White students” (Nkomo, 1984:58). It was believed they were in a better position to engage government in dialogues than their Black counterparts. In the early 1930s NUSAS was affected by a growing feeling of Afrikaner nationalism. “The Afrikaans Student Bond (ASB), which had been in existence since 1917, felt that for full cultural and political recognition of Afrikaners, Afrikaner students needed to re-think their position in NUSAS, as a wider national body would not serve their purpose” (Badat, 1999:73).

In 1933 a more political Afrikaner body called Afrikaans Nationale Studente Bond (ANSB) was established. After the formation of ANSB students from universities of Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom and Pretoria withdrew from NUSAS. However, Stellenbosch was not convinced of the decision taken, so it continued with its membership in NUSAS (Badat, 1999). “In 1935 the University of Fort Hare posed a serious challenge to the hierarchy of NUSAS as it wanted to join the organisation on the ground that it was inclusive of all races. The University of Fort Hare was a Black institution and their request for admission was rejected” (Sono, 1993:44). Meanwhile, the University of Stellenbosch came to the realisation that without the University of Pretoria, Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom, the objectives of NUSAS could not be attained. The institution was wary of trying to create national unity amongst universities and colleges without support from others (Sono, 1993).

The University of Stellenbosch duly cut its ties with NUSAS in 1940 and this completed the split between Afrikaans and English-speaking universities. “In 1945 the University of Fort Hare became a member of NUSAS. It was only after the admission of Fort Hare and the Non-White section of the University College of Natal in the 1940s that NUSAS became a non-racial organisation” (Badat, 1999:74).

NUSAS started to be vocal and denounced apartheid and its legalisation. This, in turn, drew fierce anger from politicians. In the 1960s there was a direct confrontation between government and the NUSAS leadership which, in some instances, resulted in detention, banning, deportation and withdrawal of passports of the office-bearers.

Ian Robertson, Phillip Tobias, Glenn Moss, Jonty Driver and Neville Curtis were amongst NUSAS leadership who suffered the brutality of apartheid (Badat, 1999). NUSAS's permanent office, which was situated in Cape Town, was fundamental in the acquisition of practical benefits and services for the student community. Each year an overseas tour was organised. In 1953 NUSAS was a member of International Union of Students (IUS) but withdrew its membership due to communist dominance. In the 1960s NUSAS handled 60 overseas scholarship grants and awarded 25 medical scholarships of its own (Badat, 1999). Local centres of NUSAS used to organise vocational part-time employment for its members.

NUSAS was also active in other social responsibilities, such as educating prisoners about moral issues in society, released prisoners, counselling children of prisoners, provided adult education to Blacks and participated in feeding schemes for the poor of all races. NUSAS was well-structured and organised in the late 1960s. The SRC in each and every member university sent a delegate to the organisation's central body, which decided on policy and elected an executive council. "Whilst there was always a small minority of 'radical' students heavily influenced by Marxist ideas on campus, it was not until the arrival of Rick Turner from the Sorbonne in late 1967, that the ideas of 'new left' thinkers really found a voice within this group" (Balintulo, 1981:44).

A group of dissatisfied members of IUS formed the International Student Conference in 1964, but it had to dissolve in 1968 due to internal problems. Rick Turner was a South African academic and anti-apartheid activist who played a leading role in radical philosophy in South Africa and published a number of papers such as "*The Eye of the Needle: Towards Participatory Democracy in South Africa".* Turner became a friend of Biko and his friendship with Biko and other BCM leaders enabled him to act as an effective interpreter of Black thinking to politically conscious Whites.

He was assassinated by the apartheid regime in 1978 for his involvement in the struggle for liberation. NUSAS was not directly involved with Turfloop but played a pivotal role in influencing national student politics in South Africa, as the first student political union. Many student political organisations, which were formed after NUSAS, such as ANSB, SASO and many others, had its foundation from NUSAS.

The Black intellectuals, who broke away from NUSAS in 1968, such as Steve Biko and Barney Pityana, had more influence on student politics in Black universities. They had influence because most of them were members of SRC at their campuses.

4.4.2. THE FORMATION OF AFRICAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION (ASA) AND AFRICAN STUDENT UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (ASUSA)

Students faced a plethora of problems at school and at home because of the apartheid government. As a result, the ANC and the PAC saw a need to form organisations such as the African Students' Association (ASA) (connected to the ANC) and the African Students' Union of South Africa (ASUSA) (similarly connected to the PAC in 1961 and 1962, respectively. ASA was established on 17 December 1961 in Durban under the auspices of the banned ANC (Badat, 1999). At the time of its formation, Durban was the centre of Black student life in the country (Gevisser, 2007).The association's membership was open to both secondary and higher education students, but membership was only open to Africans. Thabo Mbeki was elected as its first National Secretary. "ASA was Walter Sisulu's idea, as he was trying to push for generational continuity in the liberation movement" (Gevisser, 2007:23). ASA had its stronghold at the Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape. "This was because of the dominant position enjoyed there by the ANCYL before it declined after banning of the ANC in April 1960" (Gevisser, 2007:23).

In 1962, ASUSA which became an arch rival to ASA, was established. While these two African student movements had their ideological differences, they viewed themselves as student wings of the national movements (ANC and PAC) (Badat, 1999). The formation of these student formations was propelled by the desire to fight against the injustice of apartheid policies in institutions of higher learning. "These student organisations were working hand in hand with the surrounding communities to fight against the apartheid government in general. Learners from the nearest secondary school in Turfloop (Hwiti) were mobilised to work with students from campus to fight against the injustice of apartheid government" (Mokwele, 2021: interview).

"Student leaders at Turfloop such as Ramokgopa and Makhene made an attempt to launch ASA branch at Turfloop in 1962, but unfortunately their attempt failed because the university management couldn't allow the launch of ASA which was closely linked

to the banned ANC" (Msemeki, 2020: interview). "The same attempt was made by Motsumi and Dominic in 1962 to launch the Turfloop Branch of ASUSA and they also failed because of its link to the banned PAC" (Msemeki, 2020: interview).

The lifespan of both student political organisations became very short because of their close links with the banned liberation movements. This was because they became targets of the apartheid authorities and measures such as intimidations, detention and assaults were put in place, in order to destroy these organisations. Such treatment from the apartheid authorities forced many of ASA and ASUSA leaders to go to exile in the early 1960s. "Once in exile, the ANC elders in London asked Mbeki to launch an organisation of South African students and youth in Britain to continue resistance against apartheid" (Gevisser, 2007:25). This clearly indicates that the idea of having a Black student organisation in South Africa was not something that started with the founders of SASO, such as Biko and Petrus Machaka. Rather, it was an old idea. Machaka was the SRC president at UL and he formed part of the delegation to SRC conference in Marianhill in 1968. That conference took the decision to form a Black student organisation. What distinguished SASO from ASA and ASUSA was that it had more impact on Black student political activism in South Africa.

4.4.3. THE FORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT (UCM)

In the early years of apartheid, the majority of Christian associations at tertiary institutions were denominational bodies; all represented in the interdenominational Student Christian Association (SCA). "Despite this apparent unity, the SCA was divided into four chapters, each one for Africans, Coloureds, White English and Afrikaans speakers" (Magaziner, 2010:22). After the World Student Christian Federation called on the SCA to reject segregation, the SCA withdrew from the federation in 1964, and the association split up into four separate racial bodies (De Gruchy J & De Gruchy S, 2005).

"However, certain Anglican and Catholic students, together with liberal students, joined forces to launch an interracial and ecumenical body, resulting in the birth of the UCM" (Magaziner, 2010:23). The initiators of the UCM were influenced by the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council, held from 1962 to 1965, which sought to align the Christian world with modernity. They were also influenced by the Liberation "Theology sweeping across Latin America and Afro-American churches in the US,

especially by the works of Brazilian education theorist Paulo Freire and the Black American theologian James Cone" (Magaziner, 2010:23).

In July 1967, the UCM held its founding congress in Grahamstown, with about 90 religious leaders and students in attendance (Biko, 1996). "The UCM was a religious group concerning itself with ecumenical topics and modernisation of the archaic Christian religious practice" (Biko, 1996:15). It was also focused on the practical application of Christian principles in an immoral society like South Africa (Biko, 1996). The UCM came at the period were by political activity was banned on Black campuses. When the UCM was formed it was initially allowed to operate on Black campuses because it was a religious ecumenical organisation. This made it the only national student movement where Black students could meet and therefore provided the critical mass needed to cause the chain reaction which led to BC (Houston, 1997).

The founding congress of the UCM elected an executive committee of ten people, with Basil Moore as president (De Gruchy J & De Gruchy S, 2005). The executive included Colin Collins, Winfred Kgware, and several African, Coloured and Indian members. Winfred Kgware was a teacher by profession, and resident at Turfloop as the wife to the first Black rector at UL, Professor William Kgware. "Winfred Kgware was involved in supporting students in their protests against the government's restrictions on campus . . . One of her early acts at the university was to organise a Methodist prayer group in defiance of an order that banned students from worshipping on campus" (Mokwele, 2021: interview). Msemeki (2020: interview) also said the following on Winfred Kgware: "She gave sustenance to the student movement and in an ironic twist, allowed the rector's residence to be used as a meeting place for UCM which was banned from the campus at the time. Winfred Kgware encouraged the youth to form a branch of SASM and to establish an SRC at Hwiti High School where Peter Mokaba was elected SRC President". Winfred Kgware recruited Peter Mokaba to join the underground movement at the age of 15 years.

Peter Mokaba was subsequently expelled from Hwiti High School because of his involvement in the struggle for political liberation and it was then that he registered as a private candidate and passed his matric exams" (Mokwele, 2021: interview). The movement grew rapidly, setting up 30 branches at seminaries, universities and teacher training colleges, and by the second congress in Stutterheim in July 1968, 60 percent

of the delegates were Black (De Gruchy & De Gruchy, 2005). The elected leaders in the UCM had some credibility in the eyes of Black students, which attracted them to the new body (Houston, 1997). Rev J Davies, the national chaplain to the Anglican Students Federation (ASF) and Fr Colin Collins of the National Catholic Federation of Students (NCFS), were two such men. They were known and respected (Houston, 1997). The UCM organised multiracial holiday camps, encouraging students to live together and express their critiques of apartheid.

The UCM, in contrast, began with the premise that apartheid was an abomination (De Gruchy J & De Gruchy S, 2005 :). It reached out to the Black campuses, and its gatherings were predominantly Black, resulting in an atmosphere vastly different from the White-dominated NUSAS conferences (Magaziner, 2010). Black students felt free to express their views in UCM than in NUSAS.

“The UCM cultivated links with overseas-based organisations, including the US-based body called the University Christian Movement. Basil Moore and two Black students travelled to the USA in December 1967, and raised money to fund the UCM” (Badat, 1999:77). The UCM managed to secure funding from other organisations abroad, and by the end of the decade 87 percent of their budget was from overseas funding (Badat, 1999). Moore and Collins were steeped in the discourse of liberation theology, and disseminated the new movement’s literature in their home country. They published a magazine called “One for the Road”, which carried these new ideas (Houston, 1997).

The UCM introduced innovative methods of training young students at gatherings they referred to as ‘formation schools’. They used the ideas of Paulo Freire to ‘conscientise’ the students, imparting techniques of literacy to interpret their experiences in their own terms and extrapolating these to the wider world. According to Houston (1997), as cited by Magaziner (2010:44), Freire taught that “all oppressed people needed to develop their own critical faculties, rather than have some vanguard force as an ideology upon them”.

UCM proved to be a crucial factor in the resurgence of political resistance to apartheid after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 and the subsequent crackdown on political activity (Houston, 1997). It introduced a new discourse, one that allowed for a radical reinterpretation of the role of the Black activists, and provided an enabling environment for the birth of SASO and BCM.

"The self-effacing White leaders of the UCM, in contrast to NUSAS leaders, brought about a new understanding of the role of the White liberal, one which enabled their acceptance of the possibility of Black leadership" (Houston,1997:45). The White Consciousness groups were mandated to conscientise their own White constituency (Houston, 1997).The formation of the SASO was preceded and influenced by the formation of the UCM in 1967.

It was influenced by Black Theology that taught religion from an oppressed person's perspective. Liberation theology sought to transform society into a just and fraternal one. Black Theology emanated from the USA, Latin America, independent African states such as Ghana and the creative reflection by Black South Africans, all of which fed into the South African version in varying proportions (Houston, 1997).

The aim of Black Theology was to inspire Black people to realise equality with White people and that their blackness and inferiority was not a punishment or a condition created by God (Pityana et al., 1991). The UCM accepted these teachings as relevant for Black South Africans and important for their liberation. Despite his orientation towards Black theology, Steve Biko and his circle of associates were not content with the UCM (Pityana et al., 1991). "They observed that the UCM was reinforcing the inferior status of Black people by having a large number of White people in their leadership structures, even though the majority of its members were Black" (Biko, 1996:15). Black students rejected the notion that Whites could play a role in the liberation of Blacks. "The main thing was to get Black people to articulate their own struggle and reject the White liberal establishment from prescribing to people," (Biko, 1972:9). This is exactly what unfolded at UL.

In the mid-1960s political activities were banned at UL. In July 1967, the UCM was formed. The following year the UCM branch was launched at UL by Winfred Kgware who was part of the national leadership of UCM. The University authorities never had a problem with the launch of UCM at UL because when it was formed it was initially allowed to operate on Black campuses. This was because it was a religious ecumenical organisation (White, 1997). According to Mokwele (2021: interview) "the first group of leaders of UCM in UL were Manana Kgware, Joseph Mthombeni, Tebatso Lekau, Willington Chauke and Machaka, who became the SRC president in

the same year. The UCM Turfloop branch became active and Winfred Kgware as the national leadership that was based in UL provided them with a maximum support".

A series of seminars on Black Theology were held on campus. Papers about Black theology were distributed to students around campus. This teaching contributed to the intellectual foundations of the BCM (More, 2014). According to Msemeki (interview: 2020), "UCM became a relevant movement to conscientise students about the struggle for liberation without any disruption from the authority because the authority perceived UCM as a complete Christian movement with only one mandate which was to spread the word of God. The exposure and the platform which student received from UCM was priceless". According to Thobakgale (2021: interview) "The good thing about UCM in UL was that, it did not live in isolation, it was working with other church structures around the campus and it even went as far as having social programmes such as sports activities and singing competitions which brought the young people from and outside campus together. But the teaching of Black Theology was very central to their activities". Through UCM Turfloop students got an opportunity to travel to other campuses and interact with their peers and share ideas (Mokwele, 2021: interview).

Ramaphosa and Chikane were also notable leaders of UCM at UL. Ramaphosa and Chikane met through UCM and started to work closely in the political activities of the campus (Thobakgale, 2021: interview). They both came to UL in 1972. Chikane had a strong religious background because his father was a preacher in the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) church (Mokwele, 2021). As student leaders they were both influenced largely by the Black Consciousness ideology (Mokwele, 2021: interview). They both came to UL while SASO was already formed and operational. They became involved in the activities of SASO at the university. In 1974 Ramaphosa served as the chairman of UCM Turfloop branch. In the same year, he was elected as the chairman of SASO Turfloop branch. Chikane was also in the Branch Executive Committee (BEC) of both SASO and UCM during the leadership of Ramaphosa (Thobakgale, 2021: interview).

It is important to note that the formation of SASO did not take away all Black students from UCM. Most students continued to be the members of both, SASO and UCM.

Ramaphosa and Chikane were part of the group that was responsible to organise the Viva-Frelimo rally in UL. After the Viva-Frelimo rally Ramaphosa was detained for 11 months under section 6 of the Terrorism Act (White, 1997).

As a result of the Viva-Frelimo rally at UL, UCM and SASO were banned on campus by the university management through the instruction from the South African police (Thobakgale, 2021: interview). Black Theology played an important role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. It was Black Theology that provided the Black Consciousness movement with an immensely powerful spiritual foundation and motivation (Houston, 1997). Blacks were able, on theological grounds, to reject a negation of their humanity as 'inferior' and to affirm the value of their blackness (Houston, 1997).

4.4.4. THE BREAKAWAY OF BLACK STUDENTS FROM NUSAS AND THE FORMATION OF SASO

NUSAS was a liberal organisation dominated by White students. When it was formed in 1924, it was an exclusively White student body, but was supposed to represent the interests of students from all racial and cultural groups. In the 1960s White members became sympathetic to the Black students' cause. As a result, Black students membership began to increase. Many of these students, the majority of whom were based at the University of Natal, became increasingly dissatisfied with the inability of NUSAS to tackle deep racist structures and policies of both the government and universities (Pityana et al.,1991).

The formation of SASO did not come as a surprise because in the early 1960s there had been an attempt to found non-White student organisations. In 1961 and 1962 the ASA and the ASUSA were established. The Durban Students' Union (DSU) and the Cape Peninsular Students' Union (CPSU), which later merged to form the Progressive National Students Organisation, were formed and opposed to NUSAS (Biko, 1996). Unfortunately, none of these organisations survived. "NUSAS continued to be a force in Black campuses, but the fact that its own power base was on White campuses (University of Witwatersrand, Rhodes, University of Cape Town, Natal) meant that it was virtually impossible for Black students to attain leadership positions (Pityana et al.,1991:26).

“This was confirmed by the controversy that arose in 1967 at the NUSAS conference at Rhodes when the Black students were made to stay at a church building somewhere in the Grahamstown location, each day being brought to conference site by cars while on the other hand their White brothers were staying in residence around the conference site” (Biko,1972:6). Primarily because NUSAS was dominated by Whites, Rhodes University, the conference host, refused to allow mixed-race accommodation or eating facilities (Pityana et al., 1991). Black students started to question their value in NUSAS as well as its capacity to represent them. According to Biko, “The overriding impression was that the Blacks were there in name only, hence the executive that was elected was all White” (Biko, 1996:12). Biko reacted angrily to the incident, and slated the incomplete integration of student politics under the existing system, and dismissed talk of liberalism as an empty gesture by Whites who really wished to maintain the status quo and keep Blacks as second-rate citizens (Biko, 1996).

In 1968 at the UCM conference the same treatment of discrimination of Black students continued under the Group Areas Act (Biko, 1996). A clause in the Group Areas Act forbade Blacks to remain in a White area for more than 72 hours. But due to the duration of the conference, Black students were supposed to be in the White area for more than prescribed hours by the Group Areas Act. Being in a White area for more than 72 hours was a punishable criminal offence. Black students demanded time to meet alone and discuss a way forward regarding the above matter. They presented a motion refusing to obey the rule (Pityana et al., 1991). “White delegates expressed displeasure at being left out of this, and a compromise motion was adopted whereby the whole conference was to march to the borders of the magisterial district” (Pityana et al., 1991:24). Such treatment underlined the extent to which Black South Africans were isolated, even at the church. They discussed for the first time the idea of forming a Black organisation. Unfortunately, none of them was a student leader and they could not take binding decisions (Biko, 1996). “The Black caucus also took a formal decision to work towards a conference in December to deal with the specific issues of a Black student organisation” (Wilson in Pityana et al., 1991:24).

In December 1968 a conference of the SRC’s from the Black campuses held in Marianhill, Natal, decided overwhelmingly in favour of formatting of a Black organisation. At the conference, the Black students rejected the notion that Whites could play a role in the liberation of Blacks (Biko, 1972).

"The main thing was to get Black people to articulate their own struggle and reject the White liberal establishment from prescribing to people" (Biko, 1972:15). The majority of Black students at the conference felt that Blacks needed to learn to speak for themselves (Biko, 1996). On the 1 July 1969, SASO was officially inaugurated at the Turfloop campus, with Steve Bantu Biko as its first President and Barney Pityana as Secretary. The delegation from Turfloop who formed part of the first national leadership of SASO was composed of Machaka (SRC President 1968) who was elected as the deputy president, Harry Nengwekhulu, Manana Kgware and Hendrick Musi. The delegation from Fort Hare who formed part of the first national leadership of SASO were Lindelwa Mabandla, Jeff Baqwa, Ben Langa and Barney Pityana (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). Pityana was elected to serve in the national executive committee of SASO while he was suspended from Fort Hare.

The delegation from Natal (Wentworth) who formed part of the first leadership of SASO were Aubrey Mokoape, Vuyelwa Mashalaba who became the second general secretary of SASO in 1970 and Abram "Geez" Goolam (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). The delegation from University of Western Cape (UWC), which formed part of the first leadership of SASO was only Henry Isaacs who was the SRC president of UWC at that time and later in 1973, he was elected the secretary general of SASO (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). According to Biko "SASO was inaugurated in Turfloop because Turfloop was the largest campus in the country for the Blacks and it worked beautifully in the process of the formation of SASO" (Biko, 1972:14). Manana Kgware and Machaka were among student leaders from UL who were delegates at the 1968 SRC conference in Marianhill and they bought the idea of the formation of the Black student organisation and started to work closely with Biko and other student leaders across the country.

At the conference, there were challenges in terms of the policy direction, which the newly-born organisation must take (Biko, 1972). There were two groups at the conference with conflicting ideas; namely, the non-racial NUSAS orientation and the Africanist PAC orientation. The pro-NUSAS group wanted SASO to affiliate with NUSAS and recognise NUSAS as the national union in the country. The pro-PAC group were against the recognition and affiliation of SASO to NUSAS.

The argument of the pro-PAC students was that SASO should play a specific role, which is to be the custodian of the interests of Black people, so it cannot develop a structural relationship with any organisation, which may later interfere with its effectiveness (Biko, 1972). That became a challenge to the newly born organisation and unity was the only thing, which was needed in order for SASO to emerge stronger. The challenge was bigger than the affiliation issue because the pro-PAC students went as far as suggesting the rejection of the membership of coloureds and Indians because of their pro-NUSAS stance.

The pro-PAC students saw the pro-NUSAS students as the extension of NUSAS which had failed them. Manana Kgware, Nengwekhulu and Machaka from Turfloop were also amongst the group which was pro-PAC (Biko, 1972). Coloureds and Indians were not comfortable with the word “Blacks” which was used a lot in SASO. The pro-PAC were defeated on their suggestion of rejecting Indian and coloureds membership (Biko, 1972). “The 1968 conference agreed that, SASO is not a movement for Africans, not a movement for Indians and not a movement for coloureds people, it’s a movement for people who are oppressed and those who feel the oppression are welcome to join it” (Biko, 1972:16).

The aims of SASO as an organisation as outlined by Biko were as follows:

- “To crystallise the needs and aspirations of the non-Whites students and to seek to make known their grievances.
- Where possible, to put into effect programmes designed to meet the needs of the non-Whites students and to act on a collective basis in an effort to solve some of the problems which beset the centres individually.
- To heighten the degree of contact not only amongst the non-White students but also amongst these and the rest of South African student population, to make the non-White students accepted on their own terms as an integral part of the South African student community.
- To establish a solid identity amongst the non-White students and to ensure that these students are always treated with the dignity and respect they deserve.
- To protect the interests of the members centres and to act as a pressure group on all institutions and organisations for the benefit of the non-White students.

- To boost up the morale of the non-White students, to heighten their own confidence in themselves and to contribute largely to the direction of thought taken by the various institutions on social, political and other current topics".

(Biko, 1996:16)

The UL management warmly welcomed the formation of SASO. The acting rector of then the University of the North (UNIN) Professor F.J Engelbrecht bought the idea of the formation of a new Black student organisation (White, 1997). According to Mokwele (2021:interview), "Professor F.J Engelbrecht was comfortable with the idea of the formation of a Black student organisation, he even went as far as allowing the request of the SRC to host and fund the inauguration of SASO in Turfloop". "The emergence of SASO was seen as a sign by the authorities that separatist policies were finding favour with Black people and SASO was enthusiastically received by some Whites as a logical and desirable development" (White, 1997:104).

According to Thobakgale (2021: interview), "We had a feeling that the positive acceptance of SASO by Professor FJ Engelbrecht and his team was not genuine, we could not celebrate that because we did not trust those people, and instead we started to ask ourselves that what could be their mission". According to Mokwele (2021: interview), "The formation of SASO in 1968 strengthened the level and standard of politics in Turfloop. Student politics at Turfloop started to be more vibrant, militant and radical". Turfloop was the first campus to be won by SASO and Turfloop eventually became the stronghold of SASO followed by University of Natal Black Section (UNB) where SASO had its headquarters (Biko, 1972). "The SASO Turfloop branch and UNB branch were very influential in the politics of SASO" (Mokwele, 2021: interview). However, it is worth noting that the students of the UNB played a leading role in its formation. According to Msemeki (2020: interview), "The introduction of SASO at Turfloop played a very important role in student politics because during that period we witnessed the high level of political participation from students on campus and more political programmes which we never witnessed before.

One of such programmes were political schools, which concentrated on leadership training. He further argues that it was through SASO and its programmes which made it possible for Turfloop to realise the pool of leadership which were scattered in campus without being utilised".

“It was through SASO that we see the radicalism of student leaders such as Tiro, Ramaphosa, Nengwekhulu, Nefolovhodwe and many others who eventually played a very central role in the struggle for liberation in the country,” said Mokwele (2021: interview). It is important to note that SASO had limitations in the national struggle for liberation because it was a student organisation. However, SASO was able to identify its limitations and come up with a solution.

SASO initiated discussion about the formation of community organisations and promote the idea of BPC (Biko, 1972). The reason for the creation of BPC was to spread the BC ideology beyond university campuses and to create a platform for SASO products to graduate into and continue to spread the ideas of BCM in all spheres of society (Biko, 1972). There were many people who were outside the system, which needed to be brought inside the system and it was the responsibility of SASO to do so (Biko, 1972).

The Urban African, Asians and Coloureds were mostly part of the group that was outside the system (Biko, 1972). According to Biko, “Rural people have much more understandable group-orientation than urban people, and hence it is faster to work among rural people than it is to work amongst urban people. But at the same time, what goes on in the rural area becomes heavily influenced by what goes on in the urban area, because of migratory labour” (Biko, 1972:29). This became a reason for SASO to come up with programmes which will incorporate the urban Africans in the system.

4.4.5 SASO AND NUSAS: CONFLICTING OPINIONS

SASO adopted a conciliatory tone towards NUSAS stating that its objective was to promote contact between Black students in different universities as well as contact between White and Black students. SASO was deeply concerned that breaking away from NUSAS would alienate it from those Black students who were strongly committed to working within and with NUSAS (Biko, 1996). “One such student was Ben Ngubane. Ngubane who was a student at University of Natal (Wentworth) and a former vice–president of NUSAS expressed pessimism about SASO, which he regarded as too right wing” (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, and 2004:133).

Ngubane was of the opinion that Black politics should not grow outside the liberal fold on the grounds that White liberals had also suffered from state abuse and humiliation and they deserved support, respect and the freedom to love Black South Africans (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). He was further concerned that breaking away from a national body like NUSAS to form an additional national body would weaken the liberation movement (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004).

Ngubane predicted that the organisation‘s lifespan will be short. Another student concerned with the formation of SASO was Aubrey Mokoape. Mokoape was an Africanist and former member of the PAC since his high school days (Ramphele, 1995). He was against the inclusion of “Coloureds” and “Indians” in the BCM on the grounds that they were neither Black nor Africans (Ramphele, 1995). “Some White students and some Black students who were pro-NUSAS expressed fears that SASO was a conformist organisation and a sign from Black students to turn towards militancy” (Biko, 1996:4).

Faced with these conflicting perspectives, it placed SASO in a very difficult situation because SASO needed all those groups. In order to deal with such conflicting views and to attract pro-NUSAS Black students, the SASO policy towards NUSAS was created in a way that it will be accommodative to Black students who were pro-NUSAS. The position of SASO towards NUSAS was presented as follows:

(a) SASO recognises NUSAS as the true National Union of students in South Africa today and it offers no competition to NUSAS for Black membership.

(b) SASO criticises the dichotomy between principle and practice found in the organisation. It rejects their basis of integration as being based on standards predominantly set by White society. It is more of what the man expects the Black man to do than the other way round. We feel we do not have to prove ourselves to anybody.

(c) According to SASO, the fact that there are 27 000 White students and 3000 Black students in the organisation is not complementary to Black opinion being fairly listened to.

(d) SASO also felt that, the commitment of White students to the principles of the organisation is limited to very few individuals and hence NUSAS credentials as a sincere and committed aspirant for change". (Biko, 1996:14)

"The first SASO General Student Council (GSC), held at Wentworth in July 1970, elected Pityana as the president to succeed Biko, who became the founding editor of the SASO newsletters" (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004:114). The council voted to de-recognise NUSAS as the national student union of this country, with the right to speak for all students, Black and White (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, and 2004:114). In the first SASO GSC, the 'conservative' first preamble was amended to assert BC and the independence of Black students to act according to their own free will in response to apartheid and racism in general.

At the same general council SASO took a resolution that the emancipation of the Black people of this country depended entirely on the role Black people themselves are prepared to play (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, and 2004). It was at this meeting that SASO dropped the term "non-White" in preference for "Black" to refer collectively to groups officially designated Bantu, Coloured and Indians.

An editorial in the SASO Newsletter "Who is Black", September 1970, explains the rationale behind the term "Blacks" as follows:

> *The term Black must be seen in its context. No new category is being created but a re-christening is taking place. We are merely refusing to be regarded as none-persons and claim the right to be called positively. Adopting a collective, positive outlook leads to the creation of a broader base which may be useful in time. It helps us to recognise the fact that we have one common enemy. One should grant that the division of races in this country is so entrenched that the Blacks will find it difficult to operate as a combined front. The black umbrella we are creating for ourselves at least helps us to make sure that if we are not working as a unit, at least the various units should be working in the same direction, being complementary to each other. By all means be proud of your Indian heritage or your African culture but make sure that when you're looking around for somebody to kick at, choose the fellow who is sitting on your neck. He may not be as easily accessible as your Black brother but he is the source of your discomfort.* (SASO Newsletter, 1970:03)

From 1970 SASO began to assert its ideological stance and political objectives. The organisation had grown in confidence because of increased student support and

assertiveness of the independent political organisation (Pityana et al., 1991). In July 1972 to encourage adult participation and promote their broad objectives, SASO leaders and representatives from some twenty-seven Black organisations established an adult wing of their organisation, the Black People's Convention (BPC) under the Presidency of Winfred Kgware.

The 1970s were a turning point for SASO. Driven by an assertive spirit SASO introduced community-cum-political projects to spread its ideas about self-reliance and Black Consciousness (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). These projects were aimed at schools and Black communities (SASO Newsletter, 1970). Political projects at Formation Schools quickly became SASO's most important in the programme. "The aim of the schools project was to produce a new breed of youth leaders, ready to confront the challenges faced by Black people" (SASO Newsletter, 1970:06). Most importantly the 1970s was a period when the organisation began to define itself as a powerful force opposing the state and Apartheid (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004).

