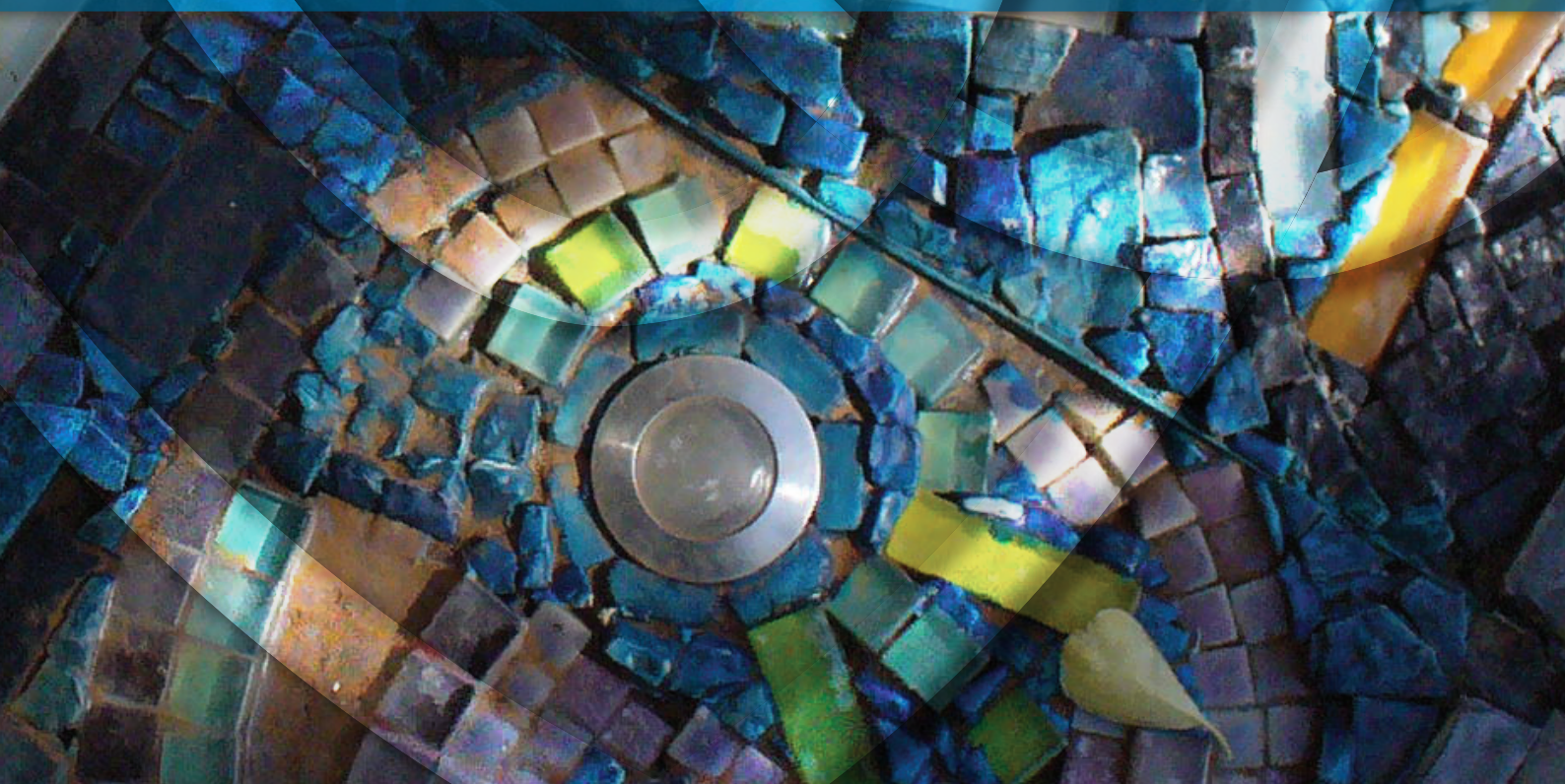




UFS·UV

**REPORT OF
THE INTERNATIONAL
INSTITUTE FOR
STUDIES IN RACE,
RECONCILIATION AND
SOCIAL JUSTICE
2009 – 2011**

April 2012





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FOREWORD

By: Prof. J.D. Jansen

Vice-Chancellor and Rector of the University of the Free State

This report tells an interesting story. It reflects on an 'event' that converted into a substantive transformation and intellectual project over the past three years through the hard work of many people at the university and in our communities as well as friends and colleagues in higher education across the globe. The 'Reitz' event, as reflected in this report, happened in 2008 and was the precursor to large-scale change around the academic and human project of the university. Our subsequent strategic direction encompasses a range of creative intellectual and social interventions.

The International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice is one of our central initiatives that contribute to a scholarly culture whilst focusing on the 'human embrace'. Its research framework is creative and productive and has already reshuffled the 'race', 'reconciliation' and 'social justice' encyclopaedia. New genres and regimes are taking shape as tools for contributing to the development of social practices that can integrate the social, the political, the material and the psychological into a coherent scheme to counter the pervasive dynamics of disrespect and 'everyday' violence in

our societies. These possibilities are reflected in this report.