SASO also called on homeland leaders to withdraw from apartheid structures and stop being 'ambassadors of oppression (Badat, 1999). On the subject of education, SASO adopted a more radical and a clear position rejecting the Bantu Education system (SASO Newsletter, 1971). In July 1971, SASO adopted the declaration of student rights which marked a departure from their earlier cautious approach (SASO Newsletter, 1971). What made the declaration radical was the inclusion in its clauses of the right to dissent with university management. The declaration was preceded by the adoption of a policy manifesto that had divided South Africans into groups of those "who are part of the solution (Black people)" and those "who are part of the problem (White people) (SASO Newsletter, 1971:07).

Following the adoption of these policies, SASO organised an "Education Commission" to study possible ways of making education relevant to Black South Africans (SASO Newsletter, 1971). In 1972 SASO rejected a separate development platform and expelled its third president Themba Sono who called for the pragmatic use of separate development platforms to advance the liberation struggle (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). The SASO SGC regarded Sono as a security risk to the organisation and to the Black community (SASO Newsletter, 1972). Sono was only president for one year, from 1971 to 1972.

In 1972, the commission tabled a “Black Education Manifesto” to be adopted by the third GSC (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). The Black Education Manifesto took a different turn in that it rejected racist education and the notion that universities are neutral bodies in the process of acquiring knowledge (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). SASO saw its role in these years closely tied to the transformation of race relations in South Africa by crafting a political destiny independent from any political organisation and government. Moreover, SASO wanted to revive pride in African culture and knowledge systems, to inspire pride in Black identity and Black roots (Biko, 1996). As Black consciousness became more radical, it acquired the appearance of an alternative society in the making (Mzamane, Maaba & Biko, 2004). With this change came increased police surveillance and state repression. Some of the student leaders from Turfloop who suffered this increased police surveillance and state repression were Cyril Ramaphosa, Karabo Sidibe, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Mosiuoa Lekota and many more.

4.5. Black Consciousness: The Movement and its Historicity

There is simply no way one can talk of Biko without talking about the Black Consciousness Movement, and one cannot talk of the Black Consciousness Movement without talking about Biko (More, 2017). He is the founder of Black Consciousness in South Africa. It is important to understand the intellectual foundation and the philosophical context of the BCM and its link to student activism in the country. Black Consciousness is both a movement and a philosophy. A lot has been written about both its historical origins and political dimensions, this section focuses more to its philosophical underpinnings.

More (2017) argues that “this philosophical dimension is traceable from a long line of a discursive field predicated on the lived experiences of African and African-descended people in diaspora and recently given expression by a philosophical tradition known as Africana philosophy”. Some people argue that BCM was a product of the political vacuum created by the banning of the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other political organisations. The arrest of freedom fighters and many activists going into exile. But More (2017) reminds us that the more correct approach is to view BCM as part of a long line of Black activism and radical philosophical traditions, such as the Negritude movement and the Black Power movement in the USA. Gordon (2002) indicates, to the work of Martin Delaney, on the development of

the view that “Black people‘s coming to consciousness of their blackness is a necessary condition for their eventual liberation.

The circumstances under which the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) came into being and the reasons for adopting a seemingly negative, pejorative and offensive term as an identity tag significantly parallel those of the intellectual tradition under whose influence it came: the Negritude movement. In the early 1930s, under the leadership of Aimé Césaire (Martinique), Léopold Sédar Senghor (Senegal) and Léon-Gontras Damas (Guyana), black students in Paris from various parts of the black world (especially the Caribbean islands and Africa) constituted themselves into a cultural, intellectual, political and philosophical group around the concept of ‘negritude’ in response to the alienating situation of being-Black-in-the world dominated by Whites (More, 2017).

Césaire, one of the founders of the movement and credited with being the first to use the word ‘negritude’ which was a resistance movement against French racism and its assimilationist policy, speaking about their struggle against racism, alienation and dehumanisation when they were students in France, he articulates a philosophy whose origins and content reads as if it were a narrative about the origins of the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO) and Black Consciousness in South Africa three to four decades later (More, 2017). According to Césaire “We adopted the word ‘négre’ as a term of defiance. It was a defiant name. To some extent it was a reaction of enraged youth. Since there was shame about the word négre, we chose the word négre . . . There was in us a defiant will, and we found a violent affirmation in the words négre and négritude” (cited in More, 2017: 26). The word ‘negritude’ was coined during the most racist moment of history which was characterised by the search for Black identity and desire for self-knowledge (Magaziner, 2010).

Similarly, BC originated as a student reaction to apartheid racism. Just as the Black students studying in Paris in the 1930s came together to form the Negritude movement as a result of their common experiences of alienated consciousness, living in an anti-Black White world without really belonging to it, so the Black students in South Africa also came together to form SASO, the cradle of BCM (Mngxitama, Alexander & Gibson, 2008).

Because of their experience in alienated existence not only within the broader arena of their social and political existence governed by apartheid oppression, but also qua Black students, within the White-dominated National Union of South African Students (More, 2017). While the Negritude movement re-appropriated a negative term 'negro' and gave it a positive signification, BCM turned the negative term 'Black' on its head by attaching a positive meaning to it. In the very act of reclaiming the identity and definition the White world had taught them to loathe, and affirming it as an identity to celebrate and valorise, both Negritude and BCM consciously confronted the 'double consciousness' that WEB Du Bois saw afflicting Black existence (More, 2017).

Negritude, therefore, was a preoccupation with questions of identity and liberation through self-consciousness and self-definition. Similar sentiments and concerns were echoed by the editorial of the South African Black student publication, SASO Newsletter. Referring to the reasons for the adoption of the concept of 'Blackness', the editorial argued:

> "*The term 'black' must be seen in its right context. No new category is being created but 're-Christening' is taking place. We are merely refusing to be regarded as non-persons and claim the right to be called positively . . . Adopting a collectively positive outlook leads to the creation of a broader base which may be useful in time. It helps us to recognise the fact that we have a common enemy" (Cited in More, 2017: 28).*

In Césaire's understanding, Negritude was not only simply an intellectual reaction to an alienated Black consciousness, a struggle against White racism and its degrading effects, but was above all also positively an affirmation of the being of the Black person (Ramphele, 1995). The question of identity for both Negritude and Black Consciousness became a pressing issue in anti-black societies. This identity problem results, as Césaire indicated above, in the persistent question: 'Who am I?' (More, 2017). Having traced through the mediation of Negritude the origins of BCM in South Africa, a very brief genealogical excavation would be in order. BC as Black political thought is part of a long line of Black activism and philosophical tradition dating back to the advent of African slavery, anti-Black racism and colonialism in Africa and the modern world.

Documented evidence of it stretches from the nineteenth century with Martin Robson Delany's (1812–85) resistance to White paternalism, through to Frederick Douglass

(1818–95), who inspired the Biko on the thesis that ‘freedom is something that can only be taken, not given’; Du Bois (1868–1963) with his concept of ‘double consciousness’; Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) and his Africanist views; Ana Julia Cooper (1858–1964) with her concept of Black self-worth and agency; Alain Locke (1886–1954) during the Harlem Renaissance with its protest literature against American racism; into the Negritude of Césaire (1913–2008) and Senghor (1906–2001) and its emphasis on Negro pride and self-affirmation.

The Pan Africanism of George Padmore (1903–59) and Kwame Nkrumah (1909–72); Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe (1924–78) with his emphasis on unity and solidarity; the African socialism and self-reliance of Julius Nyerere (1922–99); Kenneth Kaunda’s (1924) propagation of African humanism. The Frantz Fanon’s (1925–61) anti-racism, anti-colonialism and actionality; Malcolm X’s (1925–65) Black nationalism; the Black Power movement of Kwame Ture (aka Stokely Carmichael 1941–98) and its call for Black solidarity; and finally the Black theology of James H. Cone (b.1938). This tradition, in its various forms, had as its main focus Black resistance to White racism and White supremacy, Black racial solidarity, group self-reliance, pride in Black (African) heritage, Black self-love, de-alienation and de-colonisation of the Black mind, Black cultural and racial identity. From this perspective, the Black Consciousness philosophy as originating from and having connections with this intellectual, political and cultural tradition becomes part of the larger philosophical tradition known as Africana philosophy whose leitmotif is to constantly raise the question of blackness (More, 2017).

4.6 The Role of Black Consciousness

A proper analysis and understanding of the role of BC should begin with its adequate and comprehensive definition, which would serve as a context within which we could then begin an exposition of the philosophy and ideology, which are the basic tenets of BC. The 1972 Policy Manifesto of the SASO defines BC as ". . . an attitude of mind, a way of life whose basic tenet is that the Black must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity" (SASO Newsletter, 1972:03).

The concept of BC therefore meant an awareness and pride in their blackness by Black people and implies that Black people should and must appreciate their value as human beings (Nengwekhulu, 2015). "BCM defined Blacks as those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations" (Badat, 1999: 91). According to BCM, Blacks must build up their own value systems, see themselves as self-defined and not as defined by others. The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by the Black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness (Badat, 1999). BCM required the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of BC has to be spread.

Nefolovhodwe (2021: interview) explains:

> *The role of BC was that, Black people should be aware of the significance and importance of their own value systems, their socio-economic, political and cultural values. Implied in this appreciation of their value systems is the need to reject those foreign, alien value systems which were forced down Black people's throats as part of the oppressor's logic of maintaining and perpetrating its brutal system of exploitation and emasculation.*

BC was a significant aspect in calling for cohesive Black solidarity. Thus, the quintessence of BC was the realisation and acceptance by Blacks in South Africa that, in order to play a positive role in the struggle for liberation and emancipation, they must effectively employ the concept of group power and thereby build a strong base from which to counter the oppressor's policy of divide and rule (Hyslop, 1999). The philosophy of BC therefore meant for group pride and determination by Black people in South Africa to rise together from the death bed of oppression and exploitation (Biko, 1996). BC called for a psychological revolution in the Black community; it was a revolution which was directed towards the elimination of all stereotypes by Blacks about themselves, and one which is directed towards the complete eradication of the slave mentality and feelings of inadequacy characteristic of an oppressed and exploited society (Biko, 1996). Black Consciousness is the Black person's coming to consciousness of herself as Black" (More, 2014).

The basic logic inherent in BC is that no human being can wage a meaningful war of liberation unless and until he/she has effectively eradicated his/her slave mentality and accepted themselves as full human beings who have a role to play in their own struggle. BC therefore compels Black people to see themselves as full human beings, complete, full and total in themselves, and not as extensions of others. One of the basic views of BC which the SASO has emphasised was the development of socio-political awareness amongst Blacks in South Africa such as to activate the Black community into thinking seriously and positively about the socio-economic and political problems that beset them in their country and to seek solutions to emancipate themselves from these dehumanising shackles (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview). . The BCM introduced community projects, which were designed to heighten the sense of awareness and to encourage Blacks to become involved in the political, economic and social development of the Black people (Pityana et al., 1991).

SASO became a training ground for future Black leaders who would relate to the Black community and who would be capable of assessing and directing the attitudes, goals and aspirations of the Black community (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview). Cruel White racism and massive economic exploitation have placed upon the Black people a psychological yoke of despondency, helplessness and dependency which kills the initiative, originality and will of a people (Kane-Berman, 1978). Creative instincts and skills of Black people have not surfaced due primarily to the lack of opportunities, but also because they were relying on Whites who, ironically, were their oppressors and would not open venues for the social and political development of their victims (Hyslop,1999). It is for this reason that the SASO and other BC movements used its ideology to heighten the awareness and consciousness of the Black people, and confront them with the realities of their situation, their oppression and exploitation (Komana, 2021: Interview). Such efforts and ideas made it possible to redirect Black energies towards the goal of Black liberation and emancipation.

The BC ideology developed in close association with the practical activities of SASO. The rapid, but somewhat surprising, immediate proliferation of BC ideas to communities via hundreds of local organisations, and the consequent resurgence in Black political activity, led SASO to help initiate a national Black political organisation called the Black People's Convention (BPC) (Badat, 1999).

Its preamble suggests its intention to challenge the structures of power in the society at large, since the BPC saw itself as a movement of Black people, rejecting any form of tribal affiliation and ethnic mobilisation (Badat, 1999). Most of the SASO members became senior leaders in the BPC and Biko was made the Honorary President because of his banning order that restricted him to the King Williamstown area (Pityana et al., 1991). By the mid-1970s the BCM had established a host of organisations, and many community organisations already in existence, associated with its ideology. A loose, mosaic of organisations, of women, workers, students, youth, cultural arts, brick-building, pottery etc., located at local, regional and even national levels, linked in various ways to one another, contributed to creating a renaissance in Black civic and political culture (Pityana et al.,1991). It was basically a culture of opposition when the students in Soweto revolted against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools. They were manifesting a new assertiveness that came with the cultural context of protest pervading Black communities in the early 1970s.

According to Biko, the reason behind the formation of this community-based organisation was to allow the graduates of SASO to keep the spirit of resistance alive in their communities (Biko, 1972). Biko declared, “If I am operating as a priest in a rural area, there are no students necessarily there, but I have got ideas I gained while I was working within SASO, and these must find expression somewhere in my daily life. Because the ideology was not tied down to my being as a student” (Biko, 1972:26). The most important factor in explaining student resistance in the townships was the influence of BC ideology (Kane-Berman, 1978). BC ideology had a major impact on student activism and resistance. The BCM was not without political consequences (Fredrickson, 1995).

The circulation of ideas beyond the colleges and universities to the high school students of Soweto helped to set off the revolt of June 1976 (Fredrickson, 1995). He also supports the claim that BC was instrumental in influencing the SASM. According to him, the government had no doubt that BC was responsible for the revolt and that SASM was clearly under BCM influence. Hyslop (1999) upholds the influence of BC. He states that “One important political influence was BC, which emerged out of African university campuses in the late 1960s” (Hyslop, 1999:9).

He asserts that BC spread into the schools from young teachers, providing school students with new political ideas. For him there were several reasons for students' receptiveness to BC influences that included discontent over school overcrowding, a changing political situation that made the state look more threatened than it had been in the 1960s. A growing economic uncertainty as the economic boom of the 1960s tailed off, and the rising influence of BC reduced the political influence of conservative Black elites in the educational sphere.

This clearly indicates that BC had a significant influence on the struggle for liberation. BC influenced many UL student activists and such influence was directed to the struggle for liberation. For example, those who became teachers after their studies, such as Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and Onkgopotse Tiro, used their influence by teaching learners in those schools the ideology of BC. BC became very influential in fostering political consciousness and organisation among the youth and students in townships and rural areas in the 1970s. It became a political force to reckon with. All the strikes such as Turfloop (Tiro) Uprising and Soweto Uprising which occurred in the country in the 1970s were a reflection of the role being played, directly or indirectly, by the BCM. It also helped to keep the spirit of resistance alive during the banning of liberation movements and the exile of many of the leaders of the struggle. Such influence threatened and intimidate the apartheid system.

The enemy had to respond to the threat that was brought by BCM. One of the strategies which they used to weaken Black power was to introduce colonial strategy of "divide and rule". Their main aim was to crush the unity of Black people in order to weaken them (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview). The oppressor also came up with the strategy which would systematically cut-off meaningful communication amongst the oppressed. In fact it was one of the essential aspects of the oppressor's strategy to keep the oppressed divided and not to allow communication amongst them, because communication could bring unity and consensus. Mokwele noted the following:

> *The police harassment, intimidation, banning orders and other means were employed to make it difficult for the oppressed to organise themselves. The use of state machinery to suppress political views of Black people threatened the rate of political activism amongst Blacks. It also instilled fear amongst Black activists and this also diluted the Black struggle. It is fear founded on the realities of the situation or fear of finding oneself on Robben Island or banned or even assassinated like*

Steve Biko. Such fear has led to the frightening silence in the Black community in South Africa. The regime was not wasting time in sustaining and perpetuating this fear in order to preserve and perpetuate the status quo" (2021: interview).

All the factors that created fear in the communities became an integral part of the entire societal structure in South Africa. Black people knew that the entire structure was against them. Hence, it is not the individual White they were afraid of. Rather, it was the entire racist monolithic White structure that lynched, maimed and exploited them.

Because of those threats and intimidation, leaders were now faced with the problem of convincing the people that, despite the real and great hazards, they had to continue fighting for their liberation. Community involvement was necessary as Thobakgale (2021: interview) points out,

That is why they tried to communicate with their people through community projects rather than inviting them to a political discussion, which they would often be afraid to attend. In this way they developed a rapport between them and their people. The aim was to instil confidence in Black people because once confidence has been built up it becomes easier to talk about more fundamental issues of liberation. The basic rationale behind their community projects was that community development is inherently liberating because it enables a person to become aware of the inadequacy of his/her present situation and, moreover, it enables him/her to act or respond in such a way that he/she will be able to bring about change in his situation.

It is an open reality that BCM had notable influence on most political activities of Turfloop. The Tiro speech at the university's graduation ceremony in 1972, which sharply criticised the Bantu Education Act of 1953, reflect the influence of BC ideology. The hosting of Viva Frelimo rally in Turfloop, which was organised by BCM and BPC, was also a clear indication of the influence of BCM in Turfloop. The call for the Africanisation of the university by BASA and Turfloop student leaders such as Tiro and Nefolovhodwe were also the evidence of the impact of BCM in Turfloop. The involvement of Turfloop student leaders such as Ramaphosa, Tiro, Harry Nengwekhulu, Manana Kgware, Aubrey Mokoena, Petrus Machaka, Mosiuoa Lekota, Gilbert Sedibe, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and Frank Chikane in the activities of BCM and BPC shows the influence of BCM at Turfloop.

BCM subsequently became a weapon which students used to fight the oppression and exploitation of apartheid government. It was through BCM that student organisations confidently fought against apartheid.

4.7 SASO and Black Consciousness

Black students had common experiences under apartheid South Africa, and there may be few who had not encountered the humiliation of White superiority attitudes, while all suffered in some degree the effects of legal discrimination. The very fact of their common positions of inferiority in South African society, unameliorated by contact with White students, created a bond which formed a basis for their political activism (Badat, 1999). At a National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) meeting held in Grahamstown in 1967 and a University Christian Movement (UCM) conference in Stutterheim in July 1968, the predominantly-White leadership would not act decisively to challenge the enforced racial segregation of accommodations for the students at the conference (Badat, 1999). Black students led primarily by Steve Biko and Barney Pityana, decided to form an exclusively Black organization to more effectively advance the cause of the oppressed in South Africa (Biko, 1996). SASO laid the foundation for what would grow beyond universities and student groups to become a wider movement. It was in SASO that activists formulated the Black Consciousness philosophy (Ramphele, 1995).

SASO students also started engaging in community development programs and artistic and literary production and eventually moved into political defiance against the state (Magaziner, 2010). Members of SASO as university students had access to a number of different ideas and engaged with each other. They were group of students who went to the university with diverse backgrounds, but similar experiences. They also had access to news media and reading materials through student-activist networks. As they debated and read materials from various parts of Africa and the African diaspora, these students formulated what they began to call Black Consciousness (Badat, 1999).

The influences of various South African perspectives and their experience in student politics, a number of philosophers and leaders from the African continent and the African diaspora helped shape their thinking (More, 2017). Magaziner (2010) described them as “autonomous shoppers in the marketplace of ideas.”

SASO students studied Franz Fanon's analysis of the psychological impact of colonialism, Jean-Paul Sartre's dialectical analysis, Zambia's K K Kaunda's African humanism, and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere's version of African socialism that emphasized self-reliance and development for liberation (More, 2017). They also read from Black American authors, particularly identifying with the Black Power movement (even adopting the raised fist as a gesture of Black pride in South Africa) and analyzing the Black Theology of James Cone (Mngxitama, Alexander & Gibson, 2008).

SASO students also drew upon the writings of Brazil's educationalist, Paulo Freire, from which they derived the idea of "to conscientise", to awaken people to a critical awareness of their situation and their ability to change their situation (Magaziner, 2010). Black Consciousness began to be defined as "an attitude of mind" or "way of life" of Black people who believed in their potential and value as Black people and saw the need for Black people to work together for a holistic liberation. SASO students explained South Africa's main problem as twofold: White racism and Black acquiescence to that racism (Ramphele, 1995). They felt that in general, Black people had accepted their own inferiority in society. Without a positive, creative sense of self, Black people would not challenge the status quo. According to Biko (1996) "The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor was the mind of the oppressed". Thus, BC activists worked to change the Black mindset, to look inward to build Black capacity to realise their own liberation.

> Biko (1996:38) wrote that: *"colonialism, missionaries, and apartheid had made the Black man a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity." He continued: This is the first truth, bitter as it may seem, that we have to acknowledge before we can start on any programme designed to change the status quo…. The first step therefore is to make the Black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth".*

In affecting a Black psychological, social, economic, and even spiritual liberation, activists saw two aspects as vitally important. First, they defined Black as a new positive definition that included all people of colour discriminated against by the colour of their skin (Biko, 1996). This was a new approach to grouping people divided into

apartheid into Coloureds (mixed-race people), Indians, and various Black African ethnic groups. They wanted to make South Africa African in the end (though they had a vaguely defined future) but used a political definition of Black that referred to a shared experience and outlook that was more cosmopolitan in celebrating Black values and culture. A positive Black identity would increase Black people's faith in their own potential. Black unity also presented a stronger front against apartheid.

SASO came to strongly reject the participation of Black South Africans in any apartheid institution that emphasized ethnic separation (including the so-called African homelands) (Ramphele, 1995). BC activists rejected White liberals (whom they defined as any White person seeking to oppose apartheid) (Biko, 1996). They saw White leadership as an obstacle to Black liberation because it stifled Black leadership and psychological development. As Black people understood fully the oppression they experienced firsthand, activists believed they had the insights and knowledge to know what needed to change (Biko, 1996). White leadership would hinder the development of a truly self-reliant, Black society.

The phrase "Black man you are on your own" became a slogan of the movement (Biko, 1996). For many people, including white liberals, this came across as abrasive and startling. Some even accused SASO of promoting reverse racism. For others, it led to a refreshing, emboldened new consciousness. SASO began with a few Black students who worked to recruit other students across Black campuses. This was not always easy, but strongholds developed at the University of the North, Zululand, Fort Hare, the Western Cape, and in Durban-Westville Campus (Badat, 1999). SASO students in these various universities traveled around trying to prompt a psychological change among Blacks in a number of ways. From the beginning of SASO, students engaged in community work. This began as a way to relieve the suffering of Black people in poverty. Yet community projects were also seen as a way to uplift black communities psychologically as well as to improve Black self-reliance (Ramphele, 1995). Each campus group ran projects in neighboring communities, such as volunteering in local clinics, helping to secure a clean water supply, and running education and literacy programs (Ramphele, 1995).

The students learned from their experiences and drew upon the methodologies of Freire, in particular, to help them refine this work. SASO also spread Black Consciousness through the *SASO Newsletter*, wherein activists described their philosophy, shared news, and dealt with the nature of their oppression. Asserting the right to speak was important for these activists and they claimed this right in the newsletter, along with other literary forms, such as poems and plays. The newsletter also reported on various student meetings where students developed their thinking, debated strategies for the future, and discussed how to engage with the broader community. The formation schools'-weekend or holiday camps served as training grounds where students debated societal issues and learned organizational strategies (Badat, 1999). Acutely aware of the politically hostile environment within which it worked, SASO ensured that it trained a number of layers of leadership, to ensure that the organization would continue if state repression were to occur (Mngxitama, Alexander & Gibson, 2008).

A marker of the "attitude" and "way of life" of Black Consciousness activists was the way they carried themselves. The clothes they wore, their demeanor when interacting with White people, and the music they listened to all portrayed confidence and pride in blackness (Mngxitama, Alexander & Gibson, 2008). The young women involved in the Black Consciousness especially challenged the status quo with new styles, by throwing away their skin-lightening creams and wigs and wearing their hair in natural Afros (Ramphele, 1995). They also wore bold styles in clothing that pushed the boundaries of what was acceptable at the time, such as very tight pants. Some even smoked cigarettes in public (Ramphele, 1995). Though female students were involved in the movement from the beginning, prominent SASO women include Vuyelwa Mashalaba, Deborah Matshoba, Daphne Matshoba, Lindelwe Mabandla, Mamphela Ramphele, Thenjiwe Mthintso, Manana Kgware and many others. The movement was dominated by male students. Women's issues were tabled in favour of focusing on Black liberation. Female activists had to excel at male ways of debating to gain an influence in SASO (Ramphele, 1995).

4.8 NOTABLE HISTORICAL EVENTS IN TURFLOOP: 1968 TO 1983

4.8.1 THE LAUNCH OF SASO AT TURFLOOP IN 1969

Representatives from Black higher education institutions met at Marianhill and approved the formation of SASO and publicly launched the organisation at Turfloop in July 1969. The launch of SASO at Turfloop was of historical importance. Turfloop was chosen as the launching place because it was perceived as being progressive in terms of student political activism by delegates who attended the formation of SASO at Marianhill (Nchabeleng, 2021: interview). Bringing the launch of SASO in Turfloop can be seen as a form of appreciation of the work that Turfloop student political activists were doing in the struggle for liberation. If Turfloop was not active and visible in the struggle for liberation, surely Turfloop was not going to be an option for the launching venue of a revolutionary student organisation like SASO.

During the launch Steve Biko was elected as the first president of SASO and immediately after the election, he embarked on a series of workshops and rallies to popularise the organisation (White, 1997). SASO introduced political education programmes called “formation schools”. Formation schools provided Black students with BC ideas to develop their own ideas and political programmes. At the first "formation school", held at the Natal University Medical School in December 1969, Biko talked about the significance, role and future of SASO (Badat, 1999). The basic and immediate aims of SASO were to, mobilise Black students by increasing contact nationally, identify crucial grievances that affected Black students, represent the interests of Black students, establish a solid and strong identity to boost Black students’ self-confidence and begin concrete programmes to respond to pertinent issues to get the majority of Black students directly involved in SASO activities (Badat, 1999).

The formation of an independent Black organisation was not conceived as support for government policy of separate development, but as a realistic response to Black issues. What SASO did was simply to take stock of the current scene in the country (Nchabeleng, 2021: interview). They realised that unless the Black students decided to lift themselves from the doldrums, no one would do that. What was needed was not mere visibility, but real Black participation (Biko, 1996). The new stance allowed Blacks to break their dependence on White society; to develop confidence in themselves and to work out their own strategies and ideas about liberation.

The SASO comrades used the slogan "we are ‘Black’ students and not black 'students' which popularised the importance of establishing strong ties to local communities (SASO Newsletter, 1972). The BC ideology developed in close association with the practical activities of SASO. “The BC ideology of SASO, which had a firm roots at Turfloop, caught on among high school students like wildfire; it fuelled and radicalised the political consciousness of the young students who emulated the sacrifices of their older brothers and sisters at the university level” (Ranuga, 2014:167).

Their political consciousness reached its highest point and contributed to the exploding of Soweto Uprising of 1976. That historic uprising by the youth proved to be a critical contribution to the internal political upsurge; it made South Africa ungovernable and precipitated the demise of the apartheid regime (Ranuga, 2014).The BC philosophy felt very strongly about the urgent need for the oppressed Blacks to raise their level of political consciousness, as a prerequisite step towards total liberation from White domination (Ranuga, 2014).This philosophy therefore undertook the task of politicising the masses with a sense of urgency and commitment. Their dedication on the cause for liberation, from the consciousness level was highly inspiring.

4.8.2 THE EXPULSION OF ONKGOPOTSE TIRO IN 1972

Tiro, representing the graduands, made his historic speech at the graduation ceremony at Turfloop in 1972. His speech was focused on the nature in which the university‘s power and authority resided in White hands, while the Blacks were occupying advisory and token positions (Tiro, 2019).The speech angered the university authorities and Tiro was expelled from the institution. The reason given for his expulsion was that Tiro chose the wrong occasion to give the type of speech he gave (Heffernan, 2015). The reaction of SASO to the expulsion of Tiro was swift, militant and systematic. Mass meetings were organised and student leaders gave speeches in support of Tiro, instead of attending classes (Ranuga, 2014). The students were fully behind Tiro‘s graduation speech and resolved to fight for his reinstatement. Students made it clear to the university authorities that if Tiro was not reinstated they would shut down all academic activities (Ranuga, 2014).

The university authorities responded by closing down the dining halls (Ranuga, 2014). Closing down the dining halls was an ‘effective strategy’ for the authorities to deal with protesting students; this is because they believed that you cannot be radical on an

empty stomach. Unfortunately, their strategy did not work because the students had to be creative in dealing with the scarcity of food. A general appeal was therefore made to all the students who had any money, to make generous contributions to a common fund to buy food. Only basic foods were ordered, just bread and drinks, in order to give them energy to continue with their struggle (Ranuga, 2014). According to Ranuga (2014:161), “We would not let lack of food be our distraction; we were determined to stay the course, and not succumb to administrative pressure.

We held a rally and marched to the vice chancellor’s office, to present a petition for the reinstatement of Tiro. The march was orderly and dignified”. According to Thobakgale (interview: 2021) who was also present at the march had this to say: “We stood at the office entrance and solemnly sang, Our Father Who Art in Heaven, after submitting the memorandum. Our memorandum was rejected immediately by the vice chancellor”.

His response left students with no other option but to declare a war on the authorities. The authorities’ mobilised visible superior power, a temporary camp was set up for soldiers about three miles away (Ranuga, 2014). The administration realised that the students’ morale was not in the least affected by the lack of food and show of military force. More drastic measures were then employed. The water supply system was completely shut off. There was no water for drinking and no water for washing (Ranuga, 2014). It was difficult to live without water: when nature called, people continued to use the bathrooms and the whole place started smelling (Thobakgale, 2021: interview). The vice chancellor took further drastic measures by closing down the university. All students were ordered to leave the university premises. Closing down the university was a radical decision which lacked a sense of parenthood from the management side (Thobakgale, 2021: interview). It was announced that the reopening would take place the following month, and that all students would be required to apply for readmission (Ranuga, 2014).

According to Ranuga (2014:162) “At the last mass meeting, before their departure, it was decided that they would all return on the set date, including those who were not readmitted. It was also agreed that, upon arrival, on the opening day, [they] would re-evaluate the situation and decide on an appropriate course of action”. It was clear that they were not willing to succumb to administrative pressure.

On the first day of school, after the scheduled reopening, it was anybody's guess what lay in store for them. The general expectation was that the boycott of classes would resume, if students' demand for the reinstatement of Tiro was not met (Ranuga, 2014). It was also not clear how the administration would deal with those students who had not signed the declaration statement (Ranuga, 2014). On the opening day, the university authorities took a radical decision and expelled all the SRC members and the whole student leadership (Thobakgale, 2021: interview).

Students took a decision to rally behind their expelled leaders. The consensus was that all the students must go back home, so that the university could stay closed (Ranuga, 2014). The total registered number of students in 1972 was 1146 and half of this number withdrew voluntarily from the university, to protest the expulsion of the SRC (Ranuga, 2014). The rest of the students threw in the towel and gave up the boycott of classes (Ranuga, 2014). Those who departed faced an uncertain future and their studies had virtually come to a dead end (Thobakgale, 2021: interview).

The readmission process came with strict conditions. "Those who were re-admitted were required to sign a pledge agreeing that (1) Tiro will not be readmitted, (2) The Students Representative Council has been suspended, and (3) The Constitution of the SRC has been suspended including the committees and also the Local Committee of SASO" (Mokwele, 2021: interview). Over the course of the winter holidays, most Turfloop students eventually signed these agreements in order to return to campus. However, the entire SRC and other additional influential members of the student community were denied re-admission for at least two years (Heffernan, 2015). Through SASO, from Turfloop the boycott spread to the universities of the Western Cape, Zululand, Durban-Westville, the ML Sultan Technical College and the University of Natal Medical School. Some White students at the University of Cape Town demonstrated in solidarity with the Black students" (Heffernan, 2015).

The students criticised Bantu Education and the entire apartheid political order. Against the background of a rampant, confident racist regime, widespread fear of the dreaded security police, a generalised political apathy pervading Black communities and an organisational 'vacuum' in Black politics, the May-June 1972 student boycott was an important development in protest politics. Tiro left campus and moved to Soweto where he stayed with his mother, who was living there at the time.

He continued his activism in student politics, unhampered by expulsion from Turfloop (Tiro, 2019). He became a key organiser for SASO at the executive level, and was paired with Permanent Organiser (and fellow ex-Turfloop student) Harry Nengwekhulu as part of SASO's tiered approach to leadership (Tiro, 2019). These tiers were designed to create stables of leadership within the organisation that permeated beyond the most visible leaders, such as Steve Biko and Barney Pityana. They were aware of the banning of other political groups, including the ANC and the PAC, less than a decade earlier, and realised the risks of directly challenging the state (Heffernan, 2015).

Tiro took his uncompleted Bachelor of Arts in History and Psychology to look for a job. He found a temporary teaching post at Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto. The principal there, Lekgau Mathabatha, hired Tiro to teach English and History (Heffernan, 2015). Though his tenure at the school lasted less than a full academic year, Tiro's impact and legacy were significant. He was critical in instilling BC as an ideology in the already politically active African Student's Movement (ASM) at the school, and worked to seek out politically curious and motivated students, striving to conscientise them in the SASO mould (Heffernan, 2015). Tiro arrived at Morris Isaacson and influenced the name changing of ASM to SASM in 1972, to be in line with SASO's more inclusive interpretation of Black identity.

During his time at Morris Isaacson, between 1972 and 1973, Tiro acted as the SASO representative to SASM itself (Heffernan, 2015). "Tiro produced some of the influential students in the struggle for liberation such as Tsietsi Mashinini who became the chair of the influential Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which played a critical organisational role in the June 1976 Soweto Uprising" (Heffernan, 2015:182). Tiro was later assassinated by the apartheid regime while in exile in Botswana. Tiro became the first South African freedom fighter the apartheid government pursued beyond the borders of the country to have been assassinated with a parcel bomb (Tiro, 2019). The expulsion of Tiro marked a turning point, not just for the students of Turfloop, but for the staff as well. Until 1972 Black and White academic staff at the university had co-existed in a joint staff association, which was responsible for academic management and making recommendations to the rector and university senate (Nkondo, 1976).

“Though social activities and living quarters remained firmly separated by race, academic and administrative matters were undertaken and debated by this joint body.

In an emergency meeting after the 1972 graduation ceremony, this group faced the question of whether to support or condemn the university administration’s decision to expel Tiro” (Heffernan, 2015:181). In an interview with Mokwele (2021) he said this about the incident:

> *“During the discussions of what Tiro said, there was a great tension in the staff meeting. The chairman was, of course, a White man and he wanted the staff association to condemn what Tiro said. But as the Black staff we said nothing to him, we could not agree.*
>
> *We did not support that motion of condemning what he said and that the university was doing well by expelling him. It was great tension”. White staff members were in the majority at Turfloop, so they dominated most staff decisions. The issue of Tiro was debated until they resort to voting and White staff won that motion of condemning Tiro and supporting the administration for expelling him. “The Black members of staff marched out, led by the most senior Black member of staff such as Prof M.E Mathivha and Prof P.F Mohanoe”.*

The conflicting views about how to handle the issue of Tiro between White staff and Black staff was the main reason that led to a fundamental and lasting division between the two groups at Turfloop for many years. It triggered the formation of BASA, and by default, a White academic staff association. The issue of Tiro’s expulsion, had fundamentally divided the staff along racial lines, and as tensions continued to heighten at Turfloop, polarisation between the Black and White staff and students became entrenched (Nkondo, 1976). Increasingly, racial divisions on campus were more prominent than those between students and staff, and in the mid-1970s BASA became a vehicle for Black staff to express their political support and solidarity with student causes (Msemeki, 2020: interview).

At the political, cultural and symbolic levels, the 1972 boycott opened the way for the recurring use of the boycott strategy, to the extent that by the 1980s, it became a regular aspect of Black community life. “It was the first in a series of student protests, of clashes between the students, university administrations and the police, culminating in the memorable 1976 township revolts and the countrywide civil uprisings in the 1980s” (White, 1997:128).

The spread of BC beyond a small group of university students, and the experience of the 1972 boycotts contributed towards a rejection of apartheid education in most urban areas.

To honour the memory of Tiro, the UL renamed the hall in which he delivered his famous speech Onkgopotse Tiro Hall. The UL also named a bursary scheme, an excellence awards programme after him. The first-year female residence, next to the Josephine Moshobane residence, was also named after Onkgopotse Tiro. The university hosts an annual memorial lecture (named after Tiro) that has been addressed by influential figures such as former President of South Africa, Kgalema Motlanthe, Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng, and Prof PLO Lumumba.

4.8.3 THE 1974 VIVA-FRELIMO RALLY

On the 25 September 1974, Mozambique gained its independence under the Liberation Party of Mozambique (Frelimo). The achievement of independence in Mozambique inspired the South African BCM organisations, BPC and SASO, to organise a 'Viva Frelimo' rally. If Portuguese colonialism could be defeated in Mozambique, so could settler-colonialism in South Africa. The idea was conceived by the SASO Secretary General at the time, Muntu Myeza and Sathasivan Cooper approached other leaders and, on 15 September, representatives of SASO, the BPC and the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU) met in Durban (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). They agreed to coordinate multiple rallies across the country, with the aim of celebrating FRELIMO's victory (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). They also agreed that each regional office should organise its own rally. In the event, however, only Durban and the University of the North held their own rallies (Brown, 2012).

These rallies were the only national campaigns to be staged by SASO and it accelerated tensions between SASO and the South African government. The Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, banned the rally planned for 25 September 1974. But, much publicity had already gone out, and the image of the BCM was at stake. Muntu Myeza, who was the secretary general of SASO at that time, issued a press statement denying the legality of Kruger's statement. In the statement he stated that: We are not aware of any banning and we do not care even if it is banned; we are going ahead at all costs with the rallies nationally (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview).

The leadership of SASO was determined about hosting those rallies and their attitude was clear that they were ready for anything that came their way. “Myeza telephoned a number of reporters to reassure them that the rallies would go ahead” (Brown, 2012:15).

These conversations were recorded by the police and introduced as evidence during Myeza’s trial afterwards (Brown, 2012). Myeza attempted to convince journalists to report that the rallies would be going ahead regardless of the Minister’s words. In his statement, he encouraged them to believe that the threat of state repression was insufficient either to disrupt the organisers or to prevent the Black public from participating (Brown, 2012). It was clear that Myeza wanted everything to go ahead, as planned, regardless of the threat posed by the authorities. Myeza and Cooper were so confident of their right to hold the rallies that they were even willing to risk the possibility of a violent repression. According to Myeza, as cited in Brown (2012:16), “If the state were to use violence to repress the rallies, this would only serve to strengthen the moral authority of SASO and the BPC. It would demonstrate the illegitimacy of the apartheid state, while simultaneously demonstrating the ability of SASO and the BPC to defy it”

Students who were in attendance claimed that they were appearing as ordinary students and not as members of SASO. By 14h00, several hundred students had congregated in the campus’s main hall. Karabo Gilbert Sedibe, the SRC president, informed his audience that this would be an SRC rally, and not a SASO rally, and would therefore fall outside the remit of the Minister’s banning order (Brown, 2012). Just before the rally could commence Gilbert stated that ‘anyone who wishes to address the rally should do so in his or her personal capacity, and not as a representative of any organisation (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview).

Gilbert, in his address outlined the programme of speakers, and spoke on the history of Frelimo and exhorted the crowd to shout, ‘Viva Frelimo, Viva Machel!’ and raised a clenched fist in the Black power. He then called me to speak. Everyone who got an opportunity to speak claimed to be speaking on his own behalf, and not for SASO or BPC (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview).

Nefolovhodwe in his address, told the students that they were gathered to commemorate those who had suffered for freedom's cause and those who had ultimately gained their humanity. He called upon them to re-dedicate themselves to their own struggle in South Africa (Komana, 2021: interview).

As expected from the warning they had received from the authorities, the police entered the hall under the leadership of Major Erasmus and informed the students that the meeting had been banned. He ordered them to disperse within fifteen minutes (Brown, 2012). Students began to leave the hall, but not all dispersed. Instead, some regrouped on the university's sports field and started singing and marching in formation. Male and female students separated in part, in response to a suggestion that they return to their respective hostels (Komana, 2021: interview). The police continued to count down the fifteen minutes given for the students to disperse (Brown, 2012). The police began to attack the crowd and tear gas was released, dogs were allowed to roam at the end of their long leashes and were encouraged to bite the students whilst the police used their batons to assault male students (Komana, 2021: interview).

As a result, student leaders were subsequently detained and the university was closed. The arrested student leaders were Gilbert Sedibe, Turfloop SRC president, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, SASO national president and Cyril Ramaphosa, the chairman of SASO Turfloop branch (White, 1997). Students staged a protest march at the Mankweng police station near the university to demand the release of those arrested leaders (Komana, 2021: interview). This is a clear indication that students were determined to challenge the authorities by continuing to protest even in the absence of their leaders, as they were arrested. Unfortunately, in every revolution there are revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. A counter-revolutionary group of about one hundred students, most of them in their final year, drew up a counter–petition saying they wanted to continue attending lecturers and writing their examinations. They disassociated themselves from the protest (White, 1997).

The situation at Turfloop was of great concern to Black parents and leaders of Black communities. Regarding the Frelimo Rally, Professor H Ntsanwisi, then the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, as cited into White, had this to say "Time and again we read about demonstrations similar to the recent one at Turfloop at White universities, but

we never hear that they were closed, not even for a day" (1997:108). The Pro-Frelimo Rally emphasised that the learning and teaching experience at Turfloop could not be divorced or isolated from the broader struggle against racial dominance and oppression nationally or regionally. This rally also indicated the determination of students in challenging the apartheid government. Unfortunately, their stand against the authorities could not continue without a fight from the authorities. "Twelve SASO and BPC members were held incommunicado for four months, and on 31 January 1975 nine out of these twelve were charged under the Terrorism Act, with conspiring to transform the state by revolutionary and violent means, intending to endanger the maintenance of law and order, with fostering feelings of racial hatred, and with publishing and distributing subversive and anti-White publications that discouraged foreign investment in South Africa" (Christenson, 1991:84). The trial of the nine who had been detained began on 7 August 1975 in Pretoria before Justice Boshoff.

The defendants were Sathasivan "Saths" Cooper, the BPC public relations officer, Muntu Myeza, secretary general of SASO, Mosiuoa Lekota, SASO national organiser, Aubrey Mokoape, a former leader of SASO and medical practitioner, Sedibe, SASO leader at Turfloop branch and Turfloop SRC president 1974, Nkwenkwe Nkomo, BPC national organiser, Strini Moodley, SASO administrative assistant and editor, Zithulele Cindi, secretary general of BPC, and Pandelani Nefolovhodwe SASO president (Christenson, 1991). They were represented by advocates Roy Allaway, and David Soggot, who were instructed by Shaun Chetty. Amongst these defendants three of them; namely, Nefolovhodwe, Sedibe and Lekota were coming from Turfloop.

Ramaphosa, who was also a student leader at Turfloop, was amongst the twelve that were held incommunicado for four months. However, he was never charged with the nine of his comrades. Biko was summoned as a defence witness, and he appeared in the dock at the Pretoria Supreme Court from 3 May to 7 May, 1976 for an entire week (Millard, 1978). "He was faced with a difficult task: he had to present Black Consciousness as a progressive anti-apartheid movement, but he had to take care not to provide the state reasons to find the defendants guilty of 'terrorism' or incitement to insurrection, which were the charges the state levelled against the accused" (Bizos, 1998:33).

This was the first time Biko spoke in public after being banned in March 1973.The prosecutor constantly led arguments in which he attempted to connect BC, and those charged, with the politics of the banned movements and their leaders (Pityana et al., 1991). Biko was called at the very time that the BPC was embarking on its unifying role aimed at making contact with those banned organisations, and his genius lay in the way in which he kept many balls in the air at once, not compromising, not intimidating and yet maintaining the attention of the judge (Pityana et al, 1991). Not everything he said was exactly the way it was because he had a responsibility to save his comrades (Millard, 1978).

The accused were all sentenced to terms ranging from five to six years on Robben Island. It is possible that they would have received harsher sentences were it not for Biko's testimony (Bizos, 1998). The prosecution called fifty-nine witnesses before closing its case on 12 December 1975 (Millard, 1978). It was through this historic event that BASA, SASO and BPC in Turfloop were accused of affecting race relation on the campus (Komana, 2021: interview). BASA openly advocated the aims and objectives of SASO before the Viva-Frelimo Rally (White, 1997). Krijnaw from the Council of South African Police (CSAP), as cited in Whites, "described the relationship between SASO and BASA as being unholy alliance and that the BASA ideology was just an extension of the SASO ideology. He claimed that, BASA had influenced the students of Turfloop to further their aims of Africanisation of the university through their association with SASO" (1997:124). BASA and SASO were accused by Turfloop management of having intentions to overthrow the government.

4.8.4 THE AFRICANISATION OF TURFLOOP

The debate on the Africanisation of Turfloop has been ongoing for many years (White, 1997). SASO and BASA were central to this call for many years. The African Parents Association (APA) called for the Africanisation of African universities (Mawasha, 2006). They categorically stated that, "Black universities should be controlled and run by Black people in conformity with our government policy of separate development" (Mawasha, 2006:74). Because of BASA's critique and the general mood on campus, in April 1975 Council constituted the Jackson Commission to look into the issue of Africanisation of Turfloop (Mawasha, 2006). "The Jackson Commission supported Africanisation in principle, but advised that it should take place at a pace that could be maintained" (Mawasha, 2006:72).

The commission also cautioned against a hasty removal of Whites from the campus. Boshoff, as cited in Wolfson, had the following to say: “Africanisation must remove Black-White confrontation on campus.

The present situation cannot be allowed to continue as it will destroy the university. The confrontation between Black and White staff must be sorted out before handing over takes place” (1976:32). Following the Jackson Commission‘s report, the Snyman Commission came, whose report was tabled on 30 June 1975. Based on the findings of the Snyman Commission, as cited in Mawasha (2006:73), “Student leadership of SASO developed an antagonistic attitude and became a powerful pressure group to promote Africanisation of the staff and taking over of the university”. The Snyman Commission observed that, “Students at Turfloop harbor deep-seated antagonism which is overtly manifested in a strong anti-White attitude often expressed in spontaneous reaction even if only in the form of muttering at certain statements and questions and even remarks made by White staff with perfectly innocent intention” (Mawasha, 2006:73). The most telling submission to the Snyman Commission was a memorandum on the need for the Africanisation of the University submitted by BASA (Mawasha, 2006).

BASA was represented at the hearing before justice Snyman by the Chief Justice Ishmael Mohamed. Mohamed used apartheid policies to argue the case for Africanisation of the university (Mawasha, 2006). Mohamed argued that “Black people must be given the power and responsibility to conduct the administration of their affairs in the homeland” (Mawasha, 2006:74). Mohamed, as cited in Mawasha, had the following to say: “To refuse Africanisation would be tantamount to negating the very same policy that had led to the creation of the university in the first place” (2006:74). The university was virtually a battlefield between Black staff, White staff, students and the police. In 1977, the council accepted the principle of Africanisation and appointed its first Black rector, Professor William Kgware (White, 1997).

The Black staff and community at large believed that the appointment of a Black rector would help bring peace to the embattled campus and promote a spirit of solidarity, especially between the Black staff, the administration and the students (White, 1997). According to Mokwele (2021: interview), “We were very happy about the appointment of William Kgware and as the BASA we saw this as our achievement”.

Another BASA member, Msemeki (2020: interview) had this to say, “we felt like we have achieved freedom and is now our turn to be in charge”. According to Nchabeleng (2021: interview) who was a student at that time, “the appointment of William Kgware brought excitement to the students because in William Kgware we saw us, and we were also on the view that Black rector will understand us better”.

The appointment of William Kgware was perceived as victory by BASA and the student populace at large. Unfortunately, things did not go as expected by the students and BASA. William Kgware personally was against radicalism (Mawasha, 2006). “Many Black people, especially the students and the intelligentsia, saw him as a sellout, a stooge of the White man‘s apartheid institution” (White, 1997:125). E’skia Mphahlele, as cited in White, described him as “a mere signature, a megaphone for orders that are issued by Whites who are above him” (1997:126).

William Kgware was caught in the horns of dilemma: on the one hand he was the first Black rector and thus a symbol of the Africanisation for which Black staff, students and the community at large had campaigned for, but acted contrary to the wishes of his constituency and to please the authorities. Eventually, William Kgware was rejected by the constituency that campaigned for him because he was failing to meet their expectations. This created a power vacuum, which allowed the White staff to infiltrate them (Mawasha, 2006). “Student militancy increased dramatically, police moved in with the brutality typical of the times and, by and large, Black staff remained unsupportive” (Mawasha, 2006:75).

William Kgware found himself in an impossible position. His health was affected and in 1980 he collapsed and died. As much as William Kgware did not fulfil the expectations of his constituency, the important part about his term was that the seeds of Africanisation had been planted and began to grow. Furthermore, the myth that a Black rector could not oversee Black and White staff was dispelled (Mawasha, 2006). It is also important to note that as much as William Kgware failed the students and the Black staff, there were certain issues, such as the equality of staff salaries that he managed to address (Mawasha, 2006). Professor Mokgokong took over in 1981. When Mokgokong took over, the university senate was constituted by 39 Whites and only 04 Black professors (Mawasha, 2006).

The imbalance was embarrassing. The senate did not reflect a Black University that was under the leadership of a Black man (Mokwele, 2021: interview).

Mokgokong tried to address this issue by promoting Black academics with a doctorate to associate professors even without publications and some even without a doctorate (Mawasha, 2006). Some faculty members with a master's degree were promoted to senior lecturer. His aim was to address the imbalance, by increasing Black senate membership (Mawasha, 2006). Mokgokong's strategy served in the best interests of his constituency. On the other hand, it had a negative impact on quality assurance. Mokgokong also fell out of favour from his constituency and started to experience hostile treatment (White, 1997). According to Mokwele (2021: interview), "We felt like his pace of transforming the university was very slow. We were of the view that he can do better than what he was doing". Eventually, Mokgokong experienced the same challenges as William Kgware. Student militancy increased dramatically and Black staff remained unsupportive (Mawasha, 2006). His health was affected and his legs were amputated. He died in 1990.

4.9 CONCLUSION

What is distinctive about the years 1968 to 1983 is that, 1968 marks the breakaway of Black students from the White dominated NUSAS to form a completely Black student organisation (SASO), while the year 1983 was declared the Year of the Charter, marking the 28th anniversary since the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955. The period 1968 shows how BCM became a force behind most student political activities, while the period 1983 showed how the ideology of BCM was watered down by the liberal ideology which underpinned the Freedom Charter.

The Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa instigated a social, cultural, and political awakening in the country in the 1970s. By the mid-1960s, major anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, such as the ANC and PAC, had been virtually silenced by government repression. In 1969, Steve Biko and other black students, frustrated with White leadership in multi-racial student organizations, formed an exclusively Black association. Out of the South African Students' Organization (SASO) came what was termed Black Consciousness. This philosophy redefined "Black" as an inclusive, positive identity and affirmed that Black South Africans could make meaningful change

in their society if “conscientised” or awakened to their self-worth and that there was a need for activism.

The movement emboldened, youth, contributed to the development of Black Theology and Cultural Movements, and led to the formation of new community and political organisations, such as the Black Community Programs organization and the Black People’s Convention (BPC). Articulate and charismatic, Steve Biko was one of the movement’s foremost instigators and prolific writers. When the South African government understood the threat Black Consciousness posed to apartheid, it worked to silence the movement and its leaders. Biko was banished to his home district in the Eastern Cape, where he continued to build community development programs and have a strong political influence. His death at the hands of security police in September 1977 revealed the brutality of South African security forces and the extent to which the state would go to maintain White supremacy. After Biko’s death, the state declared Black Consciousness–related organizations illegal. Activists formed the Azanian People’s Organization (AZAPO) in 1978 to continue with the Black Consciousness ideals, though the movement in general waned after Biko’s death. Since then, Biko has loomed over the history of the Black Consciousness movement as a powerful icon and celebrated hero, while others have looked to Black Consciousness in forging a new Black future for South Africa. The death of Biko led to the downgrading of BC ideology, which had a serious impact on student activism in Historically Black Universities. The next chapter focuses on apartheid oppression, repression and challenges faced by the Students from 1983 to 1994.

CHAPTER FIVE

APARTHEID OPPRESSION, REPRESSION AND CHALLENGES FACED BY STUDENTS: 1983 TO 1994

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focused on the origins, essence and development of student activism: 1968 to 1983. The chapter analysed the key factors that have shaped the origin and development of student activism during the period under review. The current chapter focuses on apartheid oppression, repression and problems faced by students. It goes further by showing how students responded to such problems. The chapter also focuses on the downgrading of BCM ideology and emergency of the UDF. In the 1970s the BCM was the force behind most student political activities. However, in the 1980s the situation was different; the UDF became a force behind most student political activities (Vuma, 2018). Therefore, this chapter outlines such historical events in a chronological order and also assesses the forces behind them, based on periodisation. This chapter further looks at the important political events that took place at Turfloop during the struggle for liberation between 1983 and 1994.

5.2 The Primary Role of Student Activism at Turfloop

UL was designed for Black students but run by White management. These Whites were the agents of the apartheid government; they administered the university within the framework of apartheid policies. Student activism at the time could be seen as a response to the ambivalent feelings that students were experiencing in a situation where they had to enrol in an institution designed as part of a system to oppress them. In short, the role of student activism was to fight against the injustice of apartheid government. Turfloop became a preparatory school for a new generation of young leaders. These young leaders focused mainly on articulating and resolving academic and social problems.

Turfloop was designed as part of a system to oppress Black students. Bantu Education was the major problem to the Black students. This system of education offered Black students inferior education, while White students were offered superior education.

The superior education was in terms of availability of all the resources required for effective learning that would enable them to receive the standard of education which would allow them to respond to their immediate needs. White education was also mandatory and free. Thirty percent of the Black schools did not have electricity, twenty-five per cent had no running water and less than half had no plumbing (Christie, 1985:17). Furthermore, education for Blacks, Indians, and Coloureds was not free. In addition, Bantu Education was designed to teach Blacks to be servants of Europeans. It was the pillar of the apartheid project. This project was intended to separate Black South Africans from the main, comparatively very well-resourced education system. Its stated aim was to prevent Blacks from receiving an education that would lead them to aspire for positions they would not be allowed to hold in society (Christie, 1985).This project constituted the foundation of the problems that affected Turfloop students.

Students at Turfloop were faced with many academic problems. The first major problem was the apartheid policy of the Bantu Education Act of 1954. The Act ensured that Blacks received an education that would limit their educational potential, so as to remain cheap labourers. This policy directly entrenched racial inequalities, by preventing access to further education. This was one of the key challenges for Black students at Turfloop and in other Black universities. School was compulsory for Whites from age seven to sixteen, and for Asians and Coloureds from seven to fifteen and age of seven to thirteen, respectively (Vella, 1988).

Educational inequality was also evident in funding. The Bantu Education Act created separate Departments of Education by race, and provided less money to Black schools, while giving more to Whites (Balintulo, 1981). Since funding plays a role in determining the amount and quality of learning materials, facilities, and teachers, disproportionate funding clearly created disparities in learning environments. For instance, apartheid funding resulted in an average teacher pupil ratio of 1:18 in White schools, 1:24 in Asian schools, 1:27 in Coloured schools, and 1:39 in Black schools. Furthermore, the apartheid system affected the quality of teachers. Among the White schools, 96 percent of the teachers were holders of teaching certificates, while only 15 percent of teachers in Black schools were certified (Christie, 1985). In addition to affecting the quality of education, the Bantu Education Act also resulted in the closure of many learning institutions because it withdrew funding for schools affiliated with religion.

Since many church schools provided education for a large number of Blacks, Black students were profoundly impacted by the withdrawal of these funds. Although the government explained its actions under the premise of separation of church and state, eliminating schools that served Blacks was an ultimate form of educational injustice.

Education for Black students was not free and it was rare for Black students to get bursaries, either from the government or the private sector. Most students at UL were sons and daughters of peasants/ domestic workers. Since Blacks and Coloureds were historically limited to working class jobs, ability to fund an education for younger generations or their children was a challenge which many families could not overcome (Mawasha, 2006).

As such, racial inequalities were perpetuated through lack of access to higher education. Furthermore, the policies and funding disparities in schools ensured contrasting access to higher education. Additionally, there was no financial aid, and banks did not give out loans to Black students. This meant that even if students could break through Bantu Education with under-qualified teachers in overcrowded classrooms, they faced additional financial barriers to achieving their academic goals. Another obstacle at Turfloop was the choice of degrees at Turfloop was limited. Turfloop consisted of four faculties; namely, Arts, Education, Natural Sciences and Health. There was no faculty of Engineering and other highly-rated degrees in the Faculty of Health, such as the Bachelor of Surgery and Bachelor of Medicine (White, 1997).

The quality of facilities at the university was poor, compared to those at White universities. A simple examination of library facilities is revealing. A valid comparison can be made between Turfloop and the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU). Turfloop was established in 1959 and RAU in 1967. One would expect the former to be better stocked than the latter. However, by the mid-1980s RAU's library contained 195 000 volumes, while the library of UL held 67 000 and 84 000 books (White, 1997). Most of the volumes at UL were outdated, and poor quality rejects from other libraries. Since the university was receiving limited funds from the government, its book-buying capacity was also limited.

Turfloop academic staff was predominantly White. Black staff tended to be concentrated in the lower ranks of the staff hierarchy. Since the senate of the university comprised largely of senior staff, White staff dominated academic decision-making. The White academic staff, consisting mainly of Afrikaans-speaking persons from Afrikaans-speaking universities, did not sufficiently understand the inspirations of Blacks.

Generally, many White staff members behaved and expressed themselves in a manner which was hostile, but usually patronising. Most White lecturers had a negative attitude towards the students, while others were racists. According to Komana (2021:interview), “In our physics first year class, our physics lecturer (White man) came to our first class and said that only a quarter of this class will proceed to the next level and the rest will fail because physics is difficult and is not for everyone”. With such a statement one could ask: which instrument did the lecturer use to determine that only a quarter of the class would pass and the rest would fail?

Such a statement was very problematic, especially coming from a lecturer who was expected to provide guidance and motivation to students. This was a clear indication that indeed most White lecturers did not have the interests of Black students at heart. Theirs was just to be there for the salary, in order to support their families, but not to educate the Black child. Expanding university enrolments strained existing facilities, resulting in large classes and limitations being imposed on course options (White, 1997).

Overcrowding in class-rooms was another problem faced by Turfloop students. Numerous conditions ranging, from the governance of institutions, to restrictive rules, to segregated facilities and amenities, alienated students. As noted above, the council of UL was dominated, initially, by White racists. Both the composition of the council and ultimately policies and rules were objects of resentment. Students resented the control on movement into and out of campus residences, being denied visitors in residences, the general prohibition on alcohol and lack of social amenities.

There was also restriction on issuing press statements on student organisations and student meetings (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview). It is highly likely that the majority of Black students would have been in their early twenties to mid-twenties age range, and would have also found some aspects of this control humiliating.

There were also problems with student accommodation and transport to and from campus. Accommodation was limited and its capacity could not cater for all the registered students. Those residing off-campus did not have transport to take them home during late hours after academic activities. They frequently became victims of thugs and gangsters at Turfloop Township. Furthermore, the quality of catering and food in the hostels caused widespread grievances, too (Mawasha, 2006).

The repressive conditions at Turfloop were underlined by security guards policing entrances to the university. In an interview with Mokwele (2021), the following statements were made about the conditions of being at Turfloop.

> *"It was more of an embarrassment to be here in the 1960s- but all of them [enrolled students] - we had no option but to be here and we were made up of students fresh from high school ….[…] .. all of us - we were not happy to be here, and that was the year they banned ASA and ASUSA. ASA was a student organisation of the ANC and ASUSA a student organisation of PAC. So there was a lot of tension. We were not free and the lecturers - we were all suspecting them to be serving the special branch, to be informers. So, it was a very difficult time. We as students, our attitude was that we are here because we have no choice and our attitude was not to identify with the college because it was an imposition on the Blacks and we were consciously aware that it was meant to train a product of a different type from the product trained at the so-called 'open universities.*

5.3 Conditions of Black Staff

It was not only the students who were faced with problems at UL, but also Black university staff. Black academic staff were paid lower salaries. They were also subjected to less favourable conditions of employment and afforded less comfortable housing amenities than their White counterparts with equivalent qualifications (Mokwele, 2021: interview). Emphatically, the UL administration and its control were in the hands of Whites. Black staff found this to be a serious problem. This situation reflects their low status on campus and beyond. The unpleasant state of affairs at UL presented an opportune moment for natural solidarity between Black students and Black non-academic staff. Furthermore, it was not easy for Black academic staff to be promoted to high positions such as, Head of Department, School Director or Faculty Dean even when they met the requirements.