Apart from the various purposes that this report serves, it is first and foremost a submission to our university community and university council as an act of accountability, recognition and gratitude. To this end I would like to thank the following: the advisory panel that operated from 2008-2010; our staff and students that drove and participated in these processes; the visiting scholars and students; donors and sponsors; the university management, senate and council; and Mr John Samuel who served as the Interim Director during the set-up phase.

Prof. J.D. Jansen

Vice-Chancellor and Rector UFS



REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
FOR STUDIES IN RACE, RECONCILIATION
AND SOCIAL JUSTICE
2009 – 2011

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DF MALHERBE

UTE FOR
RECONCILIATION

UNIVERSITY OF THE
FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE
VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA
FREISTATA



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INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
FOR STUDIES IN
RACE, RECONCILIATION
AND SOCIAL JUSTICE



A WORD FROM THE **INTERIM DIRECTOR** OF THE INSTITUTE

On 27 January 2011, a new chapter was started in the history of the University of the Free State, with the inauguration of the International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice. The honour for this occasion fell to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who in many ways exemplifies the ideals that give life to the Institute. This event also marked the coming to fruition of a commitment first made by Prof. Jansen during his inaugural address as Vice-Chancellor of the University.

In the planning and thinking through of the role of the Institute, it began to emerge that there was a critical need for a robust intellectual space dedicated to understanding the challenges of reconciliation and social justice. The past, present and future of the University, and the country at large, demanded that we dedicate the best of our minds to this complex and daunting task.

The Institute was fortunate in securing D.F. Malherbe House as its particular space, and right from the outset, it set about ensuring that this space was seen as a safe and enabling space where we could face these challenges in a rigorous, open and compassionate way. The fact that this space was also a house played a significant role in the cultivation of this ideal.

The Institute was first and foremost set up to respond to a need within the University, but the larger community also realised the significance and importance of this step, a realisation that was reflected in a message of congratulations by the Deputy President of South Africa, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe. The Institute is without doubt positioned to make a profound contribution as we get to work on the unfinished business of South Africa.

John Samuel

Interim Director of the Institute





A WORD FROM THE **DIRECTOR** OF THE INSTITUTE

Prof. André Keet

Director of the Institute

The Institute, so young, paradoxically has a long history. This is the first formal report capturing the events leading up to the establishment of the Institute, its first activities and the tentative steps towards becoming a research outfit of note. Though the Reitz incident is seen as the originating movement of the Institute, 'Reitz' simply gave us an 'event' for naming the massive transformation challenges within higher education in South Africa. Moreover, 'Reitz' asked new questions about our society (nationally, regionally, and internationally) against the backdrop of the intensification of 'hate' behaviour and an increase in structurally anchored inequalities. 'Reitz' demanded new forms of 'thinking', 'knowing' and 'doing' in a society simultaneously overran by 'human rights' and its inversed image of 'human suffering'. These 'new forms' represent the primary intellectual challenge of the Institute.

Since the Reitz incident in February 2008, the Institute has taken shape around two twin imperatives: researching 'race', reconciliation and social justice, and institutional transformation. A range of activities and initiatives are captured in this report and towards the end of 2011 we adopted

an innovative research framework. Our central intellectual concern centres on the following questions: Is 'reconciliation' a permanent social demand? If so, how do we weave big and small 'moments of reconciliation' into interpretive schemes that integrate the politics of redistribution, recognition and representation so that practices can be guided towards a legitimate and sustainable project of social justice and non-racialism? How will studying the moral, social, psychological and material dimensions of 'reconciliation' contribute to expanding communities' 'capabilities' for psycho-social and economic advancement? What are the psycho-social and political-material economies of hostility, hatred and disrespect amongst human beings?

Given the transformative landscape on which the Institute operates, its institutional unfolding and development will consistently change and its mandate and activities will be driven by the challenges emerging from this landscape. We are proud to publish this first report. Our thanks go to the workers, students, academics and university management, senate and council as well as to those who contributed to the processes leading up to the launch of the Institute.



A BRIEF **HISTORY** OF THE FOUNDING OF THE INSTITUTE



On 26 February 2008 the racially insulting video made at the Reitz residence surfaced on the Bloemfontein Campus of the University of the Free State. The management of the UFS initiated several interventions over the next few months with regard to the incident. This included the appointment of a number of external agencies to address specific issues, namely *Thinking Fusion* for strategic marketing and communication, *Igubu Leadership Agency* for the consolidation of the UFS's commitment to implement a policy to enhance racial integration in the residences on the Bloemfontein Campus of the UFS and *Brian Gibson Issue Management (BGIM)* for the management of the perception/reputation of the university after the damage done to its public image by the Reitz incident.

On 27 May 2008 the UFS announced the closure of the Reitz residence. This announcement started off a chain reaction of inputs by alumni, current students, parents, political parties, and legal representatives of various parties. The establishment of an Institute for Diversity (ID)¹ (on the site of the closed Reitz residence) as a centre of academic excellence for studying transformation and diversity in society was also announced. This was to be a living laboratory for combating discrimination and enabling and enhancing reconciliation in societies grappling with the issues of racism, sexism and xenophobia. On 30 July 2008 the Reitz residence was officially closed.