The colour of their skin was a badge of inferiority and was blocking any chances of promotion (Msemeki, 2020: interview).The BCM began to make its impact on both students and parents. “Since the inception of the university in 1960, Black and White staff members belonged to the same staff association (Mokwele, 2021: interview). But in 1971 there was a growing feeling amongst the Black staff, that because of the differential treatment of Blacks and White staff at the university, they could bargain more effectively in a separate staff association (White, 1997). In 1972 this feeling crystalized into a conviction, consequently they applied for the recognition by council of what came to be known as the Black Academic Staff Association (BASA) which existed until mid-1980s(White, 1997). Formal recognition by council was received early in 1973 (Mokwele, 2021: interview). The aim of BASA was to address the grievances of Black academic staff. It worked hand in hand with student political organisations through secret arrangements. The association fought for the liberation of the Black university community and society at large (Msemeki, 2020: interview). In short, they were anti-apartheid, but they did not show that openly because they feared losing their jobs as the university was under the control of apartheid.

5.4 Reaction of Students to the Problems at Turfloop

Students reacted in a radical way to the conditions that confronted them (Komana & Mokwele: 2021: Interview). At a policy level, separate universities were rejected as an attempt to control the education of Blacks. Universities were extensions of the apartheid system and had the “effect of creating a Black elitist, middle class that is far removed from the true aspirations of the people (Ranuga, 2014). Turfloop was criticised for being dominated by White staff, for having differential salary and service conditions for White and Black staff, and for a curriculum that was “oriented towards White, exploitative norms and values (Mawasha, 2006).

Student activists at Turfloop expressed the belief that “institutions of learning and all therein serve in the noble pursuit and unprejudiced acquisition of knowledge (White, 1997). Elsewhere it was stated that the university needed to be recognised as a community in common search of the “truth”, defined in terms of the “needs”, goals and aspirations of the people (White, 1997). It was further argued that the meaning of a university was to “bring forth a new humanity with a higher conscience (Mawasha, 2006). The students demanded rights, the rights to free academic pursuit, and to attend the University of their Choice (Biko, 1996).

Turfloop students believed that they were an integral part of the oppressed community before they were students (Thobakgale, 2021). Students from the early 1970s until the period of political negotiations (1990-1994) were compelled to join other forces to fight against the apartheid government (Thobakgale, 2021: interview). According to Thobakgale (2021: interview), "We believed that education in South Africa was unashamedly political and therefore Black education should be tied to the entire struggle for the liberation of Black people". The students committed themselves to breaking away from the traditional orders of subordination to Whites in education and to ensuring that their education would further the preservation and promotion of what was treasured in their culture and their historical experience (Kanyane, 2010).

In the 1980s, the political situation worsened, these actions extended to promoting an Education Charter that drew on the Freedom Charter and tried to provide an alternative vision of a future South African educational system. Implicitly, this signalled that student protest was changing from mere protest actions to political party and civic engagement (Cele & Koen, 2003). For students at Turfloop, education was conceived as being for the benefit of individuals and society, and defined as a process of inculcating a way of life, of transmitting a cultural heritage, of acquiring knowledge and ideals, and of developing the critical faculties of the individual (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview).

The aim was to foster social change, help realise an egalitarian and communalistic society, promote Black unity and collective action, and inculcate into the Blackman a sense of initiative, enquiry, creativity and self-reliance (Nefolovhodwe, 2021: interview). Matlala has the following to say:

> *The mission of Turfloop students was fivefold. First, it was to promote the interests and aspirations of the community. Second, it was to inculcate within Blacks pride and confidence in their blackness, their traditions and their indigenous way of life. As part of this socialisation, the Black university was to discourage elitism and intellectual arrogance which promotes alienation, acquisitiveness and class structures. Third, it was to modernise people, institutions and society, to remove from the community the older epoch of backwardness, dependence and immobility. These were to be replaced by values such as modernisation, class mobility and communal solidarity. Forth, it was to contribute, through the production of*

> *knowledge and trained personnel, to economic and social development. Finally, the students wanted to contribute to social cohesion and integration* (2021: interview).

The students were also sceptical about the curriculum and the way it was presented. As Kanyane (2010:123) pointed out, “The students were not in favour of the curriculum that was designed by apartheid government for them. They were more interested in Black Studies, with African thought, history, culture, language and literature, and the Black experience”. The criticism of education was political and the conception of the university that was posited was thoroughly idealist. Student activists in the 1980s were well aware of the role of apartheid education in reproducing racial and cultural domination. Badat (1999:151) notes that, “Influenced by Freire and Nyerere’s notions of education for liberation and education for self-reliance respectively; they conceived a different role for education: to socialise Blacks into new values and conduct, to transfer knowledge of relevance to liberation and to produce critical thinkers”.

Even after the apartheid government was dismantled in the early 1980s, some students’ activists continued to exist with the teachings of Biko, Freire and Nyerere (Matlala, interview, 2021). It is not true that BCM died with the death of Biko and its banning (Matlala, 2021: interview). However, there has been a notable influence of BC in some student political organisations, even post-1994, such as Azanian Student Convention (AZASCO) and Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA).

Education was used as an important tool to transform the life of the Black people and their status in society. However, beyond notions of the need to mobilise Black teachers and encourage parents to relate folklore and indigenous stories to children, the vision offered little in the way of strategy and tactics for contesting apartheid education within Black schools and replacing it with Black education (Badat, 1999). However, in contrast with the earlier knowledge conception of the university, in the new vision, the university was seen as an educational tool to provide service to communities, while assisting in forming people’s identity and in the production of trained and skilled personnel in the fields of economic and social development. In defining the role of the Black university in these fields, the vision failed to address a number of important issues.

Firstly, because of the tendency to treat Blacks as a homogenous group, there was no recognition that, apart from certain common interests and aspirations, different interests could also be expressed by different sections of the Black community. Secondly, as part of Black struggle, Black university were called upon to socialise students so as to counter acquisitiveness and class structures (Badat, 1999). However, in the 1980s, there was also a call for the Black university to promote class mobility. In short, while the university was, at the economic level, called upon to promote capitalism and class mobility at the ideological level, it was required to prepare Black people to be the active participants in the economy (Kanyane, 2010).

5.5 The Role of the UDF at Turfloop

After the weakening of BCM and banning SASO in October 1977, Black higher education students were deprived of a political student organisation in which they could organise themselves and advance their wishes. In the early 1980s the UDF emerged as the new force to continue with the struggle for liberation (Baloyi, 2021: Interview). BCM was downgraded through the use of apartheid security forces. Its impact was felt by the apartheid government. As a result, the state machinery was unleashed to deal with it. The main players in the BCM were targeted and frequently harassed and detained for their roles in the BCM. The key player (Steve Biko) was assassinated for his political activism. All these were done in order to destroy BCM and its impact on the White establishment.

The weakening of BCM by the White establishment did not mark the end of the struggle for liberation. Instead, it only changed the shape, ideology and strategies employed in advancing the struggle for liberation. Allan Boesak called for a united front of churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations, and sports bodies to fight oppression. “On the 20 August 1983, the UDF was formed in a community hall in Rocklands, Mitchell‘s plain in Cape Town. Frank Chikane, a product of Turfloop student activism, was the first speaker and he also played a very important role in the formation of the UDF” (Kanyane, 2010:63).

Chikane described the day as being a turning point in the struggle for freedom (Kanyane, 2010). The keynote speaker, Boesak, spoke about bringing together a range of groups and unity among those fighting for freedom. A list of tasks was drawn up, focusing on organisation building and highlighting the aim of the UDF as an

organisation that represented all South Africans (Kanyane, 2010). The UDF was also formed to contest the constitutional reforms proposed by the National Party (NP) government, which sought to co-opt Coloured and Indian South Africans in a new political organisation, while maintaining White domination and racial segregation (van Kessel, 2000).

The Front consisted of about 600 affiliated organisations. Most organisations fitted into sectors which the UDF had identified as crucial forces for change: youth, civic organisations and women (Mashamba, 2021: Interview). Church-based groups and religious organisations were also prominent, but the major Black trade unions kept some distance. In many respects, the UDF carried the traditions of the ANC (Van Kessel, 2000). The formation of the UDF served as an umbrella organisation of anti-apartheid groups. The apartheid state soon came to believe that the UDF was in fact the internal wing of the ANC (Matlala, 2021: interview).

Although the UDF acknowledged the primacy of the ANC as the real national liberation movement and revered the ANC leadership in exile and in prison, it did have an identity of its own, with appropriate strategies and tactics. Among the innovations in the UDF style of anti-apartheid campaigning were emphasis on local organisations, built around everyday concerns of ordinary residents, sophisticated public campaigns, capacity to reach out to all sectors of the South African population which were separated by National Party (NP) politics but not ready to join the liberation movement. Finally, the UDF engaged in massive use of a wide array of media, ranging from community papers and posters to buttons and T-shirts (Van Kessel, 2000: 07).

The first notable action of the UDF was a boycott campaign against the tricameral elections in August 1984. The UDF created a forum to oppose the Tricameral Constitution. The low turn-out in the Coloured elections, followed by an even lower turn-out of Indian South Africans, was a resounding success for the UDF (Van Kessel, 2000).This victory was followed by an episode of disorientation, in which the initiative passed from the arena of national politics to the African townships, where discontent about living conditions and educational standards provided an explosive mix (Van Kessel, 2000). The backbone of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal was Turfloop (Mashamba, 2021: interview). In 1984, Peter Nchabeleng was among the first members and the regional chair of UDF in the Northern Transvaal.

He was involved in the activities of both the ANC and UDF. However, two months after his election as a chairperson of the UDF in Transvaal, he was detained and murdered at Schoonoord Police Station in Lebowa. Before his arrest, Nchabeleng had received a letter bomb containing his son's school results. He refused to open the letter and directed his son Maurice to return it to the principal (Kanyane, 2010).

According to Maurice, as cited in Kanyane, “the principal was aware that the envelope had contained a letter bomb (Kanyane, 2010:64). After he escaped this bomb trap, he was arrested by police at his home in the presence of his, wife Gertrude. Two days after he was arrested, his wife received the devastating and shocking news that her husband has died in hospital (Kanyane, 2010). He was succeeded by the vice-chairperson, Louis Mnguni, a philosophy lecturer at Turfloop. Mnguni was succeeded by Thabo Makunyane, who had been a friend to Tiro.

The secretary of the regional executive was Joyce Mabudafhasi, a library assistant at Turfloop. Mabudafhasi was arrested during the 1976 uprisings (Mashamba, 2021: interview). She was later seriously injured when her house in Mankweng was firebombed. The publicity secretary of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal was Peter Mokaba. Alfred Mabake Makaleng, a law student at Turfloop was the regional organiser (Thobakgale, 2021: interview). However, Alfred Makaleng was detained in June 1986 and died in prison two years later (Kanyane, 2010). The UDF Northern Transvaal had poor facilities, but it had access to the resources at Turfloop, which played a tremendous role as the centre of communication, coordination, ideological direction, and recruitment. Turfloop also offered sanctuary to activists on the run from the police (Mashamba, 2021: interview).

Because of the important role which was played by Turfloop in the activities of the struggle for liberation, the University was nicknamed Lusaka, the ANC headquarters in Zambia (Kanyane, 2010). Student leaders at the University had access to telephones, photocopy machines, meetings facilities, and occasionally cars (Thobakgale, 2021: interview), and this helped in communicating with other people and in simplifying their work. Sports outings to other Black universities were used for spreading the gospel of freedom.

The UDF and the ANC leadership in Lusaka, Zambia, encouraged people to study at Turfloop, rather than at other universities, because of Turfloop's central role in the fight against apartheid (Mashamba, 2021: interview).

Contacts with community members were important; it was part of spreading the message of liberation. In 1983, students from Sekhukhuneland met at Turfloop to address the formation of organisations in their home villages (Thobakgale, 2021: interview). Over the holidays, students from Turfloop formed youth groups in their villages, and when the university re-opened, they would meet at the Student Centre to exchange their experiences. Most students at Turfloop had political influence in their villages. In many cases, they were responsible for providing political direction to their communities. School holidays, for them, were not for resting or playing, like is the case today; rather, they provided an opportunity to spread political education to members of communities and political inputs were believed to carry more weight in the communities because university students were regarded as advanced people (Letsoalo, 2021:interview).

5.6 The Formation of AZASO

Following the banning of SASO, a new student structure was constituted to fill the void. The new structure, called the Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO), was established in 1979 by students from Fort Hare, Zululand, Natal, Turfloop and Durban-Westville universities as well as Maphumulo College" (Letsoalo, 2021: interview). AZASO was an organisation for Black students at tertiary level. It catered for Black students at universities, colleges and technical schools. Part-time and correspondence students were encouraged to join the organisation either through the nearest campus branch or by forming a branch in their area of residence if they were more than ten in number in that area (AZASO Newsletter, 1981). At its inaugural conference in Pietermaritzburg, a preamble was adopted endorsing the philosophy of Black Consciousness and an interim executive led by Tom Nkoana and Mafa Goci was elected to establish branches at the various campuses and to draft a constitution (Van Kessel, 2000).

Mamabolo (2021: interview), who was part of the delegation from Turfloop and was present at the first General Council, which resulted in the formation of AZASO, had the following to say: "our main challenge in the council was an ideological debate, with

the major concerns being the roles of Whites in the national liberation struggle and the question of socialism in a future South Africa". Unfortunately, that was a debate which had been concluded by SASO a long time before. Nonetheless, it was a different organisation with a different shape and approach. The ideological debate took place at AZASO's Annual General Council (AGC) held at Wilgespruit in 1981, and the issues of non-racialism and socialism dominated the discussions, as Mamabolo alluded to that.

The outcome was decisive in that the organisation committed itself to the Freedom Charter, cooperation with COSAS and non-racial politics among the organised youth (AZASO Newsletter, 1981). Such a decision highlighted a drift by AZASO away from the philosophy of BC and its associated organisations, such as SASO and the BPC. The AGC played an important role in bridging the distance that had existed between Black student organisations and NUSAS, by developing a working alliance on the Education Charter Campaign. As the number of Black students increased in the early 1980s, they constituted a social category that was distinct from the majority of Black people, who were predominantly working class (Van Kessel, 2000).

Low wages, unemployment, inadequate housing and services were realities out of which they had emerged. It was thus a natural course of action for students to identify with and involve themselves in a number of community campaigns and trade union support campaigns (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). Student activists got involved in research, data collection, analysis and compilation of information that would assist in the struggle for liberation (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). AZASO also focused on the Education Charter campaign, specifically the need for students to formulate a common set of educational demands.

It viewed the Education Charter campaign as a rallying point to mobilise students and make student structures more mass-based. It did so first by supporting the Freedom Charter and then, in 1986, by changing its name to South African National Students Congress (SANSCO) (Van Kessel, 2000).

Baloyi (2021: interview) further explains:

> *AZASO saw a direct relationship between the educational and other (socio-political) struggles. Its guiding principle was the struggle for the creation of a democratic South Africa free of racist oppression and exploitation. It also welcomed the formation of*

the UDF and had participated in meetings that preceded the formation of the Front. Its members and leaders such Aaron Motswaledi, Joe Phaahla, Paul Sefularo, Abba Yacoob, Mafa Goci, Thomas Mdluli and Bennedicta Monama played an important role popularising the UDF, by promoting anti-election campaigns and collecting signatures during the Million Signature Campaign. The Million Signature Campaign was a national campaign run by UDF to collect Million signatures. These signatures were meant to show support for the non-racial principles of the UDF, a rejection of apartheid government and solidarity with organisations across the country working to create a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

Turfloop was central to the formation of AZASO. Students from Turfloop who formed part of AZASO leadership were Tom Nkoana, Blessing Mphela, Bennedicta Monama, Peter Maake, George Mpitso, Calvin Mutheiwana, Themba Maluleke, Warara Kakaza, Kgaogelo Lekalakala, Chikane Chikane, Rapule Matsane, Tebogo Moloi, Nikisi Lesufi, Natala Mathebula, Nosipho Phambuka, Sphiwe Mndaweni, Benjamin Mphiko, Moeti Mpuru, Godfrey Selepe, Dan Mashitisho, Mamoloi Mpitso and Sello Lediga (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). Bucks Mahlangu, Irvin Phenyane, Abbey Dlavane, Kabelo Motshabi, Cebile Khanye, Ernest Khoza and Ndavhe Ramakuela were another crop of leaders who arrived at the tail-end of AZASO and led SANSCO (Van Kessel, 2000).Tebogo Moloi, Bucks Mahlangu and Ernest Khoza are former SRC presidents of Turfloop (Baloyi, 2021: interview).

In 1987 SANSCO called for the transformation of tertiary institutions into Peoples Campuses. It also called for the formation of committees of peoples' power at all levels, from the SRCs through to hostel and floor committees, faculty councils, class committees, as well as sports and cultural committees. Those that had parallel structures in the street committees, were seen as the foundations of people‘s power and democratic control of campuses (Van Kessel, 2000).

In 1986 AZASO was weakened by repressive state measures. Most comrades were arrested for their political activism in campuses. Many student activists in Turfloop were arrested at that time. Police harassment, intimidation, banning orders and other means were employed to make it difficult for the students to organise themselves (Baloyi, 2021: interview).The repressive measures were applied in order to instil fear among the students and their leaders.

Police harassment discouraged potential activists because of its brutality. The aim of the authorities was to kill political activism on campuses (Letsoalo, 2021: interview). Unfortunately, killing political activism on campuses did not happen because at that time the struggle for liberation had reached a climax; thus no amount of police harassment and intimidation could stop activists (Baloyi, 2021: interview).

The influence of AZASO played a very important role in the 1980s school boycotts, the protest against the introduction of the tri-cameral parliament, Black Local Authorities, the 1984 Vaal Triangle uprising and the 1985 school boycotts (Van Kessel, 2000). This was interspersed with local student struggles that led to sustained boycotts over the expulsion of student leaders, racist lecturers, and dismal conditions at Black tertiary institutions. AZASO was able to ensure that the struggle at tertiary institutions presented a challenge to the apartheid system (Baloyi, 2021: Interview). This was embodied in their commitment to the Freedom Charter and the goal of national liberation as well as the links they identified between educational issues and other forms of national oppression.

The non-violent 1983 Education Charter Campaign marked a crucial phase in South Africa's political turmoil of the 1980s. It focused on alerting government and society to the broader crisis in education and society and involved a signature petition campaign (Cele & Koen, 2003). More broadly, it heralded the break-up of AZASO as the campaign carried the imprint of the nationalist ANC. This split represents a seminal event in student politics as the Azanian Student Movement (AZASM) emerged as the future BC student wing, while AZASO changed its identity to the South African National Student Congress (SANSCO) in 1986.

The political activities at Turfloop and other previously Black universities became polarized between these two groups, with the dominant SANSCO often denying AZASM access to university and organizational resources through its control of SRCs, in order to limit the growth of BC (Baloyi, 2021: interview). As in other subsequent disputes between BC and ANC supporters, motivations for the break-up involved different interpretations of the character of South Africa's past and future (Cele & Koen, 2003).

Whereas AZASM (now AZASCO) subscribed to anti-collaboration with ruling class elements; was anti-racist and anti-sexist practices, and committed itself to a socialist future, AZASO and SANSCO committed themselves to a non-racial and non-sexist future, based on the vision inscribed in the Freedom Charter (Cele & Koen, 2003).

For SANSCO, this meant building an alliance with the liberal and predominantly White NUSAS that operated at previously English universities. At previously English universities, Black structures such as the Black Student Society (BSS) and Black Student Organisation (BSO) were established in the 1980s as a vehicle to organise Black students, despite the existence and operation of the non-racial NUSAS and its then close alignment to the broader Congress Movement (Baloyi, 2021: interview).

Two student organisations from radically different racial and historical backgrounds, the South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), finally overcame their differences to merge in September 1991 to form South African Student Congress (SASCO) (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). The first president of SASCO was Ramaite Robison, from 1991 to 1993. Sasco adopted five principles into its constitution: African leadership, working-class leadership, democracy, non-sexism and non-racism. The effects of this merger are numerous. Key among these effects were significant membership changes.

Thus, while the merger cemented linkages between organizations that subscribed to non-racialism and non-sexism and brought together Black and White students who supported the ANC's broad policies, SASCO, today, mainly draws its membership from Black students (Cele & Koen, 2003). One effect of this change involves an increasing search among White students for alternative organizations to SASCO through which they can express their views (Baloyi, 2021: interview).

This led to the emergence of independent candidates to contest SRC elections outside student political organisations. Much of this activity had been ascribed to disrupt SASCO's dominance of SRC's, their subordination of student interest in ANC policies, and unhappiness with the organizational activities of SRC's at several institutions (Cele & Koen, 2003). However, whereas SASCO still exists as a national body and maintains a national influence, the independent student coalitions still mainly operate as single institution organizations and only present a marginal alternative to students without political home.

In recent years, the reputation of SASCO as fearlessly and effectively representing the best interests of students and education has been questioned several times by students. ISACO has also been criticised for failing to effectively address pressing student problems, especially the exclusion of students due to non-payment of fees and issues of transformation at tertiary level. Some students believe that SASCO is in the pockets of the ANC. As a result, it will be difficult for them to notice wrong-doing by the ANC in transforming higher education (Tladi, 2021: interview). The fact that SASCO is housed at Luthuli House (ANC Headquarters) tells much about them (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview). In the SASCO-led SRCs maladministration, corruption and misuse of funds continue unabated (Tladi, 2021: interview).

5.7 Cooperation of AZASO with the Congress of South African Students (COSAS)

COSAS was established in June 1979 as a national organisation to represent the interests of Black school students at high school level. During its formation SASM and other organisations under the BC movement were banned by the apartheid government (O'Malley, 2011). COSAS organised students at secondary and night schools, as well as technical, teacher training and correspondence colleges. Soon after their formation, the organisation set up branches in the Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Transvaal, and Orange Free State (O'Malley, 2011).

Branches in the various provinces were set up with the aid of executive members, specifically deployed to the various regions for that purpose. COSAS adopted the ideology of BCM but a year after its formation COSAS became the first organisation to declare its support of the Freedom Charter. Its first president, Ephraim Mogale, was actually a prominent member of the ANC, and was later to be convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC (Magoro, 2021: interview). At the time of its formation, the ANC was banned along with other liberation movements under the Unlawful Organisations Act. A guiding principle of COSAS was the view that the ANC was the genuine liberation movement of South Africa. In its first two years COSAS took up two commemorative campaigns that authorities saw as ANC-supporting: the 1979 hanging of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu and the centenary of the Zulu victory over British troops at Isandhlwana (O'Malley, 2011).

COSAS was formed in the same year as AZASO, and both aligned themselves with the ANC and Freedom Charter. The organisation's principal aims were the conscientising of students and wider community to the repressive nature of education in South Africa, as well as to participate in the drawing up of an educational charter for a future non-racial democratic education system. Its view was that a democratic education system could only be achieved in a democratic society based on the will of all the people (Magoro, 2021: interview). It recognised that Bantu Education was aimed at controlling and indoctrinating youth, and that this could only be changed by transforming the country's entire political system (Magoro, 2021: interview). In 1983, COSAS, like AZASCO, welcomed the formation of the UDF and played a key role in the formation of the regional UDF structures in all the provinces. It saw the UDF as representing a common platform to fight for a free and democratic South Africa. In its early years, COSAS focused on educational issues but with its alliance to the UDF, and by the end of 1984, its students were making several demands around educational and political issues (O'Malley, 2011). Throughout the 1980s, under the banner of COSAS, students staged a variety of resistance activities, such as boycotts, strikes and negotiations. In 1984 at Hwiti, a high school that is based next to Turfloop, there was a large protest. Students protested against the principal, accusing him of being an agent of the apartheid regime.

Students from Turfloop joined in solidarity with learners from Hwiti (Magoro, 2021: interview). AZASO and the COSAS worked together, as they held similar positions in terms of ideology and approach, to the struggle for liberation. They were both aligned to the ANC and supported the Freedom Charter. COSAS, however, was more active in high schools, while AZASO was more active in institutions of higher learning. They worked together during protests, boycotts and strikes.

They were both confronted by the same enemy, which was the apartheid regime. A branch of AZASO in Turfloop and a branch of COSAS in Hwiti (a high school next to Turfloop) worked very closely in terms of addressing the problems affecting Black students (Magoro, 2021: interview). When there was a protest at Turfloop campus, learners at Hwiti joined them. This is because they perceived each other as one. Basically, AZASO and COSAS had to work together because they knew that they were facing one enemy, and the only way to defeat the enemy was through unity; so they had to unite and work together in order to win.

COSAS introduced a political education programme called “Each one teach one”. The programme was aimed at dealing with the psychological part of the revolution in Black communities (O’Malley, 2011).

The “*Each one teach one”* programme also aimed at eliminating all the stereotypes by Blacks about themselves and the complete eradication of the slave mentality and feelings of inadequacy, characteristic of an oppressed and exploited society (O’Malley, 2011). In this programme, the COSAS Hwiti branch worked closely with the AZASO branch on campus. The COSAS Hwiti branch used to invite knowledgeable comrades from the campus to give political education to learners (Magoro, 2021: Interview). The education was useful in encouraging young people to join the struggle for liberation.

5.8 Notable Historical Events in Turfloop: 1983 to 1994

5.8.1 The State of Emergency in 1985

By the mid-1980s, South Africa was in flames, with violent resistance and escalating rebellion from anti-apartheid activists in exile, including the ones inside the country (Glaser, 2010). Rural uprisings in the countryside of South Africa's Bantustan were met by violent demonstrations within the masses of South Africa's townships (Glaser, 2010). The state's response was to declare a state of emergency.

The State of Emergency in 1985 gave the President of South Africa the ability to rule by decree, to strengthen the powers of both the South African Defence Force (SADF) and South African Police Service (SAPS), and to restrict and repress any reporting of political unrest (Goodman & Weinberg, 2000). This was the first State of Emergency since 1960, and gave the police the powers to detain, impose curfews and control the media and, a few days later, to control funerals (Glaser, 2010). It was a difficult time for the UDF, with leaders imprisoned, networks collapsing and people feeling disillusioned.

It was at this point that the UDF turned to consumer boycotts, which it found to be acceptable resistance as they were non-violent. Consumer boycotts became the most potent form of protest in the second half of 1985 (Goodman & Weinberg, 2000). These boycotts were against White-owned shops, and sometimes excluded those owned by progressive Whites and included those owned by Black collaborators (Goodman & Weinberg, 2000).

Protesters were looking for any strategy which would help them in keeping the spirit of resistance alive and ignore the strategies of the oppressors, which were meant to make them lose focus in their struggle for liberation (Molepo, 2021: interview). The UDF supported the call for consumer boycotts and the strike quickly spread across the country. Although the boycotts were considered non-violent, they did sometimes turn violent, especially because they were imposed on people who did not willingly participate (Goodman & Weinberg, 2000).

> *During this state of emergency Turfloop was the nerve centre of this unfolding wave of uprisings in the North. Turfloop assumed this revolutionary leading role because of its activism in the struggle for liberation. In the North, Turfloop became a centre of attention and police and soldiers were deployed on Campus to disrupt the political activities of the students and to instil fear amongst student leaders such as Joe Mokgotsi and Bucks Mahlangu* (Hlongwane, 2021: interview).

Molepo (2021: interview) had the following to say about the conditions at Turfloop during the state of emergency: “During these periods we were treated like prisoners, it was difficult to be in Turfloop, we were not allowed to walk as a group, we were not allowed to go to study during the night; there were police and soldiers everywhere, our campus was turned into a military base”. It was difficult to be on campus during this period because we were harassed by the police and soldiers for no reason and the environment was no longer conducive for studying (Hlongwane, 2021: interview).

The aim of targeting Turfloop was to kill its revolutionary activism and to instil fear on students, so that they would refrain from political activities. Turfloop was targeted because it was more than a fountain of knowledge; it was also an oasis of revolutionary ideas. This is why it became a threat and a target for the oppressor (Hlongwane, 2021: interview).

Most student leaders were assaulted, tortured and arrested for their political activism. One of the student leaders who suffered the brutality of the oppressor during this period was Josephine “Jos” Moshobane. She was arrested for three months under the notorious Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provided for indefinite detention for interrogation, without access to lawyers or family members (Matlou, 2015:02).

She was released from Haenertsburg police station, into the custody of her uncle, the late Serepe Moshobane, who had been her high school principal and who was then the dean of students at Turfloop (Matlou, 2015).

Hundreds of students converged at the university's main entrance to give her a heroine's welcome (Hlongwane, 2021: interview). However, she could not appreciate the rousing reception because she had lost memory and orientation, and could not recognise members of her family and friends (Matlou, 2015). It was very hurting and devastating to see a young active female leader like "Jos" coming back from prison in that condition (Molepo, 2021: interview). The security police paraded "Jos" Moshobane in front of student activists on campus, telling them that they would meet the same fate if they continued with their revolutionary activities (Matlou, 2015). Moshobane's state of health meant that she could not continue with her studies, and her family took her home to take care of her. She spent Christmas 1985 with her family before going for surgery for what turned out to be a brain haemorrhage (Matlou, 2015).

She was admitted to a number of Gauteng hospitals, including Leratong and Chris Hani Baragwanath, to remove blood clots from her brain. She died on April 3, 1986, in Leratong Hospital, five months after being freed from detention (Matlou, 2015).The death of Moshobane clearly indicated the brutality of the apartheid regime in their attempt to supress student activism at Turfloop. In honour of Josephina Moshobane, the UL named the first year female residence after her. The university also have a Moshobane Square, where they host political and social gatherings. The legacy of Josephina Moshobane is valued and protected at UL

5.8.2 Transition to the New Democratic South Africa

The increasing social unrest in South Africa that swept through the country in the 1980s, and the changing geopolitical circumstances on the international political scene forced the apartheid government to enter into negotiations with the ANC. In March 1982, Mandela together with senior members of the ANC was transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison after spending 18 years on Robben Island (Pretorius, 2014). Between 1984 and 1989 secret meetings aimed at bringing down apartheid took place between the ANC and the NP. Western countries with business interests in South Africa also played a part in putting pressure to the apartheid government to enter negotiations which would bring transformation.

On 31 January 1985, PW Botha announced to parliament that the government was considering releasing Mandela from prison (Davenport, 1989). This would be done on condition that he renounced the armed struggle and agreed to return to his hometown of Qunu (Pretorius, 2014). “Mandela responded by rejecting the offer for his conditional release in a letter that was read by his daughter, Zinzi Mandela in a rally in Soweto on 10 February 1985” (Pretorius, 2014:63).

In July 1986, while he was in Victor Verster, Mandela wrote to the Commissioner of Prisons, requesting a meeting with Kobie Coetsee. During the meeting with Coetsee, the idea of negotiations between the NP-led government and the ANC raised a request to meet President PW Botha. The request was tabled and a promise was made that such a meeting would be arranged (Ross, 2008). That same year Mandela was visited by the Eminent Persons Group from the Commonwealth Groups of Nations (Ross, 2008). Coetsee continued to visit Mandela to negotiate on behalf of Botha. Some of the demands from Botha were that the ANC should end its alliance with the SACP (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

Mandela was transferred from Pollsmoor Prison to Victor Verster Prison, near Paarl, where he was held in a house formerly occupied by a prison warder (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). Despite being allocated a house, upon arrival Mandela was given another prisoner number which was 1335/88 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:23). After almost three years of meetings between Coetzee and Mandela, in 1989 Mandela wrote to Botha agreeing on the need to negotiate but refusing still to accede to the government’s conditions for negotiations (Ross, 2008). On 5 July 1989 SA President Botha secretly met Mandela, but Botha was overtaken by events and circumstances. In February 1989, he suffered a mild stroke and was forced by the cabinet to resign (Pretorius, 2014). He was replaced by Frederik Willem De Klerk, who quickly moved to implement reforms that would enable the negotiated settlement to take place. On 2nd February 1990 President De Klerk opened parliament with a speech that changed the course for South Africa’s future.

This was the start of De Klerk dismantling the Apartheid regime which had previously ruled over South Africa. Two of the key factors that De Klerk had brought up were the unbanning of all political parties such as the ANC and PAC and the release of all political prisoners, including Mandela (Ross, 2008).

De Klerk also spoke about his willingness to work with all political groups to create a new democratic constitution for SA (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

The process of negotiations had an impact on Turfloop. The impact was felt when students at Turfloop were striking in 1992. The strike was triggered by a national campaign of public protests sparked by rivalries between political groups during negotiations for establishing a new democratic order (Manganyi, 2016). What sparked the crisis at Turfloop campus was the fact that the local police authorities had decided to ban the holding of public protests outside the gates of the university (Manganyi, 2016). Students refused to leave such decision unchallenged.

According to Bopape (2021: interview), who was a student at Turfloop during this period, “In response, we arranged a huge march outside the campus towards Mankweng shopping complex and Police station, led by student leaders such as David Makhura, Robinson Ramaite and Onkgopotse Tabane. The situation became tense to the extent that the police had to take out their rifles and point to us”. The police were determined to make the situation as difficult as possible in an attempt to provoke the students, who had created a wall of bodies between the police and one of the University‘s main entrances (Manganyi, 2016).

The Vice-Chancellor and Principal (VC) Professor Chabani Manganyi managed to convince the police to withdraw. The VC also managed to convince students to go back to campus and continue with their protests on campus (Manganyi, 2016). According to Manganyi (2016:164), “It was important for me to legitimise and acknowledge the protest through rhetoric links to national politics and struggles”. Through robust engagements, the student leaders together with the university management managed to defuse a tense and dangerous situation that could have turned into an unspeakable tragedy (Manganyi 2016).

On the 25 April 1992 Mandela was installed as the Chancellor of Turfloop. The following day, Professor N.C Manganyi was installed as the VC of Turfloop. “Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo (then Chancellor of Fort Hare), Oscar Mpetha (ANC veteran), Professor Walter Kamba (then VC of University of Zimbabwe) and many other luminaries and struggle stalwarts attended the ceremony” (Manganyi, 2016:168).

During a two-day period, various university buildings and student residences were renamed after leading political struggle heroes in public recognition of their contribution to the liberation of the country (White, 1997). The stadium was given a name for the first time in the history of the University: it became Oscar Mpetha Stadium, in honour of this liberation stalwart (White, 1997).

Mandela, in his inauguration acceptance speech as chancellor, singled out the occupation of the university as one of the most sinister acts of the apartheid regime. He went further to remind his audience that even as he spoke the apartheid regime continued to maintain an observation post a short distance away from the campus (Bopape, 2021: interview). He acknowledged the contributions and personal sacrifices of past Turfloop students such as Onkgopotse Tiro. Immediately after the installation of the new university leadership, the management and the SRC demanded the reconstruction of the university council. The university management approached Sam de Beer, the Minister of Education and Training to inform him about their intentions to dissolve the university council (Manganyi, 2016).The proposal to dissolve the council came during a period when there was a dispute between Mandela and President De Klerk at the negotiations in Kempton Park. The Minister of Education and Training informed the university that their request had been turned down, but the university took the unprecedented step of unilaterally dissolving the council (Manganyi, 2016).

Minister De Beer and his government reacted by threatening to freeze payments of regular financial subsidy allocation to the university (Manganyi, 2016). The student leadership were informed about this threat and they reacted by holding a huge protest march at the office of the Minister of Education in Pretoria. A meeting was arranged between Professor Chabani Manganyi (VC), Nelson Mandela (Chancellor), John Samuel (Educationist), Sam de Beer (Minister of Education), and Dr Bernard Louw (Director General of Department of Education) in Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg (Manganyi, 2016).

The university management won the debate on their decision to dissolve the council and continued with the reconstituted and transformed council, with Professor Kader Asmal as the chair. This was a positive achievement for the Black community. While there were such positive achievements at Turfloop, the negotiations for a new democratic government continued to take place between the ANC and the apartheid

regime. Government officials (NP) and ANC officials met at Groote Schuur in Cape Town to discuss and negotiate the way forward. The highlight of this negotiation was the end of White rule by releasing all remaining political prisoners, granting immunity to prosecute political offenders, and to bring back political offenders in exile (Pretorius, 2014).

Due to the success of the Groote Schuur Minute the negotiations continued with the Pretoria Minute on 6 August 1990, which was the next negotiation conference held once again between NP and ANC officials in Pretoria (Pretorius, 2014). The main point of discussion was the ANC's announcement to suspend the armed struggle. The NP demanded the disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's armed wing which had been used during the apartheid period as a form of violent protest by actions such as setting off bombs in public areas. After the Pretoria Minute the NP government ended the State of Emergency in SA except in Natal due to on-going violence (Ross, 2008). After the success of the negotiations between the ANC and NP, it was agreed that all political parties should be included in the negotiation process. Nineteen political organisations, excluding PAC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) took part in the first CODESA held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Johannesburg on 21 December 1991 (Pretorius, 2014).

The negotiations at CODESA were to discuss the formation of a multi-racial government for the New South Africa. The Declaration of Intent was drawn up and signed by all political organisations present which was a commitment by all members to a goal towards an equal and undivided South Africa. In early 1992 De Klerk ordered that a "Whites only" referendum be held on the issue of reform and to see what the response by the White public was to reform (Pretorius, 2014). The referendum came back with very positive results as 68% of White South Africans voted for political reform (Pretorius, 2014).

Due to the success of CODESA One, a follow up, known as CODESA Two, was held, which was once again at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on 15 May 1992. Although CODESA One was a huge success, CODESA Two was not very successful, as all the political organisations failed to meet a consensus over a majority rule or power sharing form of rule for the new government. Political parties such as the ANC wanted majority rule, whereas the NP wanted power sharing (Giliomee &

Mbenga, 2007). This discussion was also not helped by all the on-going violence in the townships such as the Boipatong Massacre and Bisho Stadium tragedy, which occurred on the 17 June 1992.

The Record of Understanding involved an agreement between Roelf Meyer of the NP and Ramaphosa of the ANC. The actual agreement was that the negotiation process had to continue despite all the violence taking place and the 'third force elements' in the country (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). NP government members and ANC officials finally agreed on a 5-year term for government and political parties that gained over 5% in the election would be proportionally represented. On 27th April 1994 South Africa eventually held its first democratic elections, whereby all citizens of the country could vote. Over 19 million South Africa voted and the ANC won the elections. Mandela became the first democratically elected president of South Africa. The struggle for liberation was now over and the evidence of the role played by Turfloop students' activism was now visible through its products such as Ramaphosa, the current president of South Africa, Pandelani Nefolovhondwe, former member of parliament and current chairperson of UL council and Mosiuoa Lekota, leader of Congress of the People (COPE) and member of Parliament.

5.9 Conclusion

Apartheid was a brutal system on Black students at Historically Black Universities. Student activism at Turfloop and at other Black universities challenged the exploitation and oppression of the apartheid system. The university served as a place that prepared or produced intellectual political cadres. Those cadres were instrumental to the intensification of the struggle against White minority rule. For example, they had the ability to come up with strategies and tactics that gave the apartheid government no room to manoeuvre. The formation of Black student organisations such as SASO and SANSCO was of paramount importance and a realistic response to the injustice of the apartheid government towards Black universities and the Black community in general. Universities, particularly the Black universities, provided the institutional terrain, displaying repressive as well as conducive conditions (protective spaces) that facilitated student protest political behaviour. Those contributions were more positive to the forces of change.

The role of the UDF in the 1980s was also important in the struggle for liberation. It brought a new dimension to the approach and tactics in fight against apartheid system. Students in Black universities and the majority of Black communities had a common goal, which was to unite and fight against the injustices of the apartheid government in South Africa.

This should be understood within the context that both students in Black universities and Black communities had common experiences insofar as apartheid was concerned. Problems faced by their parents, their brothers and sisters at home, as a result of apartheid, also directly affected them at school and at home. Hence, they all saw the need to come together and fight against the apartheid government. The next chapter focuses on the reconfiguration and readjustment of student activism at Turfloop from 1994 to 2014.

CHAPTER SIX

RECONFIGURATION AND READJUSTMENT IN STUDENT ACTIVISM: 1994 TO 2014

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed apartheid oppression, repression and the problems faced by students at Turfloop. It went further and showed how students responded to these problems. The chapter also discussed the downgrading of BCM ideology and the emergency of UDF. The current chapter outlines the euphoria of the new democratic dispensation and expectations of improvement in the quality of life for Blacks. The 1994 elections and victory for the ANC came with many expectations for the previously disadvantaged South Africans. This chapter assesses if such expectations, particularly in the institutions of higher learning, were fulfilled. The chapter also looks at student formations and links to political parties, as well as changes which took place in student politics as a result of changes in the political landscape post-1994. The chapter also analyses how student activism has evolved in the post-1994 era.

6.2 The Euphoria of the New Democratic Dispensation

Prior to South Africa's constitutional democracy, social inequalities were embedded and reflected in all spheres of social life. They were a product of the systemic exclusion of Blacks and women under colonialism and apartheid (Badat, 2010). The higher education system was impacted by this discriminatory and authoritarian legacies. The collapse of the apartheid state and ushering in of democratic rule in 1994 represented a new beginning for the new South Africa and the Southern African region (Badat, 2010).

There were widespread expectations and hopes that the elaboration of democratic institutions would also inaugurate policies that would progressively alleviate poverty and inequality (Hoogeveen & Ozler, 2005). After 1994, there was too much excitement and expectations from Blacks. For most Blacks, the attainment of Democracy and the victory of the ANC as the governing party marked the end of all the problems which they encountered under apartheid.

Having the first Black president in South Africa brought so much hope and high expectations to Black South Africans. There were so many challenges which confronted Black South Africans under apartheid; some of them were, inequality, discrimination, poverty, oppression, poor economic conditions for Blacks, poor education system, poor Health system and poor justice system (Hoogeveen & Ozler, 2005). The emergence of democracy was expected to be the beginning of the end for all apartheid-era problems (Badat, 2010). Unfortunately, unduly raised hopes have a tendency to lead to disappointment. At a general level, the euphoria of 1994 came up against deepening inequality, high rate of unemployment, the HIV pandemic, as well as high rates of corruption and crime. The latter led one writer to conclude that South Africa is "a country at war with itself" (Altbeker, 2010). South Africans have entrusted democracy with the hard task of delivering jobs, wealth, healthcare, better housing and general basic services to the people. However, the reality is that all the apartheid-era promises are slow in arriving. Furthermore, there is growing disquiet and increased community protests that have sought to challenge the government on the pace of service delivery (Koen, et al, 2006). It is the level of what the present researcher calls a problem of expectations.

Although the expectations of many Black South Africans were not met by the ANC-led government, it is important to note that there are some positives that have come out of the ANC-led government. However, corruption and poor leadership contribute to the slow pace of development of the Higher Education Sector. There are also some key and progressive developments which have taken place in the post-1994 era, such as the representative legislatures, an independent judiciary, independent public audit, an independent Reserve Bank, and independent constitutional bodies to provide checks and balances and protect the rights of citizens. The country also has a democratic and progressive Constitution.

Through our progressive Constitution we enjoy freedom of movement and association, the right to own property, the right not to be detained without a trial, freedom of expression and freedom of the press, religious freedom and freedom of sexual orientation. Furthermore, women have equal rights before the law, which they did not have before 1994 (Hoogeveen & Ozler, 2005).

The fundamental challenge facing South Africa is the need to find sustainable means to overcome the apartheid legacy of racial division, poverty, and inequality; to reverse decades of distortionary political, social, and economic policies that impeded, rather than promoted, development (Koen, et al, 2006).

6.3 Transformation in Higher Learning Institutions Post-1994

The demise of apartheid in 1994 was heralded nationally and internationally as a victory for democracy and human rights. It offered unique opportunities and responsibilities to reconstruct a fragmented and deeply discriminatory education system, as well as to establish a unified national system underpinned by democracy, equity, redress, transparency and participation (DoE, 1997). This social reconstruction had to be linked to economic development in the context of global economies and internationalisation. The dual goals are captured in the mission statement of the Department of Education (DoE): "Our vision is of a South Africa in which all people have equal access to lifelong education and training opportunities which will contribute towards improving the quality of life and build a peaceful, prosperous and democratic society" (DoE 1997).

The ANC-led government described education as pivotal to economic prosperity and in assisting South Africans, to personally and collectively escape the "poverty trap" characterising many of our communities (Ntuli, 2020). It is a vehicle which reaches beyond economic goals, and enables South Africans to improve the quality of their lives and contribute to a peaceful, concerned and democratic nation. In the post-1994 era, education was declared a basic human right, established in the Constitution (Section 29, 1996): "everyone has the right to basic education, including adult basic education" without discrimination of any sort. In the first phase of education reform, the government placed much emphasis on developing legal and regulatory policy frameworks, to facilitate change, including the establishment of organisations and institutions that created the conditions and structures for effective transformative actions (Ntuli, 2020).

There have been several transformation-oriented initiatives seeking to effect institutional change. These were aided by the deliberate adoption of regulations aimed at overcoming unfair discrimination, expanding access to education and training opportunities, as well as improving the quality of education, training and research

(Badat, 2010). These initiatives have been grounded in Constitution principles of human dignity, equality, freedom, non-racialism and non-sexism. The right to further education is also guaranteed in the Constitution, which requires the state, through reasonable measures, to progressively ensure that it is available and accessible to all.

The Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 also recognises the need to redress past discrimination, ensure representivity, equal access to higher education, and promote the values which underlie an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom (DoE, 1997).

The Higher Education Act declared the desirability of creating a single co-ordinated higher education system, restructuring and transforming programmes and institutions to respond better to the human resource, economic and development needs of South Africa, redressing past discrimination, ensuring representivity and equal access and contributing to the advancement of all forms of knowledge and scholarship, in keeping with international standards of academic quality (Badat, 2010).The Act also proclaimed that it was “desirable for higher education institutions to enjoy freedom and autonomy in their relationship with the State within the context of public accountability and the national need for advanced skills and scientific knowledge (Badat, 2010).

The White Paper identified various social purposes that higher education was intended to serve (DoE, 1997)

- To mobilise human talent and potential through lifelong learning and provide the labour market, in a knowledge-driven and knowledge-dependent society, with the ever-changing high-level competencies and expertise necessary for the growth and prosperity of a modern economy.
- To undertake the production, acquisition and application of new knowledge and contribute to the creation, sharing and evaluation of knowledge.
- To address the development needs of society and the problems and challenges of the broader African context.
- To contribute to the social-cultural and intellectual life of a rapidly changing society, socialise enlightened, responsible and constructively critical citizens and help lay the foundations of a critical civil society, with a culture of public debate and tolerance.

The social purposes resonate with the core roles of higher education of disseminating knowledge and producing critical graduates, producing and applying knowledge through research and development activities and contributing to economic and social development and democracy through learning and teaching, research and community engagement (Badat, 2010).

As part of the vision of a transformed, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist system of higher education, the DoE was called upon to advance specific goals. These included the following:

- Increased and broadened participation, including greater access for Blacks, women, disabled and mature students and equity of access and fair chances of success to all while eradicating all forms of unfair discrimination and advancing redress for past inequalities.
- Restructuring of the higher education system and its institutions to meet the needs of an increasingly technologically-oriented economy and to deliver the requisite research, the highly trained people and the knowledge to equip a developing society with the capacity to address national needs and to participate in a rapidly changing and competitive global context.
- To conceptualise (and) plan higher education in South Africa as a single, co-ordinated system ensure diversity in its organisational form and in the institutional landscape.
- Diversify the system in terms of the mix of institutional missions and programmes that will be required to meet national and regional needs in social, cultural and economic development and offset pressures for homogenisation.
- To support a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights by educational programmes and practices conducive to critical discourse and creative thinking, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a human, non-racist and non-sexist social order.
- To create an enabling institutional environment and culture that is sensitive to and affirms diversity, promotes reconciliation and respect for human life, protects the dignity of individuals from racial and sexual harassment, and rejects all other forms of violent behaviour.
- To improve the quality of teaching and learning throughout the system and, in particular to ensure that curricula are responsive to the national and regional

context, and to promote quality assurance through the accreditation of programmes, programme evaluations and institutional audits

- To develop and implement funding mechanisms in support of the goals of the National Higher Education Plan.

(DoE, 1997)

The key levers for transforming higher education were to be national and institution-level planning, funding and quality assurance. In the context of a commitment to societal reconstruction and development programme, to which higher education was expected to make a significant contribution, the higher education transformation agenda was necessarily extensive in scope and fundamental in nature (Badat, 2010).

The extent that government and universities have sought to pursue social equity and redress the quality in higher education, simultaneously. However, difficult political and social dilemmas, choices and decisions have arisen, especially in the context of inadequate public finances, as well as academic development initiatives to support underprepared students, who tend to be largely Black and or of working class or rural poor social origins. Exclusive focus on social equity and redress, without adequate public funding and academic development initiatives to support under-prepared students, has negative implications for quality, compromises the production of high-quality graduates with the requisite knowledge, competencies and skills, and adversely affects economic development (Badat, 2010)

Conversely, exclusive focus on economic development and quality and standards, especially when considered to be timeless, invariant and attached to a single a-historical and universal model of higher education, results in equality being compromised or delayed, with limited erosion of the racial and gender character of the high-level occupational structure.

This example (others can be provided) shows that the transformation agenda in higher education embodies paradoxes. Government and institutions seek to simultaneously pursue a number of values and goals that are in tension with one another. The paradoxes necessarily raise social and political dilemmas, difficult choices and the question of possible trade-offs between values, goals and strategies (Badat, 2010).

The problems to transformation and social integration in South African universities, after access to higher education institutions was attained, include low student success rates, curriculum relevance, unsuitable student accommodation, questionable structure of some degrees, lack of integration between bridging courses and the core curriculum (Du Preez, et, al, 2016). The academic profession itself include a failure to identify and retain Blacks, especially female members of staff, an aging academic population, failure to develop African languages as academic languages and inadequate staff development (Cloete, et al, 2006). Moreover, difficulties surrounding leadership and governance capacity at higher education institutions include failure of many of their councils to provide suitable leadership, inadequate accountability for the implementation of transformation policies and institutional corruption. In addition, some academic leaders are still living in the past. They do not have the academic will to transform higher education sector but continue to retain the status core. Finally, some leaders get into university councils in order to advance their own business interests rather than to serve the Universities (Ntuli, 2020).

The institutional cultures of South African universities, after democracy, show limited shifts in the colonial apartheid-based values system that shaped universities prior to 1994 (Badat, 2010). A number of reports have indicated that the university culture in South African can be alienating and disempowering, with pervasive racism (Ntuli, 2020). The varied interpretation of transformation at the universities is a big problem. Some institutions have a very narrow interpretation of the term transformation, limiting themselves to demographic changes only (Cloete, et al, 2006). On the other hand, some institutions understand the term to be more expansive, extending to institutional culture and a general reform of the institution (Badat, 2010). Transformation should be broader and not focus on race only, as reducing the transformation agenda to racial equality ignores the broader transformational challenges in previously Black universities (Ntuli, 2020).

Transformation should be addressed holistically, rather than prioritising particular issues, without taking cognisance of their intersectionality of all the different forms of oppression (Du Preez, et, al, 2016). The Minister of Higher Education and Training, Blade Nzimande, in his May 2015 budget speech in parliament, stated that “transformation must be performed to create an Afrocentric space; advance the decolonization of knowledge; agitate for better facilities and more productive practices;

promote just pedagogies; broaden opportunities and increase success rates for Black students; foster demographic representation on all levels of the academy, and across university structures; stimulate a democratic and non-repressive institutional culture; and ensure accountable governance and management efficiencies" (DHET, Budget Speech, 2015). Transformation in South Africa Universities, must be reflected in all aspects of the institution, such as governance, management and leadership, student environment such as reasonable access and academic success, equity in staffing, institutional cultures, progressive and inclusive teaching and learning, research and knowledge systems, institutional equity, and the political economy of higher education funding (Mashele, 2021: interview).

The worst form of inequality is to try to make unequal things equal, according to Aristotle. In the post-1994, both previously White and Black Universities started to receive equal treatment. Government subsidy is given to universities based on graduation output and research output. The apartheid government was spending three times as much on the education of a White learner than for a Black learner (Oxlund, 2010). As a result, previously White Universities had the best infrastructure, highly qualified academics and well-equipped libraries. Finally, they were able to attract the best students and academics on the continent and beyond (Oxlund, 2010).

Therefore, the process of reform must look into those facts and address them objectively. Another problem is that many previously-Black Universities are located in rural areas, servicing rural populations which are constituted by the poorest of the poor. Black Universities suffered immensely under apartheid; for example, they were not a priority when it came to funding. Therefore, stipulating that institutions of higher learning would be funded based on output means those who were already well-established will continue to receive more, while the previously-disadvantaged will continue to receive less. In that way, it is not surprising that Historically Black Universities continue to have tensions, riots, demonstrations and unrests, even post-1994 (Oxlund, 2010). The process of transformation must be extensive in addressing the injustices of the past.

For, example, more resources need to be channeled to those who suffered for a long period under apartheid, in order for them to catch up with those who were favoured. This study acknowledges that the situation in the higher education sector has improved, as compared to prior-1994. However, much still needs to be done.

6.4 Student Activism at UL in the Post-Apartheid Era

In the post-apartheid era, students demand democratic governance systems that promote student representation in decision-making at universities (Badat, 1999). Students have also called for their involvement in the transformation of higher education and democratisation of the higher education governance system, including expansion of student access to higher education (Ntuli, 2021). According to Luescher (2013: 11) “when students are excluded from decision-making, it can have a detrimental impact on the academic functions of the university by engaging in mass demonstrations”. Student participation in university governance can have a positive impact regarding establishing an environment that promotes openness and trust among different stakeholders in universities, which results in an optimistic organisational climate (Luescher, 2013). The student demands for representation in university governance were ultimately achieved when the Higher Education Act of 1997 was promulgated, which officially recognised students as one of the major stakeholders in higher education (Ntuli, 2020).

Hence, through the said Act, students are included in the decision-making of universities as internal stakeholders, and were regarded as a significant stakeholder group of the university (Luescher, 2013). The South African experience of student activism was in line with the global trend of the 1960s, where students in Western countries engaged in mass protests to demand change at their universities, particularly democratisation of higher education (Luescher, 2010). University democratisation can be defined as a process of reconfiguration of Higher Education internal processes of decision-making, to align them with democratic principles, to make it more representative of the internal constituency, including students (Ntuli, 2020).

The various stakeholders in higher education eventually reached a general consensus to include students in higher education governance, primarily owing to what is designated as a globally acceptable move to adopt the principles of representative democracy in Higher Education (Luescher, 2010).

The dispute among stakeholders was usually associated with how and to what extent students should be involved in university governance. Furthermore, the study was conducted to assess the extent of student participation in the collective decision-making at UCT (Luescher, 2008). The study revealed that students held just 2.4 % of the seats in the university senate and such a low percentage could not support the role of students as important partners who had a stake in university decision-making. It further showed that the majority of seats in the university senate were held by academic and non-academic staff members, and student representation constituted a small percentage, with limited representation (Luescher, 2008).

At UL student representation in all university committees, ranging from University council to School council, does not constitute two percent of the committee members. For example, in the University Council at Turfloop, there is only one seat for the Student Representative Council (SRC), which is the SRC President, who represents student views in the University Council. Student participation in university governance to discuss issues which they are confronted with, does not reflect the full representation of the student populace. This is because in those committees some student genuine issues tend to be dismissed through voting (Mathebula, 2021: interview).

Some University management corrupt student leaders to make decisions that are in the best interest of them and disadvantage the students. This is possible because the number of students who seat in strategic committees of the University governance is small (Mashele, 2021: interview). For example, one finds that only one or two student leaders represent students in the strategic meetings of the institution. Therefore, in some cases such individuals connive with the university management in return for personal favours and support the mandate of the management over that of students (Mashele, 2021: interview). In many of these committees, student voices are suffocated because of numbers. This is because each time there is a deadlock on views, those who are in the majority resort to voting (Tladi, 2021: Interview).

Another thorny issue which is primarily causing problems in democratic South Africa is the paradoxical policy of expansion of access and limited government funding to higher education, together with cost-sharing measures that were promoted in the higher education policy (Ntuli, 2020).

There is a high demand for expansion of student access, particularly from historically disadvantaged and poor students. Historically, the student sub-cultures at the Historically Black Universities were characterised by high-level political activism during the struggle against apartheid (Vuma, 2018). Thus, these universities engaged in perennial protest action to wage a struggle for expansion of access and equitable funding in the post-apartheid era (Cele, 2014).

The literature also demonstrates that despite democratic mechanisms that were put in place for student activists to vent issues, students in South African universities tended to engage in protests to raise their concerns (Cele, 2008; Koen et al., 2006). According to Cele (2008) “students’ tactics to achieve their goals entailed oscillating from participation in university governance through negotiation process and engaging in protest action”. However, Luescher asserts that students prefer from time to time to organise protests to defend and extend their gains (Luescher, 2008). During the years 2015/2016, in the student leadership, if the management defeat the student leadership in the boardroom on crucial issues, students would go to the street. This is because management is in the majority in the boardroom and students are in the majority on the ground. Therefore, students always beat academics on the street (Tladi, 2021: interview).

In the 2012/ 2013, SRC leaders preferred to address pressing issues such as cold water in the residence, outstanding fees balances and funding issues at the mass meetings at Thami Square (Mashele, 2021: interview). Because they did not believe in sending individuals from luxurious offices to go and address issues on behalf of the student populace. This was not effective, hence student leadership preferred to address pressing issues with the management at mass meetings. The reason for that was that people enter those luxurious offices and are offered biscuits and tea, then forget about student issues (Mashele, 2021: interview).

Even though the post-apartheid policy promulgations cast students as equal partners and that students as well as all other stakeholders should play a role in participatory and democratic systems of governance in Higher Education, the literature reveals that student participation in South African Higher Education remains inadequate and restricted, and students view protest as a tool that is effective to raise their concerns (Cele, 2002; Luescher, 2008).

Koen et al. (2006) conducted a study to explore the nature of student protests that occurred in South African universities between 2002 and 2004.

The study revealed that the majority of student protests in South Africa have been centred on issues of student fees, student funding, poor or lack of accommodation, arrogant management, financial and academic exclusion. Those are issues which many believed would be addressed promptly under a democratic government. Students continued to use negotiations through their elected leaders and protest to influence or put pressure on the university decision-making processes (Cele, 2008). Student protests are a major manifestation of shortcomings and failures of the transformation of South Africa's higher education. They have also emerged as an illustration of an increasing frustration with the state of South Africa, its extreme inequalities, widespread poverty and its high youth unemployment.

6.5 Problems Faced by UL Students in the Post-1994

South Africa has 26 public universities, with nearly one million students, while 700 000 students are registered at the more than 50 higher education training colleges (TVET Colleges, Technical Vocational Education Training) (DHET, 2017 Budget Speech). An additional 90 000 students can be found at various private institutions (DHET, 2017 Budget Speech). South Africa has seen a major expansion of student enrolment. University enrolment has increased from about 500 000 in 1994 (Tjønneland, 2017), while enrolment at tertiary colleges has increased from around 200 000 in 2000 (Tjønneland, 2017). The vast majority of the students are now Black Africans. This is a dramatic increase, although the number of students in South Africa's higher education system in relation to the size of its population (55 million) is still too low, compared to other middle-income developing countries (Tjønneland, 2017). The government plans to increase university enrolment to 1.5 million by 2030 (DHET, 2017 Budget Speech).

The student body at UL is linguistically diverse and mixed, in terms of rural and urban upbringing, ethnic origin and gender. The university started with only 89 students in 1960 and in 2020 the number of students was 23 000. The overwhelming majority of students at UL are Black. The majority of students come from impoverished homes and poor schooling background (Vuma, 2018).

Furthermore, the university is divided into four faculties; namely: Faculty of Humanities, Faculty of Science and Agriculture, Faculty of Health, Faculty of Law and Management Sciences. At UL there has been a sharp increase in student numbers, which indicates a major improvement in access to higher education. Much of the expansion is due to the increased enrolment of Black students in South Africa post-1994. However, there is continuing racial disparity in the student population. The vast majority of university students are now Black (nearly 70 % of university students are Black). However, only 14% of the Black students are enrolled in higher education institutions, as opposed to 57% of White students (Tjønneland, 2017).

Black and female students are under-represented in science, engineering and technology as well as in business and commerce programmes (DHET, 2017 Budget Speech). On the other hand, White males dominate postgraduate studies. At UL there is no Faculty of Engineering. The School of Medicine was recently introduced. The school was accredited by the Council on Higher Education (CHE) and Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) in 2014 to offer Bachelor Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery (MBChB) undergraduate degree. The first intake was in 2016, with its first cohort of 60 students. However, the numbers have increased exponentially.