Brian Gibson Issue Management (BGIM), in a consulting capacity, took initial responsibility for the establishment of the ID and was tasked with assembling an advisory panel for the ID. A UFS discussion group on the ID, convened by the (acting) Rector of the UFS, Prof. Theuns Verschoor, met on a regular basis with BGIM to render assistance in this regard. The UFS committed seed funding for the initial 'establishment' processes, inter alia for the funding of the Director (to be appointed) for the first five years. The International Institute for Development and Ethics (IIDE) presented a colloquium entitled "*Emerging perspectives on the Ethics of Development and Transformation*" on the Bloemfontein Campus of the UFS on 17 September 2008 and was invited by BGIM to join in the facilitation of the inaugural meeting of the advisory panel on the ID.

1. The Institute has been known under a number of different working names – Institute for Diversity, The Reitz Institute for the Study of Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice, and finally the International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice.

The inaugural meeting of the advisory panel for the (International) Institute for Diversity took place on 20 November 2008. A number of invited experts on diversity, transformation, change management and conflict management gathered on the Bloemfontein Campus of the UFS to provide advice on the establishment of the ID. The meeting was organised and facilitated by BGIM, assisted by IIDE. The Chief Directorate: Community Service (CDCS) was requested by the Office of the Rector to render organisational support for the establishment of the ID and the final report on the inaugural meeting of the Advisory Panel for the (International) Institute for Diversity was completed by BGIM in January 2009.

and conflict management, identified by the new UFS Rector, gathered on the campus of the UFS to provide advice on the establishment of the ID.

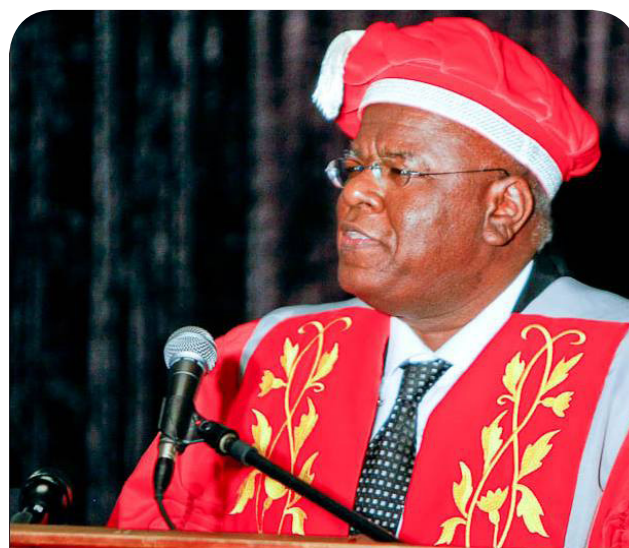
The new Vice-Chancellor and Rector of the UFS, Prof. J.D. Jansen, was inaugurated on 16 October 2009. In his inaugural lecture he announced the establishment of the Reitz Institute for Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice: *Firstly, the university will become a place that exemplifies the scholarship and the practice of reconciliation, forgiveness and social justice. Scholars and students from around the world will descend on the institution to study and understand the theory and practice of building community across the divides of race, but*



Members of the advisory panel

On-going consultation took place between CDCS and the (acting) Rector on the compilation of discussion documents regarding the ID for the attention of the management of the UFS. Input was also provided by the Director: Research Development and the Director: Internationalisation. Prof. Josephine Allen, visiting Fulbright scholar tasked with researching transformation at the UFS, consulted with various proposed role-players to be involved in the establishment of the ID. She completed her report in March 2009 and a discussion document pertaining to the establishment of the ID was then submitted by the (acting) Rector for the approval of the Executive Committee (EXCO) and for subsequent forwarding of the approved proposal to the Executive Management (EM) of the UFS. The approved EXCO document was submitted to the EM of the UFS for consideration and approval on 4 May 2009 and a discussion document allowing for the creation of an Interim Management Committee (IMC), tasked with facilitating the establishment of the ID, was approved.

Invitations to the initial meeting of the IMC were forwarded by the CDCS and the first meeting of the IMC was held on 27 May 2009. CDCS met with Prof. Allen for an update on the establishment of the ID during July 2009 and on 5 September 2009 a meeting of a 2nd advisory panel was held at the UFS. A number of invited experts on diversity, transformation,



Prof. J.D. Jansen – Vice-Chancellor and Rector UFS

also religion, gender, dis/ability, national origins and, thanks to Athletics South Africa, sexual identity. In this respect the university will soon launch what we hope to call 'The Reitz Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice'.

On 25 November 2009 a colloquium on *Race, Reitz and Rights* was hosted at the UFS. The colloquium was co-hosted by the Research Cluster: Transformation in Highly Diverse Societies and the Reitz Institute for Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice. A meeting of the interim management committee of the Reitz Institute for Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice took place the next day.

In January 2010 the Rector tasked Rev. Kiepie Jaftha (The Chief Directorate: Community Service), Willem Ellis (The International Institute for Development and Ethics) and

J.C. van der Merwe (Philosophy Department) to oversee the necessary interventions aimed at the legal founding of what was to be called the International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice. This included the finalisation of a founding document for the Institute; the compilation of a concept constitution for the Institute; and the refurbishment of DF Malherbe House for housing the Institute. The constitution of the International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice was approved by the Council of the UFS in June 2010 and Mr John Samuel joined the UFS as Interim Director of the Institute in July to direct the Institute during the crucial setting-up phase.