Financial crises in higher education were and still continue to be a problem at South African institutions of higher learning. Students are experiencing financial hardships and face threats of exclusion. Higher Education Department are being pressured into resolving financial aspects in a holistic approach to suit every student regardless of their race and class status. What has been predominant are financial hardships and threats of financial exclusion of students. Most students at Turfloop are from poor family backgrounds and cannot afford to pay their study fees (Molete, 2021: Interview). According to Molete (2021, interview) “When I arrived in Turfloop in 2009, I enrolled for a Bachelor Arts (BA). My fees were about R13 000 for that academic year. I was shocked to learn that, the same course today can cost you around R50 000 for one academic year”.

During apartheid funding in the institution of higher learning was a challenge (Tladi, 2021: Interview). Unfortunately, the challenge persists (Tladi, 2021: Interview). Around 2015, as the treasurer of the SRC in Turfloop, one of the present researcher’s

responsibilities was to assist students who had outstanding balances from the previous academic year to register. It was a very difficult experience because the majority of the students were owing the university and the university management would not allow such students to register (Mathebula, 2021: Interview).

The researcher personally experienced financial exclusion at post-graduate level at Turfloop. After completing his undergraduate degree (BA) which was funded by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), he continued with his studies and registered for an Honours in History. NSFAS does not fund post-graduate qualifications and his fees were about R25 000, excluding R18 000 for accommodation, for a total of R43 000. In that academic year the researcher was unable to settle his debt with the university, but managed to complete his Honours degree. He then decided to continue with his studies and enrolled for the Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), which was also not funded by NSFAS. However, due to the outstanding from the previous academic year, the researcher struggled to register for PGCE on time because the university wanted him to settle his outstanding balance and there was no money. Towards the end of February, when classes had already started, the university cleared the researcher for registration and he was finally registered.

However, Turfloop has limited accommodation on campus, and rooms are allocated based on a first come, first serve basis. Therefore, those who register late because of our financial exclusion often fail to secure accommodation on campus. That became a challenge for the researcher because he had lived in university accommodation his entire years as a student and was used to campus life. However -due to financial exclusion- he had to go and stay in a completely new environment (off-campus) at the postgraduate level. This became a serious challenge for the researcher because -as a postgraduate student- he frequently needed to use the library and computer lab for his studies.

Many students are unable to continue with their post-graduation studies because of funding. This is because NSFAS can only fund undergraduate academically deserving students. However, the government introduced the National Research Funds (NRF), which does not have enough funds to cover all post-graduate students.

Furthermore, NRF does not have the capacity and it can only fund few post graduate students in an academic year. Lack of funding for post-graduate is thus a problem because it limits the production of future academics, researchers, and innovators.

The development of South Africa needs young academics, young researchers and young innovators. However, the conditions are not conducive for the production of such skills in abundance. Therefore, the issue of funding remains a problem at institutions of higher learning. The government must therefore device means to deal with this problem (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview).

The other problem which students are confronted with at Turfloop is on-campus accommodation. The enrollment at UL is about 23 000 students and the capacity of accommodation is 7000, meaning only 7000 students can be accommodated on campus, and the remaining 16 000 students must stay off campus (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview). In the township of Mankweng there is a high crime rate. Thus, students residing off campus frequently become victims of crime (Tladi, 2021: interview). Students get raped, robbed their belongings and sometimes even killed. Furthermore, some of the off-campus rooms are not suitable for occupation and there is no security to ensure the safety of the students (Molete, 2021: interview). Some rooms leak when it rains and the university does not take responsibility for anything that has to do with off campus accommodation (Molete, 2021: interview).

In addition, there are no health safety officers from the university who work hand in hand with the off campus landlords, to ensure that students stay in a habitable environment. The landlords at off campus accommodation also do not care about the condition of their buildings. They only care about the monthly rent (Lesufi, 2021: interview). They even fail to do minor renovations. Staying off-campus is therefore uncomfortable (Molete, 2021: Interview). The fear among most students about staying off-campus is coming back late at night from the library and having to walk to an off-campus residence. It is a scary experience but students do not have a choice (Mathebula, 2021: interview).

Overcrowding in lecture halls is another challenge at Turfloop. Since 1994 there has been a rapid increase in the number of students admitted at Turfloop but no commensurate increase in the development of infrastructure (White, 1997).

As a result, the existing classrooms cannot keep up with the ever-increasing number of registered students, which results in overcrowding. Molete (2021: Interview) had the following to say about lecture halls at Turfloop: “In our psychology class during my first year, we were about 800 students and there was no hall that could accommodate such number of students. It was a disaster; some had to seat on the floor; some had to share a chair and some could not even enter the hall”. This clearly indicates that there was little effort by the democratic government to invest on infrastructure, particularly at previously disadvantaged universities, such as Turfloop. Transformation of institutions of higher learning, particularly the previously disadvantaged universities, cannot be achieved by merely increasing student intake (White, 1997). More students require more capacity in terms of infrastructure, human resources and finances to run the business of the university (White, 1997). Even today Turfloop continues to witness the slow pace of infrastructural development at Turfloop while enrolment continues to skyrocket.

Human resource capacity is a problem at Turfloop. There are inadequate staff personnel to keep up with the growing enrolment. The researcher’s friend and colleague, who was a lecturer for first-year students in the School of Education in 2020 had about 800 students in his class. He was expected to teach 800 students alone, give them assessments and also mark them. This exposed the lack of enough human resources at Turfloop. Clearly, one person cannot be effective and produce quality in a class of 800 students. Therefore, quality is often compromised and students who require individual attention do not get it. The same lecturer had another 3rd year module which he was also teaching and he was also a PhD candidate. There are three fields which need to be covered by academics: which are teaching and learning, research and community engagement.

Lecturers who are overloaded are thus unable to cover these fields because teaching and learning takes much of their time. As a result, other fields of academia, such as research and community engagement, suffer. Insufficient resources is one of the problems that put some academic staff in an awkward position. Surprisingly, most requests for additional staff are rejected by management, citing shortage of resources as the reason (Meso, 2021: interview). All these problems, ranging from staffing to infrastructural development, affect the core business of the university.

Therefore, both the government and the private sector need to come up with a long-lasting solution, which will make South Africa's higher education a better place for students.

Turfloop also need to reinforce their academic personnel or else the quality of the graduate programmes will be compromised (Meso, 2021: interview). Lecturers have to teach a manageable number of students and be able to interact with them, so that the lecturers can understand the students' individual strengths and weaknesses. This will assist lecturers to work on student individual weaknesses and perfect individual strengths. However, this is not possible in large classes (Meso, 2021: interview). During the researcher's final undergraduate year, the history lecturer was teaching history from first year to final year alone. He was a part-time lecturer at the UL and a fulltime employee at the local high school; but he was expected to handle both responsibilities.

Classes were therefore normally scheduled for late in the afternoon or evening, to accommodate his duties at his other work. This arrangement was problematic, particularly for off-campus students, who had to walk late at night on unsafe streets after evening classes. The lecturer was clearly overloaded and everyone could see that. However, he managed to give his best and produced excellent results. Had he been a fulltime employee at the university, with a reasonable number of classes, he could have excelled in his job. Turfloop must therefore hire enough capable and highly qualified staff personnel, so that it can live up to its vision of "Providing Solutions to Africa" (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview). Turfloop must also acquire enough resources in order for them to attract the best academics in the country and retain them (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview).

Insufficient human resources are also evident among the support staff. For example, in the Department of Cultural and Political Studies, a single secretary is shared with the Department of Criminology and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. In other words, one secretary is expected to serve three departments in the School of Social Sciences (SSS). Such limitations in human resources compromise productivity and effective running of the university.

There is also a need to reinvent and transform some of the programmes and content at Turfloop. Nelson Mandela once said, “Education is the most powerful weapon we can use to change the world”. Schools and universities are supposed to provide students with the necessary tools to survive the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Technology has advanced exponentially since the turn of the century, and there is a need to restructure some of university programmes in order to survive and be relevant in the fast-developing world. The project to decolonize curriculum needs to be prioritized and implemented as soon as possible. Furthermore, this project must involve people who were previously marginalized under apartheid, choosing to embrace and recognize their own cultures, tell their own histories, study from books written by Africans, and run institutions based on values that are reflective of African culture, as opposed to Eurocentric models. However, most of the content and structure of the programmes at Turfloop were inherited from the apartheid system. Turfloop needs to invest on reinventing and transforming most of its programmes, in order for them to be relevant and reflective of African culture. According to Meso (Interview, 2021) “we have directly inherited the apartheid system of education and there has been a little effort from leaders of academic institutions to invest more on the program of decolonization of our curriculum”.

Most of our university leaders in the country are old people who are the direct products of apartheid education. Therefore, they are comfortable with the system that produced them, hence the reluctance to transform it (Mashele, 2021: interview). There are many other remnants of apartheid at Turfloop which continue to exist. For example, there are certain courses which were regarded as golden courses for the minority population during apartheid, such as engineering, medicine and pharmacy, while Blacks were pushed and encouraged to do social sciences. This trend continues to exist even in the post-apartheid era. There are also more spaces in the Faculty of Humanities than in the Faculty of Health.

Turfloop is still without a faculty of engineering in the Fourth Industrial Revolution era, while South Africa has an acute shortage of engineers. A similar situation exists in the Faculty of Health. Despite the shortage of health practitioners in the country, the Faculty of Health has the fewest students than any other faculty at Turfloop. Turfloop takes about 60 students for medicine annually, and more than 300 for media studies.

Do we have a shortage of journalists or communication practitioners in the country? Why not increase the intake in the fields that have acute shortages in society, such as medicine? Prioritizing engineering programmes is required by the current state of our economy. Our country imports engineers from other countries, such as China and Cuba. That is a clear indication that we have shortage of engineers in the country, but the question remains: what do institutions of higher learning, such as Turfloop, do to address such challenges.

The preceding paragraphs present some of the problems emanating from the apartheid system and little is being done to solve them. One of the reasons why the country is faced with high rates of unemployed graduates is because of institutions like Turfloop. They continue to produce graduates in fields that are already saturated. Institutions of higher learning in the country need to be responsive to our economy in order to remain relevant. If our economy needs more engineers or more doctors, our institutions of higher learning must provide them. Graduates must be structured in such a way that they are combat-ready, with the required skills.

Many universities operate with scarce financial resources. Therefore, there is a need for efficient administrative systems, to ensure good governance and accountability. However, due to some peripheral, yet significant ancillary responsibilities, as well as a disproportionate number of non-academic administrative and support staff, universities have attempted to reduce the amount of financial resources apportioned to non-core functions (Muswede, 2017). This has seen the emergence of sub-contracted labour at universities through outsourcing of services, such as cleaning, gardening and security. The outsourcing of cleaners, gardeners, and security guards at Turfloop causes discontent among students and the affected employees. They advance an economic and human resources argument about outsourcing of services to sub-contractors.

They have questioned the social impact of privatization as a mechanism that continues to exploit the poor working class. As such, through solidarity actions, including the #FeesMustFall bandwagon, students have demanded that subcontracted personnel at universities be placed on permanent employment, with accompanying benefits (Muswede, 2017).

This action and its accompanying assortment vividly reflect the aspirations of the past struggles and further confirm that student activist campaigns generally mirror the grievances and the material conditions of the wider community, particularly the poor.

6.6 Student Political Organisations in the Post-1994 Era at Turfloop

South Africa has a long history of student activism, dating back to the anti-Apartheid period, which paved a way for South Africa's democracy. Since 1994, when democracy was established, South African students at South African universities have experienced some struggles.

Transition to the new democratic government did not mark the end to student political activism in South Africa. Rather, student activism and student political organisations continued to exist. The student political organisations at Turfloop are affiliated to various political parties in South Africa.

Many organizations with strong historical linkages such as SASO, NUSAS, and SANSCO are no longer in existence in the post-1994. In 1991 NUSAS and SANSCO merged to establish the South African Student Congress (SASCO). In the post-1994 era, SASCO became one of the most prominent student political organisations which became popular at institutions for higher learning throughout the country. SASCO was formed to advance the following Aims and Objectives (Constitution of SASCO, 2011):

- Strive to rally students of our country to support and unite behind SASCO and actively participate in the struggle and programmes to create a non-racial, non-sexist, united and prosperous society.
- Promote unity, patriotism and the spirit of internationalism amongst students;
- Champion the General interests and Rights of Students in the socio economic and political life of the country and nation.
- Strive to work for the educational, moral and cultural upliftment of students, without any intention of making profit.
- To unite all South Africans and to forge an understanding and practice of non-racism, non-sexism, and democracy in this process.
- To take up the demands of students of South Africa be they social, political, economic or educational.
- To forge links with all relevant organisations concerned with the liberation of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa, in the continent and World.

- To strive for a democratic, unitary and non-sexist education system that will prepare all South Africans to partake to the fullest in the building of a democratic society.
- To strive for the liberation of South African Women and to struggle against the oppression and exploitation of women and build women leadership.

The merger cemented linkages between organizations that subscribed to non-racialism and non-sexism and brought together Black and White students who supported the ANC's broad policies. SASCO is politically linked to the ANC and they support aims and objectives of the ANC and its political programs. When the ANC has political programs, such as January 8 celebration or campaign rallies, the leadership of SASCO is invited to give a message of support as the alliance partner. Most members of SASCO are also members of the ANC and they participate in the programs of the ANC. In fact, many graduates of SASCO are currently leaders at different levels of the ANC. Some example are the following: David Makhura, (former president of SASCO) and the current chairperson of the ANC in Gauteng Province, Bandile Masuku (former president of SASCO) and current Provincial Executive Council (PEC) of the ANC in Gauteng Province and Mandla Seopela (Former president of SASCO) and the current Branch secretary of the ANC in Sekhukhune region, in Limpopo Province.

SASCO is in an alliance with the youth wing of the ANC (ANC Youth League), the Youth wing of South African Communist Party (SACP), (Young Communist League of South Africa) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). The alliance is called the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA). The PYA is completely linked to the ANC and support its programs. Since its inception, SASCO has always been active at Turfloop (Magoro, interview: 2021). Most students knew about SASCO while they were still in high school, through COSAS, which was politically active in high schools (Lesufi, 2021: interview).

The comrades of COSAS made it a point that learners were introduced to SASCO politics and encouraged them to join SASCO when they enrolled at institutions of higher learning (Lesufi, 2021: interview). SASCO is the leader of PYA at institutions of higher learning and PYA contests SRC elections through SASCO. SASCO, today,

mainly draws its membership from Black students. One effect of this change involves an increasing search among White students for alternative organizations to SASCO, through which they can express their views. Lately, this has led to the emergence of independent (from political parties) student coalitions at individual institutions that address general student concerns around SRC during elections (Mamabolo, 2021: interview).

Much of this activity has been ascribed to unease with SASCO's dominance of SRC's, their subordination of student interest to ANC policies, and unhappiness with the organizational activities of SRC's at several institutions (Tladi, 2021: interview). However, whereas SASCO still exists as a national body and maintains a national influence, the independent student coalitions still operate mainly as single institution organizations and only present a marginal alternative (Cele & Koen, 2003).

One of the main challenges which PYA is faced with today is the impact of the ANC factions. The 52nd ANC Conference in 2007 at UL, brought long-lasting divisions within the PYA. Leading up to this conference young people were divided along factional lines within the ANC. The ANC Youth League was in the forefront of the campaign for Jacob Zuma to become a President of the ANC, while SASCO was supporting the incumbent, President Thabo Mbeki. Furthermore, some members of YCL were supporting President Thabo Mbeki, while others were supporting Jacob Zuma, like COSAS (Selane, interview: 2021). This division weakened PYA. In 2007 and 2008, SASCO did not win the SRC elections at Turfloop due to the impact of the national politics of the ANC. In 2007, Pan Africanist Movement (PASMA) won the SRC elections and Elvis Nkoana became the President (Mathekgane, interview: 2021).

The ANC Youth League did not support SASCO in those elections due to their internal squabbles. In 2008, the ANCYL contested SASCO in the SRC elections at Turfloop and won. Unfortunately, the ANCYL did not win with the required margin, meaning they needed another party to enter into an alliance with, in order to have enough seats to constitute the SRC. The ANCYL approached SASCO for a possible merger but SASCO refused. As a result, the SRC was not constituted and the university management appointed an interim SRC led by Masoga Lucas (Selane, interview: 2021). In 2009, the ANCYL and SASCO came together, after realizing that their divisions were costing them, and contested SRC elections as the PYA.

They won the SRC lections and Walter Modiba (deceased) became the SRC President. In 2010 things were fine; they contested again as PYA and won the SRC elections and Khanye Nkosi became the President (Selane, 2021: interview).

However, problems started in 2011, when the ANCYL came up with the debate to impose themselves as the leaders of PYA and demanded that the presidential candidate of the PYA must come from the ANCYL (Mashele, Interview: 2021). The debate was initiated by the ANCYL regarding its position in PYA. This created conflicts in the PYA, which led to an ANCYL break-away, which contested the SRC elections alone (Mathebula, 2021: interview).

These conflicts had a negative effect on the national and provincial leadership of the ANCYL. Jacob Lebogo, then secretary of the ANCYL in Limpopo and Joseph Modikana Buthane, then treasurer of the ANCYL in the Peter Mokaba region were on the forefront of leading the breakaway from PYA to stand alone. The ANCYL contested the elections with Raymond Ramaru as its presidential candidate and won the elections (Molete, 2021: interview). Unfortunately, they did not reach the election threshold and management declared the elections null and void. The university management appointed an interim SRC, led by Raymond Ramaru as the President (Molete, 2021: interview).

From 2011 to 2014 the SRC at Turfloop was under the leadership of the ANCYL, and from 2015 to 2018 it was under the leadership of the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC). What is interesting is that the majority of members and leaders of the ANCYL in Turfloop left to join the newly-formed political party (EFF). The EFF was formed by the expelled former president of the ANCYL, Julius Sello Malema and suspended former ANCYL National Spokesperson, Nyiko Floyd Shivambu. The EFF assumed the nature and character of the ANCYL; hence it attracted most of the former members and leaders of the ANCYL. Joseph “Stalin” Buthane, who was very influential in leading the breakaway of the ANCYL from the PYA to contest SRC elections independently, became the provincial secretary of the EFF in Limpopo. Buthane became a key figure in the EFF in Limpopo; he was the key figure in the party in the province and very influential.

Buthane was a diligent leader who committed himself to the work of the party (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview). He also played an influential role in all the victories of the EFFSC in the SRC elections at Turfloop (Mamabolo G, 2021: Interview). Buthane was a family man but during SRC elections he abandon his family and came to stay on campus, giving student political activists all the support they needed. He campaigned with them and provided them with all necessary tools for campaigns (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview).

The Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) was formed in1998. It was affiliated to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). PASMA became one of the key student organisations in Turfloop (Mathekgane, 2021: interview). Throughout its history in exile, the PAC consistently struggled to re-establish itself inside South Africa. Its failure to do so was particularly evident in the fact that PAC-aligned students generally attached themselves to BC student organizations in the 1980s (Cele and Koen, 2003). However, the emergence of PAC-aligned trade unions in the late 1980s foreshadowed efforts to re-establish a student wing (Cele and Koen 2003). Initially this led to the establishment of the Pan-Africanist Student Organization (PASO): which in 1998 followed the lead of AZASM in splitting its student support base into a higher education (PASMA) and secondary education (PASO) segment (Mathekgane, 2021: interview). Since then, PASMA has managed to establish an effective organizational structure and successfully challenge SASCO for control over SRC's at several Universities and technikons (Mathekgane, 2021: interview).

PASMA was formed around the following objectives (PASMA Constitution, 2000):

- To rally and unite the dispossessed African students in Azania under the banner of the liberatory ideology of PAN Africanism.
- To heighten the national consciousness of African students in the national struggle for self-determination and self-reliance.
- To organize, educate and lead students in their struggles, which form part of the integral workers struggles for the realization of a socialist society.
- To work ceaselessly for the final destruction on imperialism, capitalism, neo-colonialism and racism.
- To educate the students to embrace the vanguard role of the workers and peasants in the national struggle.

- To promote the principle of education for liberation.
- To engage students in educational and Cultural activities which promote the African values and philosophy.
- To build and develop a sense of social responsibility and leadership qualities among students.
- To establish fraternal relations with other progressive student movements and political movements in Azania, Africa and the rest of the world.

What distinguishes PASMA from other student political organisations, such as SASCO and the Democratic Alliance Student Organisation (DASO), is that membership in PASMA was open to only Black students who subscribed to the ideology, principles and policies of PASMA. SASCO and DASO are open to all South Africans and strive to forge an understanding and practice of non-racism, non-sexism, and democratic principles. Since its inception, PASMA has been active in student political activism at Turfloop. At historically black universities PASMA became a dominant student political organisation. It was in and out of SRC power. In Turfloop PASMA won the SRC elections immediately after its formation in 1998. Geoffrey Mashao became the president (Mathekgane, 2021: interview). For PASMA to win SRC elections in the first year of its formation, it shows that it was well-received at Turfloop. Nkuna (Interview, 2021) had the following to say about PASMA at Turfloop: “PASMA was a giant in Turfloop; its leaders, such as Matome Lekgema (deceased), Matome Mashao and Oupa Mkhudu, were fearless. They always led the biggest strikes on campus and were not easily corruptible, like others”. In 2007 PASMA led one of the biggest student protest at Turfloop.

The protest was for numerous student grievances on campus, ranging from accusing SASCO of conniving with management to advance the interests of management, cold bathing water in the residences, removal of some arrogant lecturers, high prices in the cafeterias and many others (Mathekgane, interview: 2021). In that protest, one of the students, Neria Ramoditsetse, was shot in the head with live ammunition and left disabled after staying many months in the intensive care unit at Polokwane Hospital (Nkuna, interview: 2021). PASMA was radical and became the most feared student political organisation in Turfloop (Mathekgane, interview, 2021).

PASMA became a strong force in Turfloop and it was very arrogant towards any reactionary policies, decisions or behaviour from the management (Makhafola, 2021: interview). It was different from SASCO because SASCO was easily managed through the ANC by the university management. Any time SASCO comrades misbehaved or challenged them, the management would simply call the provincial leadership of the ANC (Makhafola, 2021: interview). The management of Turfloop hated to see PASMA in power. This is because they feared their radicalism and intellect; comrades within PASMA were also knowledgeable (Nkuna, interview: 2021). Looking at the aims and objectives of PASAM, one can safely conclude that, PASMA assumed the nature and character of SASO. There are many similarities between SASO and PASMA. One of those is their requirements for membership and the need to embrace the vanguard role of the workers and peasants in the national struggle. On the other hand, SASO was more concerned about the national consciousness of Black students and Blacks in general in the struggle for self-determination and self-reliance, which also became one the key objectives of PASMA.

Student Christian Organisation (SCO) in Turfloop played a dual role, as a religious structure and as a political organisation involved in student activism. The mission of this structure is to serve Christ, by developing opportunities for students in South Africa to be transformed into effective Christians for today's world (Moagi, 2021: interview). Its vision is to build students in South Africa into communities of disciples transformed by Jesus Christ, impacting the School, the University, the Church and society for the glory of God. Although most pre-1994 student political organisations are no longer in existence, one can spot similarities between pre-1994 and post-1994 student organisation.

For example, SCO holds the nature and character of UCM. How it is structured and conducts itself, reflects UCM. On the other hand, SCO is a religious student organisation that is also concerned with politics. They pray for a good student political leadership and also produce student political leaders within their ranks (Magoro, 2021: interview). SCO has been consistent in producing God-fearing leaders who champion the interests of students (Mathekgane, 2021: interview).

Malatji (interview, 2021) had the following to say about the SCO: “The SCO is a different organisation which occupies two roles at the university. It prays for us throughout the year and gives spiritual guidance while at the same time ensuring that students are led with dignity and credibility”. The SCO is a well-known organisation at Turfloop. It is very active in religious issues in campus, such as arranging and conducting daily church services, mass prayers and examination prayers. It is not linked to any political party, such as SASCO and PASMA. Furthermore, the SCO contests SRC elections at Turfloop. In 2012/ 2013 the researcher was fortunate to serve in the SRC at Turfloop.

In one of the SRC elections at Turfloop, there were two members of the SRC deployed by the SCO. What one observed from the deployees of SCO is that they come with certain interests and a mandate to advance them. One of those interests is to become the mouthpiece of religious structures in campus. They also strive to ensure that all religious structures that are in need of some space to conduct their church services are allocated venues without any hassle. In 2013, some students complained to the SRC and Dean of Students about the noise made by church services in the academic area when others were busy studying. The SRC convened an urgent SRC meeting to address that particular matter and the majority of the SRC members argued that, the primary role of the university is teaching and learning, so extra-mural activities cannot be allowed to interrupt the core business of the university. Then the SRC took a resolution to ban daily church services on campus and agreed to give them the Sunday slot to conduct their church services.

The members deployed by SCO highly contested this decision at the meeting, but unfortunately, they were only two of them and the SRC is constituted by seventeen members. Therefore, it was fifteen SRC members against two SCO members. The SCO deployees lost the debate in the meeting and the resolution was passed that churches can only be conducted on Sundays. The minutes of the meeting were submitted to the Dean of Students and he indorsed the SRC resolution.

When the news broke out to the general members of SCO, one of the biggest protests erupted. The SCO members stopped the entire operations of the university for more than a week. The SRC was called zombies of Satan who were against the preaching of the word of God. It became a big issue which was taken to social media platforms,

radio stations and eventually the Vice-Principal (VC), Professor Mahlo Mokgalong intervened in the matter and reversed the SRC resolution. That was a moment when students witnessed and tested the power of the SCO. This structure had the most dedicated, disciplined and consistent group of supporters. In each and every SRC elections, SCO was always certain about their votes from its members and supporters.

They have their own clientele of Christian students who were not easily persuaded to vote for any student organisation. Their base of supporters is very solid, honest, dedicated and not easily convinced. SCO is the voice of Christians within the SRC, when the SRC is busy with bashes and fresher's ball, the SCO will be lobbying for gospel festivals for Christian students, in order for them to also enjoy watching their favorite gospel artists performing and healing their souls (Malatji, 2021: interview). The SCO is necessary in student politics; it safeguards the interests of Christians at Turfloop (Malatji, 2021: interview). The SCO is still going strong at Turfloop and playing its role as the student religious organisation and a student political organisation. The SCO also continues to be represented in the SRC. In the current SRC (2021/2022), the secretary of the SRC was deployed by the SCO, while the president came from SASCO.

An attempt was made at Turfloop to launch DASO around 2010. DASO is the student wing of the Democratic Alliance (DA). DASO's vision is that of "No Student must be Left Behind". Through their main policies, anchored in inclusivity, they believe that they can create One South Africa for All which stands for Freedom, Fairness, Opportunity and Diversity. DASO believes that equality is required within gender and identification in order for all students to be represented, and for past gender discrimination to be addressed. DASO is built around the following aims and objectives:

- Influencing decision making process
- Developing the country 's future leaders
- Addressing issues that affect the youth and become part of the solution.
- Promoting liberal principles and values
- Endeavoring to become an organisation of positive change
- Fighting against and changing political racial stereotypes
- Turning passive supporters into active members
- Increasing our political relevance

- Complementing our parent organisation, the Democratic Alliance.
- Working towards promoting student political involvement
- Fighting against current social injustices and inequalities, including those stemming from our past, in the same spirit as our predecessor

DASO never made any impact at Turfloop and was never a factor. During their years of existence at Turfloop, they never won a single seat in the SRC (Mashele, 2021: interview). DASO is thus not part of any history of Turfloop student politics; they never made a name for themselves. Their branch meetings were held in a small room (Molete, 2021: interview). Furthermore, they never led any protest. That is because they never had more than 50 votes in the SRC elections (Mashele, 2021: interview). They were just there by name but nothing at all came from them (Mashele, 2021: interview). The researcher was fortunate to be around Turfloop when the DA launch DASO at Turfloop. What he observed was its minimal impact on student political organisations at Turfloop b with Mashele (2021: interview), as alluded by Mashele (2021). Its lifespan was also short; it existed for about four years at Turfloop and then died. From 2014 until to date there has never been a DASO branch at Turfloop. Thus, they do not contest the SRC elections because there is no active branch to facilitate that process.

DASO is one unique student political organisation which cannot be likened to any of the pre-1994 student political organisations. In all previously Black universities, DASO has not made any political impact. It is only in the previously White Universities where they are visible and make limited impact. Its lack of support at Black universities may be informed by the history of its parent organisation. As much as the DA is completely different from the National Party (NP), with completely different policies, many Blacks still liken it to the NP. It may be because of its predominantly White members and given South Africa's historical background, particularly the relationship between Blacks and Whites. It seems difficult for Blacks to support any political party that is White-dominated. Blacks seem to be too scared of the return power of the White minority because they do not want history to repeat itself.

The Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC) is one of the prominent student political organisation at Turfloop. It was formed in 2014, after the formation of its parent organisation, the Economic Freedom Fighter (EFF). EFFSC is a radical and militant student Economic Emancipation Movement which brings together

revolutionary students, fearless, radical, and militant activists. They campaign under the banner of the need to pursue the struggle for economic emancipation, which is intertwined with free education.

The EFFSC derives its existence from the constitution of the EFF, it is governed by and adheres to the policies and programmes of the EFF (Constitution of EFFSC, 2015). The EFFSC takes its lessons from the notion that "political power, without economic emancipation is meaningless" (Constitution of EFFSC, 2015). The Movement is inspired by ideals promoted and practiced through organic forms of political leadership (Constitution of EFFSC, 2015).The EFFSC draws inspiration from Marxist-Leninist and Fanonian schools of thought on its analysis of colonialism, the education system, imperialism, race and class contradictions in every society (Tladi, 2021: interview).

The EFFSC also draws its inspiration programmatically from heterodox economics, whose conception of development in post-World War II is the most possible, coherent and cogent form of developmental path (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview). Through organic engagement and constant relationship with the masses, EFFSC provides clear and cogent alternatives to the post-colonial economic systems, which in many countries kept the oppressed students under colonial domination and suppression (Constitution of EFFSC, 2015). The EFFSC is a South African Movement with a progressive internationalist outlook, which seeks to engage with progressive movements at institutions of higher learning within and outside Africa (Constitution of EFFSC, 2015).

The EFFSC is built around the following aims and objectives (Constitution of EFFSC, 2015):

- To establish and sustain a student society that cherishes revolutionary cultural values and to create conditions for total political and economic emancipation, prosperity and equitable rights of all students in higher learning institutions.
- To attain and defend the National Integrity and Liberation of the oppressed black majority of South African students.
- To participate in the worldwide struggle for the complete eradication of imperialism, colonialism, racism and all other forms of discrimination.

- To participate in, support and promote all struggles for the attainment of the complete independence and unity of African education systems and by extension, the African continent.

- To oppose resolutely, tribalism, regionalism, religious and cultural intolerance
- To oppose the oppression of women and the oppression of all other gendered persons
- To oppose patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia and any cultural or religious practices that promotes the oppression of any student, women in particular.
- To fight for and deliver FREE Quality Education in our lifetime
- To fight for better learning facilities on campuses and living conditions in residences, and building more higher learning institutions and residences.
- To ensure transformation of all forms in higher learning institutions.

The EFFSC is affiliated to the EFFSC and its members are bound by the seven non-negotiable pillars of the EFF, as contained in their constitution. Like PASMA, the EFFSC made a significant impact at Turfloop in its first year of existence. The EFFSC participated for the first time in the SRC elections at Turfloop in 2014. During that year, the SRC elections were highly contested, and the ANCYL was contesting SASCO. Most observers believed the battle would be between the ANCYL and SASCO because they were the most popular and prominent student political organisations at Turfloop (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview). However, the EFFSC started as underdogs and humbled the two organisations (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview).

The EFFSC won the SRC elections in Turfloop in their first year of existence (2014). The same happened to PASMA. Does this mean students are always open to new ideas? It is hard to tell because other newly-launched student political organisations, such as DASO, were rejected, which led to their untimely death. The first SRC president deployed by the EFFSC was Mathoko Matome. Tladi (interview, 2021) had the following to say about the EFFSC at Turfloop:

> *"In their first elections of SRC in Turfloop, people undermined the EFFSC. They only started to recognize its impact when the CIC (Julius Malema) was at Tiro Hall to campaign for the EFFSC. Tiro Hall was fully packed and everyone was out to see the*

CIC. The EFFSC brought a completely different energy in to student campaigns for SRC. It became the first student political organisation of our time to bring the national president of its parent organisation, together with provincial leadership to come and campaign for SRC elections".

The EFF has invested time and resources in the SRC elections in Turfloop, they were campaigning as if it was for the national general elections (Mashele, interview: 2021). Mashele (2021) also believes the EFF has invested more time and resources in their campaigns. For example, they hosted a student festival as part of their campaign for SRC elections at the University Pond (next to the University Stadium) in 2014. At that festival prominent national music artists were brought to entertain the students. Student were also given organisational t-shirts. What also made the festival remarkable was the distribution of beef for the students to have a braai. There were braai stands everywhere for the students to roast the meat. Cows were slaughtered specifically for the event and students also enjoyed the entertainment.

The EFF went all out in their first SRC elections to set a precedence (Mathekgane, 2021: interview). It was necessary for them to start on a good note and their strategy worked for them. They won their first SRC elections in Turfloop and more wins followed afterwards. What made the EFFSC different from PASMA was that the EFFSC were able retain power from 2014 until 2018, which is a period of 5 years. It is not easy for a new student political organisation snatch power in the first year of existence and sustain it for 5 consecutive years (Mathekgane, interview: 2021). PASMA failed to show the consistency displayed by the EFFSC because as much as they were a threat to SASCO, they were in and out of power. They also did not dominate, like the EFFSC did.

The EFFSC led various protests in Turfloop, ranging from protest for hot water in residences, NSFAS, outstanding fees, high prices at cafeterias and many others. However, there are two historical and notable protests which they led; namely, insourcing of all contract workers and undivided meal card. At Turfloop there is a group of support staff, such as cleaners, security guards and gardeners, who are employed on contractual bases by companies that were awarded tenders to render such services.

The EFFSC was against that; so, they closed down the University and demanded that the University management must terminate the contract of those companies and absorb their personnel as permanent employees of the university with benefits such as pensions, medical and annual bonuses (Tladi, 2021: interview).

The EFFSC believed that the call for insourcing was a genuine call and represented what the EFF stands for (Mathonsi, 2021: interview). The EFFSC said they were not going to fold their arms and look at security companies such as Mafoko exploiting its employees and witnessing them working for abnormal hours for low wages, without benefits (Tladi, 2021: interview). The EFFSC was just following in the footsteps of their parent organisation. It was a national position of the EFF that all contract workers must be employed on a permanent basis (Mathekgane, interview: 2021). The EFFSC did not achieve their desired outcome on the outsourcing matter because the university management requested time to conduct feasibility study to determine if is doable or not (Mamabolo G, interview: 2021). However, given the fact that the SRC leadership changes annually, those who come in after those who have initiated a process may not follow it up, like the initiators (Tladi, 2021: interview). The researcher, as a former SRC leader, identified this lack of continuity of projects by SRC's. For example, when the researcher was in the SRC, there was an SRC Trust Fund.

The SRC Trust Fund was used to fund outstanding balances for academically gifted students who were coming from poor family backgrounds. There was also something called 'a meal a day', which was meal program to feed students from poor family backgrounds. Unfortunately, when the researcher's group left office, the new SRC came in with their own ideas and programs and discontinued the meal a day and SRC Trust Fund ideas. The researcher's SRC team felt like those were genuine programs which should not be politicized or discontinued. However, every SRC team that comes into office wants to leave their own legacy. They do not want to continue with other teams' projects.

The second remarkable protest led by the EFFSC at Turfloop was regarding the issue of meal cards. The student meal card at Turfloop could only be used at campus cafeterias. Due to lack of competition at the campus cafeterias, the prices of food there skyrocketed. For example, a 2 liters bottle of Coca-Cola, which sells for R15.00 at the local Shoprite supermarket off-campus was selling for around R30.00 at the cafeteria.

The cafeteria owners connived in their pricing and set ridiculous prices on their products, taking advantage that the meal cards could only buy from them (Tladi, 2021: interview). The EFFSC fought against this and won. They ensured that the meal card could also be used off-campus.

This became one of the most notable victories for the EFFSC on student issues and, to date, they are still being praised for this achievement (Mathekgane, interview: 2021). Cafeterias on were therefore campus were compelled to adjust their prices and set reasonable prices. Thus, the EFFSC remains one of the most active and popular student organisations at Turfloop, and Turfloop remains one of the strongest bases of EFFSC.

6.7 The Nature and Character of Student Activism in the Post-1994 Turfloop

Historically, students have always played a significant role in shaping institutions of learning, especially universities and technical colleges, as well as society's social settings. Often students' involvement in campus politics, which also drew inspiration from national politics, culminated in changes, either destructive or constructive. Such changes would define the future of higher education and societal prospects at large (Rapatsa, 2017). Many reactionary governments, such as the apartheid, believed that students' political activism was generally oppositional in nature. For example, there are instances where students were involved in crucial developmental academic matters, and commendably played an influential role in driving anticolonial nationalist movements and fundamental reforms destined to be pro-poor and advance social justice, in particular (Rapatsa, 2017).

It is worth mentioning that things have changed. The political climate and dynamics defining collective struggles of our past have changed. In the past, student activists, who carried deeply entrenched traits of nationalism were informed by a common struggle to fight against oppression, repressive legal systems, racial segregation and disenfranchisement (Rapatsa, 2017). This is because -before they are students- they were members of their communities and the apartheid policies affected them as members of their communities and as students. However, in the post-1994 era things changed, and now the struggles are more concerned with access to education, protection of human rights, human freedoms and social justice, in an egalitarian

climate, under which public participation, including that of students, is one of the essential tenets upon which the primacy of effective governance is founded.

The nature and character of student activism in the post-1994 era can best be understood by making a comparative reflection of the nature and character of student activism pre-1994. This approach will enable a swift identification of epistemological factors that influenced the thinking of the pre-1994 students and today. History reveals that student activism that took place pre-1994 was ideologically well-grounded (Rapatsa, 2017; Badat, 1999).This entails that students who participated in student activism understood the need to suppress cultural imperialism and political indoctrination of the native masses.

Therefore, the extent of consciousness raising was reasonably high in the pre-1994 era. This can be traced to the periods of the formation and activism of the BCM and SASO, whose leaders, such as Biko and Pityana, mobilized students around ideologies premised on rejection of subjugation by the racially repressive apartheid regime, thereby elevating students' level of political and social consciousness. Most importantly, the BCM formulated and embraced an ideology that emphasised the importance of changing values, self-love, self-image and psychology, to undermine the idea of ascribed inferiority, with its fundamental goal being to achieve mental liberation, in order to realize physical liberation (More, 2017). Such ideologically grounded social movements culminated in students identifying areas of focus, and eventually enabled students to make distinctive contributions towards defining South Africa's future social and political climate (Rapatsa, 2017). Students became a beacon of hope towards achieving a liberated nation, particularly during the banning of the ANC and the PAC.

The pre-1994 generation was informed by philosophical thoughts with clear epistemological location. This helped in informing students' decisions, whether or not to join and commit to such a social movement. Firstly, students appreciated that their social backgrounds and sufferings largely emanated from deliberate human acts, which were enforced through subjugation and oppression (Rapatsa, 2017).

The pre-1994 generation was very clear in rejecting cultural imperialism and political indoctrination, which had long been earmarked for implementation through the classroom, church and lecture room by the colonizer.

They were also aware that Bantu Education never intended to reinforce, awaken and develop the intellectual potential of the African student, and that the education system did not promote human values ascribable to egalitarian setting (Rapatsa, 2017). At the centre of their struggles were mainly, demands to abolish racial discrimination, social segregation, opposition to apartheid, and the creation of an environment under which all students are afforded equal opportunities to fully realise their potential and enhance both internal and external capabilities (More, 2017). The pre-1994 generation's struggle was well- defined, with a clear political ideology.

Given the aims and objectives of various student political organisations in Turfloop, discussed earlier, one can conclude that the contemporary student activists find motivation from the actions of pre-1994 students. However, it is difficult to locate an ideological relation between acts of the then student activists and those of the present. This study believes that there are specific variables defining these two eras, the pre-1994 era and the post-1994 era at Turfloop. Variables that informed ideological struggle pre-1994 were briefly outlined above. With regards to the post-1994 student activism, this study found that contemporary student activism is not necessarily premised on ideology. Rather, ideologies emanate mainly from unfulfilled promises by the ANC-led government, which were enshrined in the Constitution of the country as rights. These include, equality, dignity, social security, education, security of persons among others, got entrenched as rights, yet their realization depends on financial abilities and other factors, such as leadership and political will.

The problems faced by students in the post-1994 have created an unbearable social distance under which students feel isolated. On the other hand, the political elite and their families continue to enjoy opulence to the exclusion, and detriment of the poor. The other issue which frustrates the contemporary generation is the fact that the previously privileged race groups still remain favoured by the present capitalistic material economic and political conditions, while the previously disadvantaged majority remains in poverty and underdevelopment.

Therefore, the majority of poor people, including students, are running out of patience because of lack of societal transformation and lack of willingness by the previously privileged to abdicate the privilege and supremacy mentality.

Hence, the presumed absence of full social inclusion and social justice are the main drivers of despondency and the anger which leads to student protests. When protests erupt, they do so based on specific variables, while in actual fact they are fundamentally driven by despondence. Sadly, these variables render modern students' protests fundamentally violent and reverse some of the gains made. For, example, during protests students burn libraries, classrooms, university cars and other resources of the university.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter assessed the evolution of student activism in the post-1994 era. It achieved this by making a comparative reflection of the nature and character of student activism in the pre-1994 era. This approach led to the identification of epistemological factors that influenced the thinking of the pre-1994 students and those of today. This chapter indicated that the socio-political activism of the pre-1994 era played a significant role in shaping South Africa's socio-political trajectory until the country's transition to democracy. Furthermore, the pre-1994 students' thinking, as well as the presence of strong ideological strategies, sustained the struggles for liberation. In contrast, contemporary students' approaches to student activism represent a new phenomenon which is mired in aspects that not only discredit, but delegitimize authentic cries for meaningful transformation in higher education and society in general.

This chapter also argued that lack of a clear ideological strategy from the contemporary generation and the belief that apartheid was defeated (rather than a result of a negotiated settlement, accompanied by enormous compromises create a problem). It creates a problem because the negotiated transition to democratic government deprives the state of the much needed economic capacities required to fulfil wider constitutional promises, such as access to quality higher education. Therefore, South Africa will, for some decades, continue to grapple with the effects of such political compromises and settlements, which unfortunately do little to alter the past, while enhancing state economic capacities to intervene and remedy inherited social inequalities. The following chapter focuses on the #FeesMustFall movement.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FEES MUST FALL MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter addressed the reconfiguration and readjustment of student activism from 1994 to 2014 at Turfloop. The chapter focused on the euphoria of the new democratic dispensation and expectations of improvement in the quality of life for Blacks. The 1994 elections, and the victory for the ANC, came with many expectations for the previously disadvantaged South Africans. The chapter assessed whether such expectations, particularly for institution of higher learning, were being fulfilled. The study period for this study is 1969 to 2015. 1969 marks the breakaway of Black students from NUSAS and the formation of SASO, while 2015 marks the emergence of the #Fess Must Fall Movement. In 2015, the country witnessed the emergence of a series of hashtag movements that were led by students. These movements include #RhodesMustFall, #OpenStellenbosch, #Transform Wits and #FeesMustFall (Shai, 2021). The #FeesMustFall student revolt was an uprising against lack of access to, and financial exclusion from, higher education in South Africa. More broadly, it radically questioned the socio-political dispensation resulting from the 1994 social compact between big business, the ruling elite and the liberation movement. The current chapter explores the impact of the #FeesMustFall movement and shows how student activism has evolved in the post-1994 era.

7.2 The Must Fall Struggle Since 2015: Fees, Symbols of Colonial Power

Student-led protests gained momentum in 2015 and spread across the country. The #FeesMustFall movement sparked heated debates about fee increases at universities. Other demands by students included the decolonisation of the educational system, transformation of universities to address racial and gender inequalities in terms of staff composition, as well as insourcing of general workers. The protests generally started peacefully within the various universities in South Africa, supported by some academics and other concerned stakeholders, such civil society and the private sector. The message was clear; that the costs of higher education were too high and unaffordable for the majority of poor Black students.

Most students, particularly those from Historically Black Universities, such as Turfloop, depended mainly on government for furthering their tertiary education because of their socio-economic conditions. The majority of students at Turfloop come from rural communities, with limited economic opportunities. As a result, many of them are unable to pay for their tertiary education.

The student protests in 2015 were not a new thing in South Africa; rather, they were an extension of the unresolved past, created by the apartheid system. Students' protests against fees today are not new in post-apartheid South Africa, either, especially at Historically Black Universities. However, many of these protests were not widely covered by the mainstream media (Molete, 2021: Interview). According to Mathekgane (Interview, 2021) "Since my arrival at Turfloop (1999), each and every year during registration we have a protest related to fees and financial exclusion. The protest against financial exclusion and expensive fees was an annual program at Turfloop. It is nothing new". However, what made the 2015 student protests different from the other years was media coverage, particularly at previously White Universities, such as Wits and Rhodes (Molete, 2021: interview). Mashele (Interview, 2021) argues that media coverage of protests depends on who is involved and whether or not the protests are violent. He believes that the media tends to focus mainly on violent protests, creating the impression that the protests in South Africa are inherently violent, and that police action against them is warranted, to protect property and public safety.

In the previous chapter the researcher indicated that in 2012 and 2013 he was serving in the SRC at UL under Lekoko Nkadimeng as the SRC president. One of the challenges which the SRC faced was the issue of fee increment in 2013. In 2014, the university management proposed a 40% fee increment. The SRC opposed this proposal and even took to the streets. Unfortunately, the management eventually won and was able to implement a 30% fee increase. The increment is still considered one of the biggest failures of the SRC leadership of 2012/2013. This clearly indicates that the issue of high study fees at Turfloop is historical; it is not something new.

What was new about the 2015 student protests was the fact that both Historically Black Universities and White Universities joined hands to fight against fee increment. What made the strike necessary was the blanket approach on the 10% fee increment

proposed by Department of Higher Education Training (DHET) under the leadership of Dr Blade Nzimande. Previously, universities would individually propose and negotiate fee increases individually, without the involvement of DHET. However, the situation was different in 2015 because it was the Minister of DHET who proposed a national fees increment on behalf of the universities. The minister believed that it was not sustainable to treat universities like primary schools. However, the challenges at universities differ from one institution to the other, The Minister should have left universities, together with their stakeholders, to deal with their own issues of fees (Mathebula, 2021: interview).

The struggles and priorities of these universities are not the same. In 2013 the researcher attended the University Sport South Africa (USSA) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and came across a poster of the UCT SRC election manifesto for DASO. One of the issues on the manifesto was more car parking for students. It was shocking for someone from Turfloop. At Turfloop the majority of students, as already stated, are from poor family backgrounds. Therefore, a car is a luxury which most students cannot afford. The struggle at Turfloop is still a struggle for basic needs, such as decent accommodation, hot water in the residences, more qualified lecturers and well-resourced libraries.

The reality is that South Africa is an unequal society, entrenched in a legacy of apartheid, with many outstanding issues which need to be corrected. The higher education does not exist in isolation; it carries with it scars of apartheid, which are highly visible. Furthermore, the level of development at the various South African universities is not the same. This is why some are fighting for parking space, while others are fighting for a meal a day. However, the effort to transform higher education and reverse some of the legacy of apartheid is happening at a snail's pace. One of the weakness of the country's democracy is treating those who were considered underprivileged during apartheid the same as those who were considered privileged (Mathebula, 2021: interview). The fact is rural universities need more attention and resources, in order to address the injustices of the past.

7.3 The Right to Protest

The right to protest is enshrined in and protected by the South African Constitution. This right is recognized as an essential form of democratic expression rather, than

viewed it as a threat to democracy (Langa, et al. 2017). The question is, why did protests turn violent? Is violence a physical or symbolic act, or both? What are the limitations of the right to protest, especially when this right infringes on others' rights? Protests are acts that communicate grievances through disruption of existing societal arrangements, and bring problems in society to public attention. Because protests are inherently disruptive, they can wake society up from its complacent slumber, make it realize that there are problems that need to be addressed urgently and hasten social change (Langa, et al. 2017).

The #FeesMustFall movement, through its protests across all South African universities, managed to raise public awareness about the shortage of funding for higher education. This awareness would not have raised if protests had not been organised. Consequently, the state was pressurised, and in response President Jacob Zuma announced a 0% fee increment for the 2016 academic year, Since those protests, the government has also committed to putting additional funding into the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), to financially support university students. Mashele (Interview, 2021) argued that, some of these changes would not have happened if the students had not organised these protests. It is evident that the protests served as an effective tool of communication, but questions have been raised about the violent acts associated with the protests.

Mamabolo (Interview, 2021) blamed the police for instigating the violence, although there were instances where some protesting students were also responsible for fuelling violence. However, it would be wrong to put all the blame on the police only. According to Tladi (Interview, 2021), if the police had not resorted to shooting at students with rubber bullets and stun grenades, and negotiated or engaged with them, instead, perhaps the situation could have been better.

Mamabolo described the destruction of property as retaliation for the deployment of the police and private security officials in response to the protests. In many campuses it shows that violence increased only when the police were called and stationed within the university grounds (Langa, et al. 2017).

The university management at Turfloop justified calling the police and hiring private security companies by saying that the aim was to protect university property, not to harass students (Mathekgane, 2021: interview).

Mamabolo (Interview, 2021) argued that, our democracy is not only physically violent but also symbolically violent, especially against the poorest of the poor who live in abject poverty, with no access to basic services. Protests for some students represented their quest to restore their dignity through free, decolonised education.

At some universities, management was highly unresponsive to students' demands (Langa, et al. 2017). This included vice-chancellors (VC) refusing to engage with student leaders or not coming for scheduled meetings. Tladi (Interview, 2021) had the following to say about the Vice-chancellor of Turfloop: "Prof Mokgalong is a smooth talker who will deal with you at meetings. He will manage you. But he was very cooperative during #FeesMustFall protests; he attended our mass meetings and even authorised funding for our trip to Union Building." Some VCs were aloof and distant in their engagement with student leaders, such as the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) and the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) (Langa, et al. 2017).

Some vice-chancellors, such as those at Rhodes and UCT, were sympathetic and tried their best to actively engage with student leaders. However, divisions and splinter groups within the #FeesMustFall movements negatively affected some of these engagements (Langa, et al. 2017). Prof Mokgalong at UL also made an effort to attend student meetings, and listened to students' concerns. However, he did not want to take responsibility. He shifted all the responsibilities to Blade; that is why he sent students to the Union Buildings (Mashele, 2021: interview).

Other institutions, such as Wits and TUT, resorted in getting court interdicts against the protesting students. The law was therefore used to silence the voices of dissent, as many students were arrested for contravening court interdicts. Mcebo Dlamini became one of the students who were arrested for contravening court interdict and public violence. What is the impact of these court interdicts? Did they not stifle protesters' right to protest? It is important to acknowledge that rights are characterised by tensions when a group of people gathers to protest; the protesters infringe on the rights of those who are not protesting.

South Africans need to learn to live with some of these contradictions, especially because it is a nascent democracy, characterised by inequalities in terms of class and race. Universities often use the services of senior advocates to get court interdicts, while protesting students do not have the financial resources to afford such services

and have to rely on civil society organisations and lawyers willing to provide pro-bono services. However, protesting students also need to be held accountable for their failure to reflect on their strategies, especially the use of violence as a tactic to advance their demands. For example, as the students it is futile to burn libraries when they are demanding a computer laboratory.

Anarchy is sometimes necessary and violence is not always bad; violence can be productive in bringing change and transformation. However, the use of violence can also be counterproductive, and in these protests, it exposed the dark side of the #FeesMustFall movement. Properly-calculated and guided anarchy is the solution.

7.4 Political Ideologies of the #FeesMustFall and Free Decolonised Afrocentric Education in South Africa

Tiro and those of his generation were already championing the decolonisation of education before those in the #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall and the entire "Must Fall" generation were even born. Already in 1971, they were demanding the Africanisation of the staff complement and curriculum at Black universities (Tiro, 2019). According Lumumba, in 2017, when he was delivering the annual Onkgopotse Tiro Lecture, he argued that "Tiro was now even more relevant than ever". "The Tiro personality, thought structure and processes are what is desperately needed in Africa now" (Tiro, 2019: 214). The struggle for decolonisation of our education requires Africans who are confident in their dignity and the dignity of their Africanity to pursue the shackles of oppression and exhibit a strong desire for self-reliance, liberation and a willingness to die for that cause (Tiro, 2019).

Tiro's generation was unsparing and forthright in exposing what was so often and glibly called political correctness. The issue of representation, especially in terms of staff, management and council, is embedded within the struggle for #Free Decolonised Education, which speaks to broad issues of representation at both public and private institutions in South Africa. The struggle for free education at Turfloop is a struggle to restructure the institution and promote an African-centred content (Tladi, 2021: interview). It is not surprising that most of the students at Turfloop are largely Black, with few Coloureds and Indians. According to Khoza (Interview, 2021) "There is everything Black about Turfloop, ranging from the university council, students and the university location. What is surprising is that the content we are consuming there does

not reflect anything Black. We need to change that". In 1975 many Black staff at Turfloop felt that the most effective solution to the estrangement between Black and White on campus lay in the elimination of all measures of discrimination and in ensuring that the control of a Black university was fundamentally in Black hands (White, 1997).

A Black man or woman at the University of the North cannot feel completely secure until the University is under his/her control (Nkondo, 1975). It was even felt by many Blacks, as expressed through the Turfloop Testimony, that (1975:38) "Black control would pave the way for a united association of lecturers regardless of colour, which they felt would be able to play a meaningful role in the advancement of common and not conflicting goals". However, the White academics still wanted Africanisation to take place on their own terms. The White academics suggested that Black academics be appointed in every department where adequately qualified Blacks were available for appointment and that the university be Africanized from the bottom up (Nkondo, 1975).

The struggle for the decolonisation of African universities is not a new struggle. In the post-1994, through the transformation of higher education, an effort was made in terms of appointing Blacks to higher positions at universities. Products of political organisations such as BCM; for example, Burney Pityana and Mamphela Ramphele, were given responsibility to lead some of the biggest universities in the country. From 1997 to 2000 Mamphela Ramphele served as the Vice-Chancellor of University of Cape Town. She became the first Black woman to become a VC at UCT. UCT was a historically-White, English-medium University. In 2003 Burney Pityana was appointed as a VC of the University of South Africa (UNISA).

UNISA is the biggest university in Southern Africa. It is clear that an effort was being made to bring about transformation in leadership, to reflect the majority population. However, what is critical in the whole process of transformation of higher education is the decolonisation of the curriculum. South African education is a direct product of colonial education.

Little has been done by African academic leaders to transform the South African curriculum. Although the country has witnessed the appointment of more Black lecturers and Black academics to high positions at universities, this does not constitute a complete reflection of higher education transformation.

Much of the content offered at the universities, including Turfloop, is Eurocentric. The South African curriculum needs to be structured according local experiences, responding to local realities, in line with the South African ways of life. Furthermore, the curriculum must put Africans at the centre of any analysis of African phenomena in terms of action and behaviour. In addition, the curriculum must represent the enduring longing among Africans for a set of ideas that unite them as a community and offer an alternative to assimilation that is excluded by Europeans or viewed by Africans as an admission of inferiority and defeat (More, 2017). The current transformation of higher education in South Africa is simply a replacement of White staff with Black staff in certain positions. The colonial system remains active and dominant (Mamabolo, interview: 2021).

The ANCYL at Turfloop, which has been dominant over the years, was voted out of power and EFF became an alternative, especially during the #FeesMustFall movement. Part of the decision to vote out the ANCYL and bring in the EFF was centred on ideological differences between the two groups. The ANCYL was identified with the ANC, which was widely considered to have betrayed Black students' demands for free education. The EFF, on the other hand, spoke to the Black student population, not only around 'fees falling', but more broadly around issues such as access to land and free decolonised quality education, to emancipate Black people. The EFF also addressed issues of resource imbalances in South Africa between Blacks and Whites. However, despite moments of unity, there were tensions between these two student movements. The unifying component was the shared ideology that Blacks are marginalised and need to redress this through struggle.

Tensions arose regarding who should lead that struggle. That said, not all student groups participated in the movement for decolonised education, DASO being a case in point. DASO's minimal participation should be understood within the context of their political ideology and their connection to the DA, a political party perceived to be White-dominated. DASO's ideology, widely characterised as racist, is viewed as an extension of a White party at odds with the Black movement for a free decolonised education.

ANCYL and SASCO's affiliation to the ANC meant that some of their members were conflicted. They could not be criticising their government in #FeesMustFall protests and supporting the voices of the majority of the Black students (Tladi, 2021: interview).

Many felt that these two student groups could not bite the hand that fed them, which would endanger both their funding and the legitimacy of the ANC government (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). SASCO's withdrawal from the #FeesMustFall movement had major impacts on the 2016 SRC elections, which they lost at many institutions of higher learning, including Turfloop. Most students saw SASCO members as cowards whose agenda was to thwart the students' struggles. Indeed, many believed that SASCO students were working with the state security to sabotage the movement and spy on protesting students (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). Students noted that although they had decided to write examinations and complete the semester, the struggle against high fees must continue. For the students, even in the absence of visible protests on campuses, #FeesMustFall became an ongoing process.

The #FeesMustFall movement was not only about the present, but also about the past and future of Blacks in South Africa. According to Mathonsi (Interview, 2021) "Our parents were sold a dream in 1994 and so we are here for a refund. Most Black students' living conditions have hardly changed since the introduction of political modernity and democracy". The idea of living with dignity and in a decent place remains largely elusive for the majority of Black people. Fee increases and the persistence of colonial education perpetuate the violation of Blackness. Furthermore, fee increases were exacerbating the barriers confronted by many poor Black students in accessing higher education; thus accentuating the widespread racialized poverty and inequality in the post-apartheid order.

#FeesMustFall movement must be seen as a manifestation of deep-seated disaffection with structural racial inequalities and the endemic poverty associated with Blackness. Due to the country's adoption of neoliberal policies after the dawn of democracy, education became commoditised and privatised, operating through the marginalising dynamics of the free market (Badat, 1999). According Fanon (1964:105) "neo-colonialism only does justice to the middle class and intellectuals of the colonial country, while the ordinary people no longer feel their bellies at peace". Without meaningful state funding, Black students and universities such as Turfloop will become more vulnerable in the absence of safety nets to fall back on. Consequently, #FeesMustFall should be seen as a manifestation of a broader structural crisis, one which pervades the social fabric of the post-apartheid order (Shai, 2021).

Student movements in South Africa are not only engaging with a crisis confined to higher education. Instead, the higher education crisis represents enduring forms of marginality and exclusion, inherited from colonialism and apartheid (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). These structural fault lines partly explain the transmutation of #FeesMustFall into a demand for free and decolonised education.

7.5 #FeesMustFall at Turfloop

The struggle for free education is not new at Turfloop. Students have always struggled and challenged university management and the state about increasing study fees (Mathekgane, 2021: Interview). The proportion of budgets of the universities which are funded by the state is not enough to cover all the activities of the Universities. Universities have generally made up the shortfall in state funding through significantly increasing tuition fees, seeking third-stream income from alumni and donor contributions, income from consultancies, research contracts, short courses, publications and hiring out facilities and reducing costs through mechanisms such as outsourcing (Badat, 2016).This has had a major impact on students, as they have to bridge the funding gap left by the state. As a result, protests against fee increments have been happening yearly, especially in respect of double-digit increases, which are usually above inflation.

Turfloop students have always been at the centre of these struggles, despite their depiction in the media as absent or missing in action (Mathekgane, 2021: Interview). Mashele (2021, Interview) asserts that the #FeesMustFall was popularised by the media because the violent protests started taking place at historically White universities, such as Wits and UCT. Students at Turfloop and Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) had been waging violent protests for many years but their protests did not receive the same attention as the #FeesMustFall movement. He further argued that the development of social media contributed to the attention that #FeesMustFall received. What was happening at previously White universities was something that was common at Turfloop.

Since 1994 there have been cases of fee-hike strikes (Mathebula, 2021: interview). Unfortunately, the struggle at previously Black universities was never televised, like they did with UCT and Wits (Tladi, 2021: interview).

The struggles waged at previously Black universities do not grab headlines, unless there is a death or something of that nature (Mamabolo, 2021: Interview). In 2007 there was a big strike at Turfloop and a woman who was shot with live ammunition. Fortunately, she survived but was crippled. That incident was not televised, like similar incidents at previously White universities. The struggle at previously Black universities does not receive the same media coverage like at previously White universities such as Wits and UCT. The media focuses on them because they are constituted that side of Gauteng and Cape Town (Mamabolo, 2021: interview).