Staff members 2009–2011

Administrative: Ms. Leah Naidoo, Ms. Ntabiseng Moahlodi, Mr Given Shingange

Mr John Samuel, Prof. Andre Keet

Prof. Jackie du Toit, Mr Brian Nakedi, Mr J.C. van der Merwe

Students: Moses Masitha, Lihlumelo Toyana, Mhlanganisi Madlongolwana, Francois Greeff, Phumzile Sokhela

THE LAUNCH OF THE INSTITUTE

Following the 'rupture of Reitz' in February 2008, and an incubation period of consultation and discussions over a period of almost three years, the Institute was launched by Archbishop Tutu on 27 January 2011. Emerging from the richness of these discussions was a clear and collective vision to set up the Institute primarily as a research outfit that will exemplify what Prof. Jansen called "the scholarship and the practice of reconciliation, forgiveness and social justice" at his inauguration. In his message of support Deputy President

Prof. Andre Keet was appointed as Director of the Institute in July 2011 and continued to engage in a range of discussions within and outside the borders of the university to give form, function and content to the vision of the Institute.

The Institute at a Glance

It is the mission of the Institute to the study the manifestations of race in higher education, linking such inquiry to the related matters of reconciliation and social justice in the South African context against the backdrop of racial, ethnic and tribal conflicts elsewhere in the world.

Aims:

- To conduct studies on race, reconciliation and social justice; in particular, the Institute will regard studies on reconciliation and forgiveness as crucial dimensions of the pursuit of democracy and social justice;
- To generate comparative and international research of its scholarship and practice, establishing an international presence by entering into dialogue with the experience of racial and ethnic violence in places like Rwanda;
- To pursue scholarship on race studies (not diversity more broadly) in university contexts and, while the work of the Institute will no doubt be distributed widely within communities and on campuses, it seeks to be a premier international site of research on race, reconciliation and social justice;
- To serve the national and international higher education (HE) environments through a proactive approach, closely and strategically linking academic research with practical application (praxis), thus contributing to viable and contextually relevant interventions in these environments; and
- To serve the institutional needs of the UFS by becoming a forum the research of which is linked to social, institutional and curricular change within the university environment.



Kgalema Motlanthe said, "It is thus encouraging to see the UFS bringing to the fore such an initiative, which combines a study in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice, all of which are indispensable elements in the process of rebuilding our nation" (see appendix 2). At the launch Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu said, "We have it in us to become one of the most wonderful countries in the world. We have it in us to be a caring and compassionate land where everyone matters, where everyone counts. We look to you here in UFS starting this Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice to lead the way" (see appendix 1).



CONVERSING THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Since its founding, the Institute has embarked on a number of activities that feed into its research areas. One of the Institute's first projects was to convene a series of conversations for students from diverse backgrounds under the theme: "Imagining a reconciled diversity". The aim of these conversations was to build on the work that the UFS had started after the infamous Reitz video. Dr Allan Boesak, the 2011 scholar-in-residence, facilitated the conversations that took place over a period of six months.



Dr Allan Boesak in conversation with students

The objectives of the conversations were threefold: to arrive at an understanding of the spaces of convergence and divergence between the students on the campus; to identify beyond university boundaries the pillars of our society that both unite and divide the nation; and to draft a vision for the youth of the Republic of South Africa. A vision document was drafted at the end of the conversations at a two-day retreat in the township of Mangaung and was presented at the Inaugural National Student Summit which took place on the Bloemfontein Campus from 6-9 October 2011. The Summit is an initiative of the Institute and students from 11 other institutions of higher education participated. The annotated transcripts of these engagements form the basis of a book to be published.

Critical conversations

A small selection (engineered to create the broadest possible disciplinary and participative range) of university faculty and students are invited to take part in a conversation with an invited scholar in order to generate new approaches to race, but also to create awareness in the subsequent dialogues between faculty and students. Past speakers include Dennis Francis and Sechaba Mahlomaholo, Lis Lange, Pieter Duvenhage and Jonathan Jansen.

Dialogue with a visitor

An international visiting scholar, chosen from a variety of disciplines, is offered residence at the Institute for a number of months, depending on their schedule. In addition to conducting their own research, these visitors contribute to the university's intellectual environment. On a regular basis they facilitate dialogue on relevant scholarly work with a view of introducing new comparative perspectives which may be helpful in rethinking questions of race and social transformation in South Africa today. Carolina Suransky from the University of Humanistic Studies in the Netherlands, introduced the first series of 'Dialogue with a Visitor' during her three-month stay at the Institute from March to May 2011. The Tuesday evening's dialogue focused on the theme of identity and each of the graduate student participants received a copy of Amartya Sen's (2006) *Identity and Violence, the Illusion of Destiny*.

Talking movies

In 2011 the Institute collaborated with Prof. Charles Dumas (Professor, School of Theatre, Penn State University and Senior Professor, UFS) and the UFS Department of Drama and Theatre Arts in organising the Spike Lee Film Festival.

The International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice
in partnership with the Department Drama and Theatre Arts Presents:

THE SPIKE LEE FILM FESTIVAL

Introduction by Professor Charles Dumas

9 MARCH	Do the right thing
16 MARCH	Mo' Better Blues
23 MARCH	Crooklyn

TIME: 18:30
VENUE: Medical faculty
kine 1
FREE!



Courtyard Conversations

The Institute has been set up as a critical space where engaged scholarship and public discussion are innovatively integrated towards exploring and finding solutions to the complex and challenging work of social transformation in South Africa. To give content to this concept of a 'critical space' the Institute hosted a series of Courtyard Conversations in 2011.



Christi van der Westhuizen, Gabrielle Lubowski with her children and Cesar Lagleva

The guest speakers were: Prof. Eddy van der Borgh (Desmond Tutu Chair at the Free University of Amsterdam); Dr Caroline Suransky (Director of the Kosmopolis Institute at the University of Humanistic Studies in Utrecht, the Netherlands); Dr Allan Boesak, Charles Dumas, Ainsly Moos (Editor of *Volksblad*), Adam Kahane (Associate Fellow at the Saïd Business School of Oxford University and the initiator of the Mont Fleur Scenario Project); Christi van der Westhuizen (Author, Columnist); Max du Preez (Author, Columnist), Gabrielle Lubowski (Author), Cesar Lagleva (human and civil rights activist); and Eva Hoffman (visiting scholar at MIT).



The Vice-Chancellor and Eva Hoffman

In Conversation with... / Talking books and authors

A series highlighting high profile authors of recent books related to race, reconciliation and social justice. These conversations on books are facilitated by an interviewer in front of a mixed audience of students and faculty, and the entire conversation is recorded and archived. Past authors include Ahmed Kathrada (*A Simple Freedom*), Jay Naidoo (*Fighting for Justice*), Ali Mazrui, Gabrielle Lubowski (*On Solid Ground*), Anna Trapido (*Hunger for Freedom*) and Izzeldin Abuelaish (*I shall not hate*).



Moses Masitha and Jay Naidoo



Izzeldin Abuelaish with a student



Ahmed Kathrada

International Winter School on Pluralism and Development



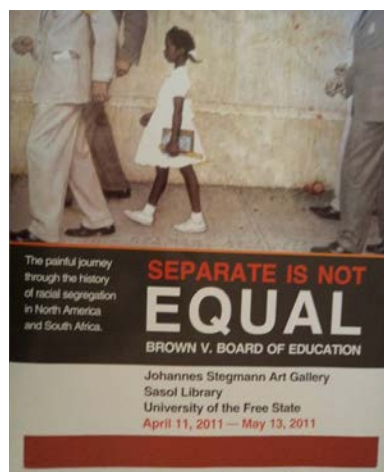
The Institute hosted the 8th International Winter School on Pluralism and Development from 7 July to 7 August 2011 at the Bloemfontein Campus of the UFS. The winter school is a joint initiative of the University of Humanistic Studies and Hivos as partners in the Dutch Humanist Alliance, together with the Centre for the Study of Culture and Society (CSCS) in Bangalore, India, the Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (CRCS) of the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, and the Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU) in Kampala, Uganda.

Funding from Hivos has made participation in the winter school by staff and students possible. The winter school brings together an international group of staff from civil society based organisations, activists and graduate students and is taught by an international and interdisciplinary staff with expertise on ethics, human rights, political theory, comparative religious studies, sustainable development, governance, gender and education.

The feedback from all participants and staff were overwhelmingly positive and after the formal evaluation of the 2011 Winter School, the UFS was asked to host the Winter School again in 2012. The UFS in general and the Institute in particular benefitted from the winter school in many ways. Not only did four UFS students graduate from the winter school, but the theme of Reconciliation and Social Justice, presented by UFS staff, was added to the programme.

Co-hosted events:

- With Theology: Interfaith Conference: Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice in conversation with Religion.
- With Student Affairs: *Where do I stand* – screening of the documentary on xenophobia and discussion with the film maker Molly Blank. Hosting Gabrielle Lubowski.
- With USA consulate: *Separate is not equal* exhibition on Brown versus Board of Education.
- With Centre for Africa Studies: Hosted conversation with Ali Mazru.
- With Department of Drama and Theatre Arts: Play directed by Charles Dumas, *Race, reconciliation and the Reitz 4*.
- With Gender Studies: Three-day seminar with Cesar Lagleva.
- With UFS 101: Debate on reconciliation and religion between Allan Boesak and Christi van der Westhuizen.



RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND PROJECTS

The research and intellectual orientation of the Institute consist of a variety of conceptual frameworks and thematic areas from which a particular set of knowledge generation processes, social practices and agencies can follow. These interpretive schemas take its primary focus to be the study of everyday violence, trauma and disrespect in human relations; its import from the past; and its projection into the future from where it rules the present, and what to do about it.

In the fields of reconciliation, social justice and non-racialism a review of existing literature suggests research trends and new-emerging interpretive schemes that support *shared complicities*; *collective futures* as the over-arching and guiding premise of the Institute's research project with the following constitutive themes:

- a. *Space, 'Race', Rights, Class and Gender*: (inequality, restitution, redistribution, discrimination, whiteness, blackness, racism, ethnicity, indigeneity, identities, oppression, spatiality, environment, rights);
- b. *Justice, Jouissance and Democracy*: (truth and commissions, restorative justice, human rights-based justice, peace studies, environmental justice, compassion-based justice, deliberative democracy, participation, verge, humanity);
- c. *Spectrality and Hauntology: Implications for reconciliation studies* (ghosts, spirits, haunting, ontology of presence, existence, appearance, dis-appearance, co-existence, culpability, guilt);
- d. *Mourning, Forgiveness and Legacy*: (social psychology, critical community psychology, psychoanalysis, historical memory, trauma, reconciliation, nostalgia, empathic repair);
- e. *Cosmopolitanism*: (difference, non-normativity, hybridity, otherness, social cohesion, identity, friendship, hospitality, love, mutual vulnerability, precariousness, conflict resolution, diversity management);
- f. *Humanity, Science, Technology and Cyborg-Bio Techno-sciences*: (form, function, artificial intelligence, neurosciences, machines, androids, computerised automata, prosthetism, cybernetics, DNA research, the human genome project, bio-prospecting); and
- g. *Language, Culture, Literature and Representation*: (feminism, speaking, writing, narrative, time, discourse, signification, rhetoric, orientalism, art, drama, performativity, the body, post-colonialism, alterity).

Research activities

The following research activities have been initiated:

- a. Book Series: *Reconciled Diversity: Young South Africans in Conversation with Allan Boesak*; *Living with Difference: Transformation and the Quest for Reconciliation*; *Researching 'reconciliation' and 'social justice' in South Africa today*. This series is linked to the Reitz research project: *Mapping 'Reitz', the meaning of 'Reitz', moving beyond 'Reitz'*.
- b. Guest issue of *Perspectives in Education* Volume 30 Issue 4: December 2012: *Rethinking citizenship and social justice in education*: Guest Editors: André Keet and Ronelle Carolissen.
- c. Book proposal: *Shared complicities, Collective Futures*.
- d. *Curriculum as Discourse*: This inter-disciplinary and inter-institutional national research project is committed to the broader project of transformation in higher education. The study is an NRF-approved and funded three-year project (Knowledge Fields-Education research in South Africa) that applies a primarily qualitative methodology that includes researchers from the following universities: the University of Stellenbosch, University of the Western Cape, University of Fort Hare, University of the Witwatersrand, University of Cape Town, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and the University of the Free State. This study explores curriculum practices and content as well as the disciplinary traditions in selected fields of study (specifically psychology, occupational therapy and architecture) across institutional sites, probing for patterns of inclusion and exclusion at the level of disciplinary and curriculum practices and content; nationally and potential implications for through-put. This study is coordinated by the Anti-Racism Network in Higher Education.

APPENDIX 1

FORGIVENESS, RECONCILIATION AND THE NATION

Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu

Accepting a Honorary Doctorate and launching the International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice at the University of the Free State

Bloemfontein, 27 January 2011

Dit is 'n yslike groot voorreg om u toe te spreek. Somtyds as ek 'n bietjie Afrikaans praat dan is 'n paar mense verbaas en hulle word meer verbaas as ek hulle vertel dat ek my Afrikaans in Ventersdorp geleer het. Ja, Ventersdorp. Nou dink u nie dit is waar, as ons land ET en DT van Ventersdorp kon oorleef dan kan hy mos enigiets oorleef.

At the TRC we took a particular decision that during victim hearings the panel would occupy the same level as the victim. This was not because we were modest or humble. It was a dramatic way of acknowledging that all of us South Africans were wounded people. Just because we were commissioners did not make us to be a cut above other of our compatriots. We recognised then what was a central characteristic of our society. It was true then. It is sadly equally true today. We are deeply wounded people, wounded, damaged by the nefarious policies of injustice and oppression that were the key attributes of apartheid.

I have told this story before – I am repetitive if nothing else. In 1972 I was working for the WCC in its Theological Education Fund as an Associate Director with area responsibility for sub-Saharan Africa. As such I visited Nigeria for the first time. I was due to visit a theological seminary in Jos, north of Lagos on a domestic flight. I grew inches when I discovered that the pilots were both black. That could not happen in apartheid South Africa. We took off smoothly and my pride soared at the competence of the all black crew. Then we hit the mother and father of turbulence and it was quite scary. Now this is the point of my story. I have not got over the shock to this day – what? Do you know quite spontaneously I asked myself, “Oh dear. There is no white man in the cockpit. Will these blacks land us safely?” Of course they must have because here I am to tell the story. But isn’t that shocking? Now you can see the extent of brainwashing that we have undergone.

What my experiences under apartheid had done was to erode my proper self-love and confidence in things black. Apartheid had succeeded in filling me with a self-loathing, a self-doubt. That is why we said that racial injustice and oppression are not

just evil, which they are; not just painful as they must be for the victim, but are downright blasphemous for making a child of God doubt that he/she was indeed a child of God. That is the extent to which black people have been damaged, wounded by that evil system. This applied in varying degrees to all of us blacks and perhaps those who think they are immune are the most damaged. But this pathological condition shows itself in so many sad and distressing ways. We project our self-hate to those others who look like me and so we have despised and disrespected other blacks. We have treated them as we saw our white overlords treat us. In many of our offices and shops there are wonderful people who provide courteous service with a smile. But we know that there are others, many others who think they are doing you a favour when they serve you. They are sulky and discourteous and as for being our obedient servants, forget it. I despise myself and so I show it by being discourteous to others who look like me.

What has happened to us, to our humanity – when adult men can rape babies a few months old, what has happened to us when we can steal the old-age pensions of those who could be our own parents and grandparents? We have lost our self-respect, our ubuntu and so our respect for others. How else can you account for how we drive in our still largely, almost exclusively black townships? How do you explain that we can litter so much? It is as if we are saying, “Yes, I am like rubbish and I don’t mind all the filth around me.” Why can we throw a banana peel near a dustbin and not in the bin? We can’t use the excuse of poverty – dumping and littering are not functions of poverty. We know just how our mothers used to sweep around our homes and even into the streets. And they were poor. We do things in our townships that would not be tolerated in the still largely white suburbs.

We have lost our self-respect and so we disrespect one another. So you can have loud music until the early hours and your neighbours can go jump in the lake. We need therapy, we need healing, we need exorcism to drive out the demons of self-hate. We have tended to copy what our so-called superiors were doing. We now flaunt our newly-acquired wealth with expensive cars, parties, etc. They show we have arrived, we have made it. Ours is an accountable political dispensation where those who make decisions that affect us are answerable to us. But where you have jettisoned your self-respect then you despise the others who look like you. We can allocate over 60 million rand for a youth extravaganza whilst we have children learning under trees. To whom are we accountable? We think power means doing exactly as we like and damn the consequences. Real, genuine power is the

willingness to serve, to be there for the sake of the led, of the ruled, of the governed.

Racial superiority is as pathological, as much an affliction as racial inferiority. Both cause the victim to be dehumanised, to be denigrated, to be despised by the victim himself or herself and by the perpetrator. Just think of some of the atrocities we heard described before the TRC where the police officers could give their victim drugged coffee before shooting him in the head. Then they burned the corpse which took up to nine hours and whilst they were watching this happen they had a braai, two kinds of flesh burning and they could drink beer. You would have to ask what could have happened to the humanity of people who could do this. Clearly they had been dehumanised by the process of dehumanising another person.

What sort of people could beat up and torture a fellow human being and when he was comatose, drive him half-naked from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria where he would die manacled to a radiator? How do they face their children on the following day? Were they schizophrenic, separating their work lives from their family lives and expect to remain normal? What must have happened to anyone who on being told about the death of a fellow human being could say heartlessly, "It leaves me cold"? You shudder to think how he managed to sleep knowing he was lying to South Africa and the world when he announced that Steve Biko had died through a hunger strike. The disease he suffered from afflicted most of our white compatriots. What happened at the Reitz Residence should not have surprised us – yes, shocked us, but not surprised us. What should surprise us is not that such a horrible thing could happen. What should surprise us is that not more have taken place given our antecedents. Professor Jansen acted with amazing courage and the victims with considerable magnanimity and we should give them a resounding round of applause.

Conclusion

Have I made you despondent? Well, it is important that we face up to the truth about ourselves if we are going to be healed. But do you know something, we are an amazing people, we really are. Most of the world expected us to go up in the flames of a racial conflagration. Nothing of the sort happened. We had a wonderfully peaceful first democratic election in 1994. The cynics said, "Pasop, when a black government comes to power there will be the most awful orgy of retribution and revenge." It didn't happen. Instead we had something that blew the minds of the world and we had the TRC. We said we want to walk the path of forgiveness and reconciliation and not of tit-for-tat. Which other country has eleven official languages, which other country has a multilingual anthem?

I have identified symptoms in the main part of this address. They reveal a psychological problem that we South Africans really suffer from a negative self-image. Some think erroneously that they are superior and others equally erroneously think that they are inferior. It is psychological, but more profoundly, it is a theological malady. Gloriously, exhilaratingly, the answer for both kinds of illness is the central biblical truth – each one of us is created in the image of God, each one of us is of infinite, inherent worth. The worth is intrinsic. It has

nothing to do with status, with race, with possessions or lack of them. Whether you are tall or short, beautiful or ugly, clever or not clever, rich or poor, educated or uneducated, white or black – wow, you are of infinite worth. You are a God carrier. You have a God-shaped space which only God can fill. You don't have to do anything; it is not something to strive for, to earn. No, spectacularly it is a free gift, it is a grace and it is universal. That is the truth we all need to absorb about ourselves and about the other. That is fantastic. And now and again we in the country have confounded our critics and the doomsayers and indeed surprised even ourselves. Just think of what happened in 1995 when we won the Rugby World Cup. They were dancing and celebrating in Soweto for a victory in a sport that was largely regarded as an Afrikaner sport. Just look what happened last year when the Blue Bulls and the Stormers played the Super 14 final in Soweto. Opregte boere went to the township, to the shebeens, into the streets. Remarkable scenes.

Hey, what happened to us during the Soccer World Cup? We met strict deadlines, we built state-of-the-art stadiums, trains and buses ran on time. Did you know South Africans were so patriotic? Do you remember just how many cars were festooned with our national flag and that the tournament has been declared one of the best ever? I have just been to a wonderful ceremony in Nyanga about "Kick TB". Most of those who succumb to TB are black. Many health workers are of course black. But do you know that the project was started by an Afrikaner, Wena Moelich? I am, with Leah, Patron of Tygerberg Children's Hospital, part of the teaching hospital of Stellenbosch University. Most medical students are still Afrikaners and I can't tell you just how amazing is their dedication to their young black patients. The same can be said about HIV/Aids. You would have thought whites would say good riddance to bad rubbish – no in this crazy land they are spending thrifths of themselves on behalf of black patients.

I watch rugby, soccer and cricket. At the last cricket test match at Newlands, this huge non-racial crowd, but still majority white gave a loud cheer to Tsotsobe for bowling so well. When he was doing not so well, I marvelled how the players were there for each other. Dale Steyn, one of the world's top bowlers, went to him and clearly was encouraging him and giving him tips. And just looking at the spectators of all races sitting and having fun in the sun you realised we have a fantastic country, man! We are a scintillating success waiting to happen. We have it in us to become one of the most wonderful countries in the world. We have it in us to be a caring and compassionate land where everyone matters, where everyone counts.

We look to you here in UFS starting this Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice to lead the way. Go for it.

APPENDIX2



DEPUTY PRESIDENT: REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
Private Bag X1000, Pretoria, 0001

27 January 2011

DEPUTY PRESIDENT KGALEMA MOTLANTHE'S MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO THE UNIVERSITY OF FREE STATE AT THE LAUNCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN RACE, RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

First off, let me apologise for not being able to honour your kind invitation to attend the conferring of an Honorary Degree to Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Mpilo Tutu.

In this regard, the choice to honour this exemplar of virtue to which most of the world still look for direction as it buckles under social, political and economic difficulties is laudable in all respects.

Secondly, I would like to thank the University of the Free State for launching the International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice.

The need for this initiative in our country today cannot be overemphasised. As you will know our nation is still enmeshed in its odious past.

Among others, racism and racial inequalities are the choking fumes over the verdant life of a democratic South Africa.

Consequently, sixteen years into democracy, South Africa is not yet out of the woods in terms of social cohesion. Overcoming these challenges presupposes continued, untiring efforts by all South Africans.

On their own, the material and psychological effects of decades of benighted apartheid rule cannot dissipate like a billowing smoke in the wind. Purposeful human action is called for to correct that which has been damaged by human hand.

It is thus encouraging to see the UFS bringing to the fore such an initiative, which combines a study in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice, all of which are indispensable elements in the process of rebuilding our nation.

I am confident that on the strength of its stature, coupled with its eminent experience as an academic institution, the UFS will further assist our country advance towards a united, non-racial, non-sexism, just and prosperous future.

On this account, I wish the International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice well in its arduous but noble task of contributing to the building of a better human society.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'Kgalema Motlanthe'.
KGALEMA MOTLANTHE





Dr. Itzeldin Abuataish, Associate Professor, Dalia Lana
School of Public Health, University of Toronto

Date: 17 October 2011
Time: 19:00 - 20:00
Venue: Education Faculty Auditorium (The New Building behind the Sasol Library)

"Hate and revenge are too great to leave it. It is time to change the search for blame into a longing for hope, and realize that we must move forward to make a difference." Speaking about a life changing tragedy that left three of his daughters dead, a random attack on Gaza, Dr. Abuataish made a deliberate decision to spread a message of hope. Author of the bestselling, "I Shall Not Hate: A Gaza Doctor's Journey on the Road to Peace and Human Dignity," Abuataish was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010 and has received many accolades for his tireless work on behalf of education conducted by the foundation he set up in memory of his children. He shares his personal biography starting with his early years in Jabalia refugee camp to the recent Gaza war and all that followed. Dr. Abuataish represents a human being committed to peace and coexistence in the face of the worst possible personal tragedy.

I Shall not Hate: A Gaza Doctor's Transformational Journey of Loss, Love and Change

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The International Institute and Gender Studies programme presents

Dialogue Series on Race and Gender

6-8 September 2011
08:30 - 13:00
CR Swart
Senate Hall

Human and civil rights activist
Cesar Lagleva

■ Using the Liberation Theory Model, this workshop will:

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- Provide you with a safe environment to speak about race & gender.
- Teach you how to become a change agent in creating a just and equitable society.

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F.G.G. (B) 202

Eva Hoffman

Acclaimed author and academic.


From Memory to Reconciliation

Dr Eva Hoffman is an internationally renowned writer and academic. Born-in-exile, Poland she emigrated with her family to Canada in 1957. She studied at Rice University, Texas (English literature), the Yale School of Music, and Harvard University where she received a Ph.D. in literature. Awarded an honorary D.Litt by the University of Zurich in 2008 and forming a member of the creating-writing programme CUNY-Matru College's Master of Arts Program in Creative Writing. Eva now lives in London. Her most important publications include: *Lives of Girls*, *The Yearning* (1988), *Exit* (1990), *Strangers Along the River* (1993), *Through the Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Politics* (1997), *The Secret* (2001), *After Such Knowledge: History, Memory and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (2004), and *Notes for an Unborn Nation* (2009). Her latest book, offering students the opportunity to study the personal as well as supranational IRA and the RAF is due.

Her public lectures are free of charge. Seating will be available on a first come basis.

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