This clearly shows that the media is to blame for not covering some institutions adequately, especially those on the periphery, such as Turfloop and the University of Venda (UNIVEN). This could be one of the reasons why they were apathetic about sending news crews to institutions such as Turfloop, but had TV crews camping at Wits. It is therefore important to understand the position of former student leaders of Turfloop regarding media bias when dealing with Turfloop. Tladi (interview, 2021) stated the following: “we feel that we were portrayed as sell-outs in the #FeesMustFall movement. Our contribution were not documented like they did with other institutions like Wits. Maybe we must try to understand the role of the media in this movement and the narrative that they wanted to sell”. #FeesMustFall protests did take place at Turfloop on the same scale as those at institutions like Wits and UCT (Mamabolo, 2021: interview).

The violence at Turfloop started when management called security personnel to campus to disperse students who had gathered at Thami Square for a night vigil for #FeesMustFall (Mamabolo, 2021: interview). The public management police from Polokwane and Mankweng police station were also called to campus and arrested some of the student leaders. The students started being violent, as they wanted their leaders to be released. The police responded with more violence and started firing rubber bullets at the protesting students. Many students were arrested for public violence. Police had to camp on campus and students were not allowed to gather or walk in a group of more than three people. At the administration building, library and Information, Communication and Technology (ICT), they was a heavy police presence, to guard those buildings (Tladi, 2021: interview).

All the university gates were destroyed protesters. It was difficult to be on campus. It was like a violent movie scene. There were heavily armed police and private securities everywhere (Mashele, 2021: interview).

Due to the continuous violence in Turfloop, management took a decision to close the university, citing safe-guarding of university property as the main reason for doing so. Students perceived the closure of the university as shutting down any space for engagement or negotiating with the students (Molete, 2021: interview). Management unilaterally decided to close down the university and, as a result of the university's stance of non-engagement, the students started protesting violently to get management's attention.

The non-engagement style of management was problematic because it left students with no choice than protest, to force management to listen to and engage with them (Tladi, 2021: interview).What became very important in the struggle for #FeesMustFall at Turfloop was the unity portrayed by student political organisations. They came together, abandoned their political banners and approach the struggle for #FeesMustFall as a united front. Mamabolo G (interview, 2021) had this to say about their political unity at Turfloop "we had to put our political differences aside and approach this struggle united. The fee increment did not treat any student based on political affiliation. Whether a student is EFF, PYA or PASMA, he/she is affected by fee increments; so we had a common enemy, which required our unity". As a result, both radical and liberal Black students supported the #FeesMustFall movement.

The consensus among student leaders across the student political organisations was that free education is possible and what needed was political will from the government (Molete, 2021: interview). The commitment of the students in this struggle has shown that indeed students believed in what they were fighting for. The government was also accused of shifting the blame from one minister to another and not taking responsibility. Mathebula (2021, interview) interpreted this as the government not taking their plight seriously, which is why students resorted to taking their fight to the streets.

The government's failure over the years to deal with the issue of fees and free education led to student revolts in 2015 and 2016. This is because the students felt that the ANC-led government, not only the DHET, had to address the issue of providing

free, quality education, to avoid more #FeesMustFall protests. Some student activists sympathised with the minister of DHET, arguing that his department had nothing to do with the funding of universities, but that the National Treasury was the office responsible for decreasing the subsidies allocated to universities (Molete, interview: 2021). The #FeesMustFall movement has thus achieved significant gains, especially among students from poor households. What is also clear is that free education can be attained. However, the government will need the help of the private sector, which is in any case the major beneficiary of the graduates produced by public universities.

7.6 Tracing Black Consciousness in the Current Student Movement

After the negotiations and transition leading to the new democratic South Africa, it seemed as though Whites and Blacks could actually co-exist and integrate in places of work, sports, business, and schooling, among other institutions. However, today's lived reality of student protests at institutions of higher learning have revealed deep-seated tensions around race and equality. Race, especially as it affects education, has long been a concern within the BCM and its ideology. Lately, BCM ideology and rhetoric are re-emerging in the current national student movements, from the #RhodesMustFall to the #FeesMustFall movement.

This is clear evidence that the legacy of colonialism is still dominant in the country and young people are visiting history, in order to find ways to deal with such legacies. The current student movements started in 2015 with the #RhodesMustFall movement, following the defiling of the Rhodes statue at the University of Cape Town with faeces, an act which resulted in increased momentum and publicity, which led to the movements trending on the social media platforms throughout the country (Shai, 2021). In the same year, another movement emerged at Wits, where the SRC organised a mass protest at the Braamfontein campus over a proposed 10.5 percent fee increase. In support of the mass protest, students blocked all university entrances and all classes were cancelled for that day.

These student protests led to a comparison, by media and societal observers, of the 1976 Soweto Uprising and the #movements; however, these events were in actual fact not the first student demonstration over high fees (Sikhosana, 2017).

Many historically Black universities, such as Turfloop and UNIVEN, have been demonstrating about fees increment years before the emergence of the #FeesMustFall, but without much media attention or government follow up. This is because traditional media and the government were prioritising issues in a classist and racist manner (Mamabolo G, 2021: interview).

The #RhodesMustFall movement occupied the Bremner Building, where there was a Rhodes statue and later renamed it the Azania House. Azania is the name that was used by BCM to refer to South Africa (Sikhosana, 2017). Students at UCT cried for assistance in pursuing their cause, particularly from existing founders of SASO and the BCM, such Barney Pityana and Mamphela Ramphele (Sikhosana, 2017).

The #RhodesMustFall movement reflected serious Black Consciousness. It also showed that young activists of this movement were reading Fanon, Cabral, Nkrumah, and other literature that Black Consciousness protagonists were reading and debating in their youth (Naidoo, 2015). According to Mamabolo (interview, 2021) “As the students we asked ourselves why people such Mosiuoa Lekota, Burney Pityana, Mamphela Ramphele and many other activists of SASO remained silent about student activism in the country, because it is something that is connected to their own history and legacy of student activism. Maybe it is because they have been contorted by privilege and comfort”.

The student movements played a central role in redeveloping relevant philosophies and figuring out a decolonized consciousness (Naidoo, 2015). The Black Consciousness was revived from the emergence of the #RhodesMustFall movement and #FeesMustFall. These movements operated via public protests and used reading as an inspiration for their movement. Students realised the value of reading what Black Consciousness activists were reading and learned from those writers. The influence of Steve Biko’s Black Consciousness philosophy was evident in the language of decolonisation that students were using during protests (Sikhosana, 2017). Tladi (interview, 2021) concurs with Sikhosana (2017), that “The #movements were built on the principles of Black Consciousness and included elements of intersectionality, and attempt to disrupt multiple systems of oppression that Black people tackle on a daily basis”.

The essence of #movements in the 2015-16 student protests is that they acknowledge the doomed existence of Blacks in the event that power and knowledge systems are not decolonized; hence, they have taken it upon themselves to deconstruct colonial legacies in institutions of higher education for a future liberated South Africa because these are premises that have retained colonial legacies even after the fall of apartheid (Sikhosana, 2017). The SASO Policy Manifesto states, the basic tenets of BCM are that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him/her a foreigner in the country of his/her birth and reduce his/her basic human dignity (More, 2017). The #movements emphasised one of the firm tenets of BCM whilst also drawing from the Fanon, as did Black Consciousness protagonists like Biko where Fanon referred to action as mandatory generation responsibilities (More, 2017).

It is worth noting that Black Consciousness is not the only intellectual source of motivation for the contemporary student movements (Sikhosana, 2017). There are other influences, for example, student blogs and social media posts reveal that some students at Wits have been engaging Frank Wilderson's Afro-Pessimist theory (Sikhosana, 2017). However, the BCM does appear to be the more dominant ideology which was widely used in these #movements. However, the BCM is not above the other ideologies within the #movements.

It is also important to highlight that the Black Consciousness we see today, to a certain extent, is a diluted or modified form of the early 1970s version. For instance, while principles such as the Black pride have been revived, other ideas, such as Blacks taking responsibility for their own lives, through self-reliance, economic and cultural self-sufficiency and not depending on others for the attainment of these, has largely disappeared from the rhetoric and discourse of the #movements.

7.7 CONCLUSION

Student activism has evolved over time in South Africa. However, what is interesting is that the nature and character of student activism remain the same. Of course, the conditions and approaches in some instances are different, but the overall picture and reflection of student activism stand.

The shadow of the apartheid system still lingers in our society to date, especially in the form of racial inequalities, race consciousness and racial classification. Contemporary student protests and vandalism at institutions of higher education

reveal deep seated tensions that open a can of worms concerning race and equality. These have long been of concern in the BCM and its ideology in the early 1960s and 70s. The #FeesMustFall movement has demonstrated the fighting spirit of students, which was witnessed in the 1970s during the struggle against apartheid. One can safely conclude that students also carry another similar character; that of bravery. Students remain consistent in challenging any system that seeks to oppress and exploit them. This chapter also looked at how Black Consciousness tenets' and rhetoric are re-emerging in the current national student movements, from the #RhodesMustFall to the #FeesMustFall movements.

The Black Consciousness ideology in South Africa, as articulated by Biko, sought the attainment of a radical egalitarian and non-racial society (More, 2017). Amongst some of the principles espoused by the BCM, which defined South African youth politics in the 1970s, is that Black Consciousness emphasised values of black solidarity, self-reliance, individual and collective responsibility, and Black liberation (More, 2017). The year 2015/ 2016 witnessed the resurgence of Black Consciousness language at the forefront of student movements, most notably the #RhodesMustFall and the #FeesMustFall campaigns. The #FeesMustFall movement and its supporters contend that their cause is legitimate because it does not make sense for household incomes to depreciate alongside escalating costs of living and rising tuition fees. The #FeesMustFall further states that the ANC fears it because its demands stands are contrary to the ANC-led government's interests and have accused the ANC of attempting to capture the movement; hence, the declaration that #FeesMustFall is a direct critique of the entire socio-economic and political order of the ruling ANC and exposes ANC corruption and betrayal. Although its course tends to be diluted and convoluted, the struggle is real, but so is the legacy of Biko and the spirit of BCM**.** The findings, general conclusion and recommendations constitute the focus of the final chapter

CHAPTER EIGHT

GENERAL FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This short chapter identifies the key findings of the study and provides a general conclusion, as well as some recommendations that might provoke the research interests of current student activists and professional historians of student activism in higher education institutions in South Africa. It must be clearly stated that the general findings, conclusion, and recommendations emerge out of historical insights generated by the study, framed by periodisation theory constructed by Hollander, Rassuli, Jones, and Farlow (2005) and reinforced by Altbach's theory. Both theories were unpacked in chapter one. It is also important to observe that these historical insights were acquired through a study on activism at one university; the UL from 1968 to 2015. While the historical insights gained in this study might be deemed to be relevant for similarly positioned HBU's in South Africa, generalisation of these insights to developments which unfolded at historically Afrikaans and English-dominated universities are likely to lead to serious historical distortions.

8.2 Findings

The overreaching finding of this study is that while student activists at UL naturally responded to the campus issues: multiple oppression, such as lack of decent accommodation, the broad thrust of their activism as well as the ideological, the weapons they deployed in the entire period, 1968 to 2015, were tailored and directed towards confronting structures and institutions which oppressed Black people and entrenched White supremacy in South Africa. The distinctive approaches and strategies adopted to fight against oppression, however, can be periodised broadly to reflect the changing nature of Black politics, precipitated by the transition from openly anti-Black racism of the apartheid era, to post-1994 liberal democratic era during which racist legislation was dismantled by the ANC-dominated regime. Black student activists at UL openly rejected the anti-Black racist values and ideals that the system represented. These activists created organisations such as SASO and UCM, to

confront and eliminate the apartheid system. The nature of the enemy was open and relatively easy to identify during the apartheid era.

The post-1994 liberal democratic era which has projected itself as anti-racist and promotes individual rights and freedoms. It confronted student activists with the need to rethink and reconfigure activist strategies and approaches. By 2015 concrete evidence emerged which showed that student activists had succeeded in decoding the deeper layers and structures of oppression embedded in, inter alia, university curricula and symbolic structures such as statues of colonisers such as Cecil John Rhodes. The various hashtag movements which erupted in 2015 constitute concrete evidence that the political consciousness of student activists qualitatively deepened and activists had come to realise that White supremacy was not only promoted by liberal democratic political and economic institutions but also and more insidiously by the Eurocentrism embedded in educational curricula. It is now necessary to identify and clarify the specific findings of the study revealed in the investigation of the distinct periods manifested in the evolution of student activism at the UL. The main purpose is to describing the dominant trends and ideological bases of student activism at UL in each period.

The period from 1968 to 1983 constitutes a revolutionary landmark in the historical unfolding of student activism. It was during this period that SASO and the BCM, created and articulated mainly by Steve Biko, transformed the direction and ideological basis of Black student activism. While the decision to form an independent Black student organisation was made at the conference of the SRC from Black campuses in December 1968 at Marianhill in Natal, it was on July 1, 1969 that the SASO was officially inaugurated at the University of the North (now UL). This was definitely a strategic move, as the Turfloop was the largest campus in South Africa for Black students. It is significant that while Biko was selected president, Machaka from Turfloop was elected deputy-president. It must be remembered that prior to the formation of SASO, the White-led and dominated liberal NUSASA had been a major force in student activism.

The key development to recognise in this regard is that SASO and the BCM challenged and rejected White supremacy which had defined Black people as non-persons or sub-humans, without agency. Black consciousness rescued, restored, and re-

established the humanity and agency of Black people in South Africa. Black consciousness rejected the leadership of the liberal establishment and took the revolutionary position that Black people in South Africa were their own liberators. For Biko and his comrades the liberation Blacks was unthinkable and unconceivable without the leadership of Black people themselves.

It was this shift in ideological thrust of student activism at Turfloop which established the UL campus as a major force in the liberation movement in South Africa. It must also be noted that while the SASO leadership at Turfloop and other Black campuses borrowed ideas from the Black Power movement in the USAS, Marcus Garvey, the Negritude Movement, to mention a few sources. Black consciousness was rooted in and responded mainly to the lived experience of Black people in South Africa. The philosophy of Black consciousness, as it emerged from the conscious minds of Biko and his comrades at Turfloop and other Black campuses, spoke to and resonated with the aspirations of Black men, women, and children in South Africa.

The harassment and suppression of the SASO leadership by the apartheid security machinery, as in the expulsion of Tiro, the arrest and trial of leaders as well as the brutal murder of Biko in 1977, as well as the banning of SASO, led to the gradual erosion of the influence of Black Consciousness philosophy in student activism at Turfloop. The Black Consciousness philosophy was replaced by an essentially liberal philosophy, promoted by the amorphous UDF movement. However, Black Consciousness did not completely die, as the elements of this philosophy continued to inspire organisations such as AZASO and PASMA. The UDF itself benefited from the radical orientation of cadres trained by the SASO at Turfloop. In fact, SASO and the Black Consciousness inculcated and reared a crop of leaders who were to play critical roles in the transition to liberal democracy and continue to play critical political roles in government today. Leaders such as Cyril Ramaphosa, Pandelani Nefolovhondwe, Mosiuoa Lekota, Frank Chikane, and many others are amongst the products of SASO, which continues to play a critical political roles in government.

Student activism at Turfloop in the period from 1983 to 1994 was dominated by a new structure, the Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO), whose actual philosophy and political practice deviated and differed fundamentally from the philosophy and practice of SASO and the BCM.

The formation of this structure was a students' response to the banning of the SASO and the intensification of apartheid repression of the Black freedom struggle in South Africa. Even though AZASO, during its formation in 1979, endorsed the Black consciousness philosophy, as articulated by Steve Biko, the organisation's real practice contradicted the traditions and political values established by leadership of the SASO.

This is evident in the resurfacing of debates on the roles that liberal Whites and NUSAS were expected to play in the liberation of Black people. It must be remembered that SASO had taken the position that only Blacks could liberate Blacks. Furthermore, SASO had been formed because Biko and his comrades had realised that NUSAS was unwilling to seriously confront the dehumanising anti-Black racism which pervaded all key institutions in South Africa. A compromise with the White liberals' project, which sought to patronise Black leaders, was, in the view of Biko, tantamount to a treasonous betrayal of the Black liberation struggle.

The SASO rejected the utilisation of all liberal platforms and the pragmatic use of apartheid structures and spaces as a means of furthering the Black freedoms struggle. Furthermore, Themba Sono, who advocated that the SASO should utilize such platforms, was expelled from SASO on the grounds that he was a security risk to Black liberation. The contradictions in the ideological and political practice of AZASO vis a vis Black Consciousness were also evident in the concerted and vigorous efforts of AZASO to bridge the distance between NUSAS and Black student organisations.

AZASO, for instance, sought to establish a solid working relationship alliance with NUSAS on the Education Charter Campaign. When the UDF was formed in 1983, AZASO actively integrated its programmes into the UDF broad liberal democratic project, which championed the values and ideals of the Freedom Charter. This, certainly, was a far cry from the radical thrust of the SASO, which viewed the Black experience as a paradigm which must be deployed in the struggle against the apartheid system, as well as a source for models of governance in a new apartheid – free South Africa. In fact, the period from 1983 to 1994 saw the gradual absorption of student activism at Turfloop by the UDF.

The Turfloop Campus was actually transformed into a powerful base for UDF politics in the Northern Transvaal. Activists at Turfloop were on the forefront of implementing UDF-directed projects and programmes, such as opposition to Tri-Cameral Parliament, which sought to co-opt Coloureds and Indians into a political system which kept White supremacist domination intact. The AZASO which had changed its name to the South African National Students Congress (SANSCO), in 1986, prompted by the UDF leadership, actually became a component of the UDF project. This situation further weakened the radicalism of student politics at Turfloop.

It is also evident that the shift from strikes and direct confrontation with the South African Police Services (SAPS) and South African National Defence Force (SANDF), to relatively safe school and consumer boycotts, was a UDF strategy to keep the momentum of resistance going in the light of the brutal clampdown and repression of freedom fighters, ushered in by the State of Emergency in 1985 which was declared by the apartheid government.

The 1983-1994 period in the evolution of student activism may rightly be viewed as a period of gradual decline in the radical Black Consciousness strategy and the ascendance of the UDF approach, based on the values and ideals of the Freedom Charter, which the ANC also championed. This political atmosphere paved the way for the ideological and political compromises which contributed to the transition to a liberal democratic South Africa.

The 1994 to 2015 period presented student activists with the difficult task of adjustment in a political landscape structured by political and economic ideals of liberal democracy, as well as the gradual decline of the anti-Black racism of the apartheid era. The liberal democratic values and ideals enshrined in the 1996 Constitution led to euphoria, coupled with rising expectations of rapid improvement in the quality of life of formerly oppressed Blacks. This was to be delivered by the Black ANC leaders, some of whom were former student activists. The post-1994 student activists at the UL, most of whom were from the economically exploited and extremely underdeveloped former homeland of Lebowa and Gazankulu, operated on the basic assumption that the ANC would adopt policy positions and programmes which would lift their communities from poverty deliberately imposed on them by the racist apartheid regime.

They also operated on the assumptions that HBU's would receive priority funding designed to lift them to parity with historically privileged White universities. When such expectations failed to materialise due to limits imposed on transformation by big business and neoliberal policy positions of the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), disillusionment set in. It was in this context that activists were confronted with the need to rethink and reconfigure the nature and purpose of student activism, particularly with regard to its relationship and relations with the ANC-led government.

What emerged at the UL was fragmented activism based on student organisations-SASCO, PYA, PASMA, DASO and EFFSC. These were affiliated, mainly funded, and directed by the major political parties. Student activism was, therefore, captured by political parties. Elections for the control of the SRC took the aura of the national elections for the control of government. Officials from the ANC, DA, PAC and EFF openly and actively intervened in the processes of elections for the control of the SRC, thus politicizing basic deliverables needed for the improvement of student life on campus, such as hot water, and good food in the student cafeterias. The fragmentation of activism along party lines led to divisions and friction among students, making it easy for university administrations to manipulate students and ignore their genuine demands to do away with exclusions based on failure to pay fees. Activist disunity and friction also showered down the improvements on campus life.

This situation was about to end when hashtag movements focused on fees and decolonisation of university curricula emerged. The period was ushered in by what may be called #The Fees Must Fall Struggle in 2015. It led to the emergence of a qualitatively different student activism nationally, particularly when compared to the previous period. Student activists at UL were an integral part of this struggle. It catapulted to public view and debated the continuing apartheid-designed inequalities. The Fees Must Fall Struggle initiated a process which led activists to begin to question the nature of university curricula and the entire educational process inherited from South Africa's apartheid past. Black student activists, in particular, exposed the inadequacies of a mode and form of transformation limited to the mere desegregation of the educational system and the appointment of Black men and women to posts and positions previously occupied by White men and women, referred in some quarters,

as Africanisation. At the same time it led the oppressive racist Eurocentric knowledge, values and ideals which undergirded South Africa's apartheid curricula intake.

Black students also began to question the continuing presence of symbols of Black oppression on campuses, such as statues and icons of White domination, as in the #Rhodes Must Fall battle, waged by students at the University of Cape Town. It must be noted that Black student activism at the UL and other campuses in South Africa echoes the Tiro-SASO call of the early 1970's for teaching and learning experiences, as well as rooted Black traditions, to lend respectability to Blackness, which was undermined and interiorised by anti-Black racism.

The distinctive feature of Black activism post-2015 was the identification and decoding of White supremacy, embedded in key institutional structures, including university curricula. Decolonisation of curricula became, for Black students, part of the larger project of exposing and eliminating deeper layers of oppression obscured by the current liberal democratic dispensation.

8.3 General Conclusion

Student activism at Turfloop was an integral part of the anti-apartheid struggle. This activism, while responding to local-campus multiple oppressions, was designed to perpetuate Black inferiority. It contributed to the articulation of national programmes of action to mobilise oppressed communities of the Northern Transvaal to join other exploited people in South Africa in the struggle against apartheid. Black activism at Turfloop unfolded in terms of broad historical periods, which reflected the changing and transforming political landscape in South Africa. It precipitated by broadening and deepening the crisis of apartheid rule.

Black student activists at Turfloop bore the brunt of vicious repression, particularly through the declaration of the State of Emergency in 1985. While this repression contributed to the deradicalization of the Biko-type Black Consciousness, particularly with the increased influence of the UDF, Turfloop students continued to constitute a vital component of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which culminated in the demise of the apartheid system. The slow reconfiguration of student activism which unfolded for twenty years after 1994 saw the rise in student activism at the UL in 2015. This activism sought to decolonise the curriculum as part of the broader project of deepening freedom and democracy in South Africa.

8.4 Recommendations

The recommendations emanating out of this study relate mainly to the need for further research on critical aspects of Black student activism which have not been sufficiently covered in South African historiography in general. A critical lacuna in South Africa's historical studies relates to the invisibility of Black African women. However, this study makes mention of a few Black women student activists, such as Josephine Moshobane and Manana Kgware. These women played critical roles in the unfolding of student activism at Turfloop during the apartheid era. A question can be posed as to whether these were the only Black female activists in that era. Focusing on the post-1994 period, the invisibility of Black/African woman stares historians in the face. Could this problem be attributed to issues of gender and patriarchy in the production of historical knowledge in South Africa? In the light of the problem of gender-based violence in South Africa, the continuing invisibility of Black/ African women in history and in the history of student activism, in particular, is certainly a major concern. How can the focus on historical research on African/ Black women provide us with insight on the scourge of gender-based violence in South Africa? The invisibility of African/ Black women in South African history implies the absence of research based on a theoretical framework to deal with the unique historical experiences of Black women in South Africa in general and at South African universities in particular?

Debates have erupted in women studies about the merits and demerits of deploying feminism in the study of African women (Hudson-Weems, 2003). Hetherington (1993) wonders whether the history of women in South African historiography feminism would become the dominant theoretical framework in the debates, or whether feminism is the most appropriate framework to study the history of Black women in South Africa. Hudson-Weems (2003) would argue that feminism is Eurocentric and inappropriate in historical studies of Black /African women due to its rootedness in European cultural realities. The researcher believes that the issues and questions we raised in this study require research, to clarify the issues of African /Black women activism at the UL.

This study has also made reference to the prominence of Black Consciousness from 1968 to 1983. Furthermore, the Fees Must Fall struggle made reference to the need to create African-centred or Afrocentric spaces in the decolonisation of university curricula in a multicultural South Africa.

While Periodisation Theory was no doubt appropriate for examining the dominant trends during the various periods in the evolution of student activism, it is reasonable to wonder whether or not the integration of Afrocentric Theory, constructed mainly by Molefi Kete Asante and Mambo Ama Mazama (Asante, 1980, 1987, 1990; Mazama, 2003), with periodisation, would enhance our understanding of issues raised by Biko and the SASO in the 1970s as well as those raised by student activists in 2015. Researchers cannot simply assume that Afrocentricity would enhance the cognitive possibilities of Periodisation Theory.

Furthermore, the research raises these issues in the light of the debate which erupted in the School of Social Sciences at the UL, in which Tawanda Nyawasha, a sociology lecturer, castigated post-graduate students who deployed Afrocentricity in their research. Nyawasha (2020) dismissed the Afrocentric paradigm as contributing nothing of academic value to the decolonisation debate but irrelevant polemics. This view was strongly countered by a prominent Afrocentric scholar and Head of Department of Cultural and Political Studies at UL, Professor Kgothatso Shai. Shai (2021) contended that the Afrocentric paradigm, rooted in African cultural and historical tradition, is the most appropriate lens to conduct research which will benefit African development and liberation. The researcher, who is a colleague of the two preceding scholars, recommends that the Afrocentric paradigm should be taken seriously in the decolonisation debates raised by student activists. Rigorous research should be conducted to determine the theoretical value of Afrocentricity in the context of South African educational development.

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SELECTED INFORMANTS

Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Telephonic Interview, 22 March 2021.

Interview with Dr Percy Mokwele, Mankweng, 02 May 2021.

Interview with Michael Thobakgale, Nirvana, 06 May 2021.

Dr Arnold Msemeki, Telephonic Interview, 26 November 2020.

Matome Letsoalo, Telephonic Interview, 16 May 2021.

Thepudi Magoro, Telephonic Interview, 23 May 2021.

Hanyane Hlongwane, Telephonic Interview, 24 May 2021.

John Nchabeleng, Telephonic Interview, 26 May 2021.

Jeffrey Baloyi, Telephonic Interview, 26 March 2021.

Lebelo Komana, Telephonic Interview, 05 April 2021.

Interview with George Mashamba, Turfloop, 16 May 2021.

Interview with Justice Molepo, Turfloop, 13 April 2021.

Interview with Enock Mamabolo, Mankweng, 14 April 2021.

Interview with Eric Bopape, Flora Park, Polokwane, 23 April 2021.

Interview With Given Mamabolo, Turfloop Campus, 27 May 2021.

Samuel Tladi, Telephonic Interview, 27 May 2021.

Sikhumbuzo Mashele, Telephonic Interview, 18 May 2021.

Treasure Mathebula, Telephonic Interview, 18 May 2021.

Interview with Emmanuel Molete, Turfloop, 02 June 2021

Interview with Koketso Lesufi, Turfloop, 03 June 2021

Interview with Kwena Meso, Turfloop, 22 May 2021

Interview with Justice Mathekgane, Turfloop, 09 May 2021

Moshe Selane, Telephonic Interview, 04 April 2021

Brian Nkuna, Telephonic Interview, 12 April 2021

Bridget Makhafola, Telephonic Interview, 13 April 2021

Winnie Moagi, Telephonic Interview, 15 April 2021

Goodwin Malatji, Telephonic Interview, 16 April, 2021

Xikombiso Khoza, Telephonic Interview, 10 April 2021

Interview with Hopewell Mathonsi, Turfloop, 17 April 2021

Simon Matlala, Telephonic Interview, 13 April 2021

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Pandelani Nefolovhodwe: www.whoswhosa.co.za (accessed: 22 April 2020).

Annexure A

Telephonic interview: Selected pre-1994 participants.

1. General issues: 1996-1994
    - As a former University of the North student in pre-1994, please identify the major political, economic, and social issues you confronted as a black student.
    - Do you remember the names of some of the student political formations (SPFs) on campus?
    - What, in your view, were the bases for the differences between the SPFs- ideological, ethnic?
    - What were the relations- if any- between the SPFs and political parties (ANC, PAC, BCM, UDF, etc?)
    - What was the impact of apartheid SPFs and student activism in general?
    - Was the teaching and learning environment conducive for student?
    - Is there any event that you remember which were initiated by student activists?
    - You are probably aware of developments in Student activism post-1994 at UL. How do you compare activism during your time and post 1994?

Annexure B

Telephonic interview: selected post-1994 participants.

1. General issues: 1994- 2015
    - What issues/ challenges have student activists at UL confronted since the coming to power of the ANC?
    - What expectations did you have with regard to these challenges considering the fact that a black dominated ANC was in power?
    - Which political student formations (SPFs) were active on campus during your time?
    - How do you evaluate the relations between the University administration and student activists since 1994?
    - Did student political formations (SPFs) during your time at UL engage issues which confronted African communities in Limpopo & Mpumalanga provinces?
    - Was the teaching and learning environment at UL during your time conducive and intellectually empowering?
    - Do you think student activism at UL have used progressive and effective strategies and approaches to resolve problems faced by students?
    - You are probably aware of developments in student activism in the Pre-1994 and Post- 1994 at UL. How do you compare activism during your time and Pre-1994?
    - Any general comment on student activism at UL which you want to make?

Annexure C

DOCUMENT REVIEW GUIDE

1. Is the document public or private?

2. What is the purpose of the document?

3. Is the document authentic?

4. Does the document provide background information to the study?

5. Does the document provide factual historical insight to the study?

6. How is the document relevant to the study?

7. Does the document help to discover historical meaning?

8. Does the document develop understanding and discover insight into the research problem?

Annexure D

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TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

MEETING: April 2020

PROJECT NUMBER: TREC/69/2020: PG

PROJECT:

Title: An historical examination of the evolution of student activism at the University of Limpopo (formerly known as University of the North), 1968 to 2015

Researcher: SL Vuma
Supervisor: Dr AV Dhliwayo
Co-Supervisor/s: Prof KB Shai
School: Social Sciences
Degree: PhD in History

PROF P MASOKO
CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council, Registration Number: REC-0310111-031

Note:
i) This Ethics Clearance Certificate will be valid for one (1) year, as from the abovementioned date. Application for annual renewal (or annual review) need to be received by TREC one month before lapse of this period.
ii) Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved, the researcher(s) must re-submit the protocol to the committee, together with the Application for Amendment form.
iii) PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES.