

The Political and International Studies Department (Rhodes University), Centre for Women and Gender Studies (Nelson Mandela University) and Historical Studies Department (University of Cape Town) Present A Virtual Colloquium:

"S'OBASHAYA NGAMATYE": WOMEN AND 60 YEARS OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Date and Time: 9 August 2021 (9AM - 5PM) 10 August 2021 (9AM - 1PM)





Honourable Thandi Modise

NELSON MANDELA UNIVERSITY





Lebohang Liepollo Pheko



Prof Puleng Segalo

Speakers:

Ambassador Naomi Ribbon Mosholi Totsie Memela Ambassador Lindiwe Mabuza Thulasizwe Legodi Ambassador Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele Prof Janet Cherry Ntombizodwa Khumalo Prof Saleem Badat Prof Debby Bonnin Dr Uhuru Phalafala Prof Kim Miller Shanthini Naidoo Dr Zosa De Sas Kropiwnicki-Gruber

SPECIAL PERFORMANCE

Nomfundo Xaluva

https://zoom.us/webinar/register/WN 9B4pfhdHT-uK8SgbCbGWSQ

Day 1: 9 August, Monday 9:00:00 – 17:00 ZOOM Webinar

Chair: Zikho Dana (Rhodes University)

Time	Activity/Topic	Speaker	
9:00 - 9:15 9:15 - 9:30 9:30: 10:15: 10:15 - 10:30	Opening and Welcome Introduction of the keynote Speaker Keynote address Women's Contributions to the Armed Q&A facilitated	Dr Sizwe Mabizela (Vice-Chancellor, Rhodes University) Dr Siphokazi Magadla (Rhodes University) Honourable Thandi Modise Struggle and Lessons for Current Struggles Zikho Dana	
10:30-10:40	TEA BREAK		
10:40 – 10:50	Video – A reading of "Tongues of their Mothers"	Makhosazana Xaba	
Panel 1: WOMEN AND THE CONTOURS OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE			
11.00 10.00			

11:00 – 12:30 **Chair:** Dr Babalwa Magoqwana (Nelson Mandela University)

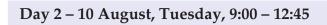
Prof Saleem Badat
Women and Political Banishment in Apartheid South Africa
Lebohang Liepollo Pheko
More than Tea and Scones: Women Warriors, the Mobility of Struggle and Azanian Struggle Memories
Prof Janet Cherry
Women in the 1980s Township Uprising in the Eastern Cape
Prof Debby Bonnin
Reflections on Women and Political Violence in Kwazulu-Natal





Time	Activity/Topic	Speaker		
12:30-13:30	AN OFFERING	Nomfundo Xaluva		
Panel 2: REFLECTIONS FROM UMKHONTO WE SIZWE AND AZANIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY VETERANS				
13:30 – 15:00 Chair – Dr Siphokazi Magadla (Rhodes University)				
	Ambassador Naomi Ribbon Mosholi Ntombizodwa Khumalo Busisiwe Jacqueline 'Totsie' Memela Thulasizwe Legodi			
15:00-15:10	TEA BREAK			
15:10 – 15: 20	Audio clip - Makhulu's fireside stories:	Molly, the invisible chair and the mtamnani		
Panel 3: REPRESENTATIONS, MEMORY AND LEGACIES				
15:20 – 17:00 Chair: Nomphume	Prof Puleng Segalo Stitching Resistance and Solidarity Narr Dr Zosa Olenka De Sas Kropiwnicki	ry, Real and Figural Displays of Female Authority in the Public Sphere ratives South Africa: The Masupatsela Generation		





Time	Activity/Topic	Speaker		
Chair: Siphokazi Tau (Nelson Mandela University)				
09:00 – 09:45 09:45 -10:00	Keynote Address Women in the Armed Struggle: The U Q&A Facilitated	Makhosazana Xaba naccounted for, the Unnameable and the Unknowable, 60 years on Siphokazi Tau		
10:00-10:10	TEA BREAK			
Panel 2: Book Launch - MALIBONGWE - POEMS FROM THE STRUGGLE BY ANC WOMEN (1981/2020) AND WOMEN IN SOLITARY: INSIDE THE FEMALE RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID (2020)				
10:10 – 12:30 Chair – Dr Athamb	pile Masola (University of Cape Town) Ambassador Lindiwe Mabuza Ambassador Sankie Mthembi-Mahanye Shanthini Naidoo Dr Uhuru Phalafala Makhosazana Xaba	le		
12:30 – 12:45				
	Vote of Thanks, Closing Remarks and W	Vay Forward – Prof Enocent Msindo (Rhodes University)		

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES



Honourable Thandi Modise

was elected the Speaker of the National Assembly on 22 May 2019. She served as the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces in the Fifth parliament. Prior to that, she served as Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Defence and the Joint Standing Committee on Defence. She also currently serves as Chancellor of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. In 1976, she slipped into Botswana to join the African National Congress (ANC) and was later transferred to Angola where she received military training. Having undergone military and political training, Honourable Modise was the first woman to return to South Africa to organise the townships to fight against the apartheid regime. She was arrested in 1979, and received an eight-year jail sentence, which she served at Kroonstad Prison. While in Kroonstad Prison, Honourable Modise completed her matric and a BCom degree in Industrial Psychology and Economics. She was released in 1988. She started the ANC Women's' League (ANCWL) branch in Huhudi and is a founder member of the Lesedi Community Clinic. She served on the ANC National Executive from 1994 to 2012 and was Deputy President of the ANC Women's League from 1994 to 2004 and served as its President in 2004. She served as the Deputy Secretary-General of the ANC from 2007 to 2012. She also served as a member of its National Executive Committee but has remained committed to the Huhudi community.



Makhosazana Xaba

is currently a Research Associate at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WiSER). She is an award-winning multigenre anthologist and short story writer. She is also a poet with three published collections and a forthcoming one titled The Art of Waiting for Tales: Found Poetry from Grace, the Novel. Before turning to creative writing, she was an activist in the women's health field and she wrote and published extensively on health systems research, gender and health, sexual and reproductive rights and health. As an anti-apartheid activist in the 1980s she trained in Angola, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and German Democratic Republic (GDR) and worked as a broadcaster for Radio Freedom in Lusaka, Zambia. (Picture credit: Nonzuzo Gxekwa)



Ambassador Lindiwe Mabuza

has served as South African Ambassador to Germany (1995-1999), High Commissioner to Malaysia and Brunei and Ambassador to the Philippines (1999-2001), and High Commissioner to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (2001-2009). She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from the National University of Lesotho in Roma, Lesotho (1960); a Diploma in Home Economics from Grailville Community College, USA; Masters in Literature from Stanford University, USA (1966); Masters in American Studies from the University of Minnesota, USA (1968); and a Diploma in Diplomacy, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1993). She has lectured in the Sociology department at the University of Minnesota (1968 – 1969) and was Professor of Literature and History at the Black Studies Institute at Ohio University, USA (1969-1977). From 1977-1979, she worked as a full-time member of the African National Congress as a journalist for Radio Freedom, editor of Voice of Women and the Head of ANC Culture in Zambia. From 1979-1987, she was the ANC's chief representative to the Nordic countries based in Sweden. From 1989-1994, she was the ANC's chief representative to the United States of America. She also served as a member of the ANC Caucus in Parliament in the first democratic South African parliament. It was through the ANC Women's Section that Ambassador Mabuza made the call to ANC women across the world to submit poems that became published in the historic anthology, Malibongwe: Poems from the struggle by ANC Women, which was first published in German in 1980 and in English in 1981; and published for the first time in South Africa by Uhlanga Press in 2020. Her other publications include: From ANC to Sweden (1987), Letter to Letta (1991), Voices that Lead - Poems 1976 - 1996 (1998), Africa to me (1998), Footprints and Fingerprints (2008) and Tambo Lenyoka: Enduring friendships (Oliver Tambo, Olof Palme and Thabo Mbeki) (2017). Her poem, For Quincy Jones, appeared in the Feminist Studies journal in 1995. She is the editor of One Never Knows: An Anthology of Black South African Women Writers in Exile (1989), contributing-editor (with Pallo Jordan as main editor) of Oliver Tambo Remembered: His life in Exile (Palgrave, 2007); editor of Conversations with Uncle OR Tambo: Childhood Memoirs in Exile (2020). She has also published children's books, Mbindi and Gogo, Mbindi and the Fly Machine, and South African Animals among others. Ambassador Mabuza is the recipient of the Yari Yari Award for her contributions in Literature and Struggle for Human Rights from New York University (1997), and the Presidential Order of Ikhamanga for her cultural contributions during the struggle (2014).







Dr Sizwe Mabizela

was appointed vice-chancellor of Rhodes University in October 2014. He was deputy vice-chancellor at the university since 2008. Dr. Mabizela holds a B Sc, B Sc Honours in Mathematics (cum laude), and a Masters degree in Mathematics from the University of Fort Hare He holds a PhD from Pennsylvania State University in the USA. Dr Mabizela's research field is Abstract Approximation Theory, a subfield of Functional Analysis. He has published widely in his field of research in both national and international journals and has produced three Lecture Notes Series. He has presented numerous scientific papers at national and international conferences, workshops, and seminars in the field of Functional Analysis and Approximation.



Ambassador Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele

is South Africa's current ambassador to Switzerland. She trained as a radio journalist for the African National Congress (ANC) in East Berlin, German Democratic Republic. She worked in the ANC Office in Radio in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania and Angola. She was the editor of Voice of Women, ANC's journal based in Lusaka, Zambia; and Sub-Editor of Dawn in Angola, the journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Ambassador Mthembi-Mahanyele was secretary of the ANC Regional Political Committee 1984–1986; Administration Secretary of the ANC Mission in Lagos, Nigeria covering Benin, Togo, 1986–1989; and Chief Representative of the ANC in Germany, covering Austria & German speaking Switzerland, 1989-1993. After 1994, she has held various positions including being Deputy Minister of Welfare & Population Development, 1994-1995; National Minister for Housing, 1995-2002 and Deputy Secretary General of the ANC 2003-2007, among others. She holds a Bachelor' of Arts Degree from the University of Limpopo (then Turfloop), a Post Graduate Diploma in Economic Principles, a Post Graduate Diploma in Financial Principles and an MSc in Public Policy and Management all from the University of London. She is one of the contributors to the anthology, Malibongwe: Poems from the struggle by ANC Women (1981/2020), under the nom de guerre Rebecca Matlou. Her collection of poems, Flames of Fury and other poems was published in 1990. She has contributed poems to other volumes including, Poets to the People, Return of the Amasi Bird (1972), and short stories such as, One Never Knows, among others.



Ambassador Naomi Ribbon Mosholi

is South Africa's current ambassador to the Czech Republic. She was born in Soweto, Johannesburg, and matriculated from Orlando High School. Growing up under the heinous system of apartheid, it was impossible not to be involved in activities that would put the attention of the security police to one's self. As a student activist at university in law at the University of the North (now University of Limpopo), Ambassador Mosholi cut her political teeth in the South African Students Organisation (SASO) – Black Consciousness Movement entity that taught the love of our black selves. She was recruited into the African National Congress in 1973, which led to her expulsion from university and her decision to go into exile in late 1976 to be trained as a guerrilla of Umkhonto we Sizwe – the Spear of the Nation. She has served the ANC in different capacities including the United Nations Observer Mission of the ANC. Represented the ANC Women's Section at the Women's International Democratic Federation in Berlin (then German Democratic Republic). In 1994-1995, Ambassador Mosholi was part of the negotiating team to amalgamate the old apartheid National Intelligence Service, the services of the Bantustan – TBVC states, the non-statutory services of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. She obtained a diploma in Diplomacy and Senior Management at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Massachusetts, USA. She was part of the South African delegation that participated in the historic 1995 United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing, China, which led to the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action. She is one of the contributors to the anthology, Malibongwe: Poems from the struggle by ANC Women (1981/2020), under the nom de guerre Susan Lamu.

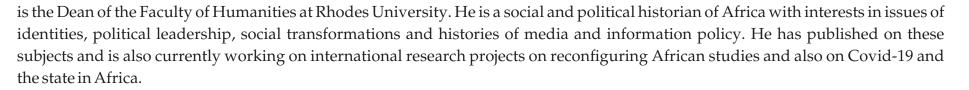


Busisiwe Jacqueline Memela

commonly known as "Totsie" is currently the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). Memela has held Executive positions over a 10-year span as Managing Director at Postbank, CEO at Fundi (previously known as Eduloan), Strategic Officer Africa: HepSA, and CEO: Woman's Development Bank. In 1993, she joined Nedcor as Community Liaison Manager, become Branch Manager, ultimately Regional Manager at People's Bank (within Nedcor Group). In 1998, Memela left the private sector to serve at the Landbank, a State-Owned Entity as an Executive Director: Operations. She further held the position of Acting MD for 18 months. In 2001, she joined First Rand Group where she served as an executive in Special Projects and later as CEO: Customer Service FNB Home Loans. On her return to South Africa, she joined the ANC National office as National Administration Coordinator responsible for building administrative capacity and skills within ANC Branches. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree and a Masters degree in Public Administration. Her tertiary achievements were obtained in Swaziland and Zimbabwe whilst in exile.



Prof. Enocent Msindo





Ramatsemela Blantinah Thulasizwe Legodi

known by my Chimurenga name: Thulasizwe. I was born in September 1970, and bred in the township of Seshego, whereby I was breastfed with Black Consciousness ideology as a way of life for Black people and a tool to liberate themselves from psychological and physical oppression and exploitation from Patriarchal Capitalism and Settler Colonialism. I joined student and youth politics in the early 1980s and served in their structures as the Secretary of Student Representative Council at Mohlakaneng High School. I was first imprisoned at the age of 12, followed by uncounted ones and regularly expelled at school. I received internal military training inside the country and later in Zimbabwe, where I was exiled.





Prof Saleem Badat

is Research Professor in the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal. He is the former vice-chancellor of the university currently known as Rhodes University and was the first Chief Executive Officer of the Council on Higher Education. Between 2014 and 2018, he was the Program Director of International Higher Education & Strategic Projects at the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation in New York. Saleem's books include The Forgotten People: Political Banishment under Apartheid, Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid, and Black Man, You are on Your Own; the co-authored National Policy and a Regional Response in South African Higher Education, and the co-edited Apartheid Education and Popular Struggles in South Africa. His book chapters, journal articles, policy reports, and newspaper opinion pieces concern questions of equity, redress, and social justice in and through universities, and the decolonization and transformation of universities in colonized societies.



Dr Siphokazi Magadla

is a Senior Lecturer in the Political and International Studies department at Rhodes University. Her PhD examined women's role in the armed struggle and their participation in the South African National Defence Force-led military integration and demobilisation process. She is a Fulbright Scholar (2008–2010). She was a fellow of the Social Science Research Council's Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Fellowship Program in 2013-2014. She is the former co-chairperson of the Rhodes University Women's Academic Solidarity Association (WASA). She is the Book Review Editor of the Journal of Contemporary African Studies. In 2018, she served in the Presidential High-Level Review Panel of the State Security Agency. She was awarded the Rhodes University Vice-Chancellor's Distinguished Teaching Award in 2018. Her journal and chapter publications include: 'Women combatants and the liberation movements in South Africa: Guerrilla girls, combative mothers and the in-betweeners' (2015) in the African Security Review; Theorizing African Women and Girls in Combat: From National Liberation to the War on Terrorism (Palgrave, 2020); The lives of women ex-combatants in post-apartheid South Africa (Palgrave, 2021) and 'Bridging through "women's work": African women and men chasing the rise of China' (2021) in the International Feminist Journal of Politics, among others. She is the co-editor with Dr Babalwa Magoqwana and Prof Nthabiseng Motsemme of the Special Issue Thirty years of Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Revisiting Ifi Amadiume's questions on gender, sex and political economy (2021) in the Journal of Contemporary African Studies. She is currently completing a book on women and the armed struggle in South Africa.





Lebohang Liepollo Pheko

is an activist scholar, academic, public intellectual, development practitioner for over 25 years. Her broad research interests include African political economy, States and nationhood, international trade and global financial governance, feminist economics, regional integration and impacts of globalisation on labour migration. International trade, Decolonial Afrikan Feminist Theory, International Development, Political Economy, Political theory, Race and Decolonial studies and the position of African countries in relation to International Institutions like the: IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, the UN, the ICC. Liepollo has taught at various institutions globally on the same and contributed to several books and over 70 articles/conference papers on these areas.



Prof Janet Cherry

is a South African socialist activist and academic. She is currently Professor of Development Studies at the Nelson Mandela University in Port Elizabeth. She has a PhD in political sociology from Rhodes University. Her main areas of research are sustainable development, political economy of development, democratic participation, and social and political history. She has published two books as well as a number of articles and chapters in books on South African history, labour, women's and social movements, transitional justice and sustainable development.



Prof Puleng Segalo

is the Chief Albert Luthuli Research Chair at the University of South Africa. She holds 2 Master's degrees from Unisa and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She also holds an award-winning Doctoral degree in Psychology from the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She further holds a doctoral certificate in Women Studies from the same university. Her PhD was awarded the Koonja Mitchell Prize, and she was later awarded the Unisa Principal prize for excellence in Research. She is also the recipient of the National Department of Science and Technology award for the 2014 young woman scientist of the year. Her areas of specialization include Community Psychology, Social Psychology and Gender and Feminism in Psychology. Her research work and publications cover a wide range of areas including gendered experiences of women in various aspects of life, Historical trauma, Critical Participatory Research Practices and Decolonisation. She is a member of the South African Young Academy of Sciences and the current president of the Forum of African Psychology. Prof Segalo is also an NRF rated scholar.



Dr Babalwa Magoqwana

is the (Interim) Director for the Centre for Women and Gender Studies at Nelson Mandela University in Gqeberha. She is a fellow of the African Humanities Programme and a Research Associate of the South African Research Chairs Initiative (SARChI) Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa (UNISA). She is the principal investigator of the Catalytic Project on Maternal Legacies of Knowledge in the Eastern Cape supported by the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences. She was also a recipient of the National Research Foundation/First Rand Foundation Sabbatical Grant for her project on "Woman-Centred Vernacular Sociology of the Eastern Cape".



Prof Pumla Dineo Gqola

is NMU-NRF SARChI Chair in African Feminist Imagination at Nelson Mandela University. She is a graduate of the Universities of Cape Town and Warwick and holds a doctorate in Postcolonial Studies from the University of Munich. She has been Senior Lecturer in the English Department at the University of the Free State (UFS), Chief Research Specialist in Societies, Cultures and Identities at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), a Ruth First Fellow, and Full Professor in the Department of African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). Gqola co-edited Discourses on Difference, Discourses on Oppression (2002), is editor of Miriam Tlali, Writing Freedom (HSRC Press, 2021) and authored the pioneering study on South African slave memory post-apartheid, What is slavery to me? Postcolonial/Slave memory in post-apartheid South Africa (Wits Press, 2010) and the influential 2016 Alan Paton Non-Fiction Award winner Rape: A South African Nightmare (Jacana/Melinda Ferguson Books). Her other books are A Renegade called Simphiwe (2013) and the best-selling Reflecting Rogue: Inside the mind of a feminist (2017; both Melinda Ferguson/Jacana). Her latest book is the Female Fear Factory, published in 2021.





Prof Debby Bonnin

is a sociologist, and currently associate professor and Head of Department of Sociology at the University of Pretoria. She has a PhD in Sociology from the University of Witwatersrand which focused on women, political violence, spatiality and the making of political identities in Mpumalanga Township, KwaZulu-Natal during the period of political violence in the 1980s. Broadly her research is in the field of industrial and economic sociology, where current projects include interests in the sociology of professions, textile designers and the home furnishing sector of the textile industry. She has published her work in various local and international journals. She teaches in the area of industrial sociology, sociology of organisations, gender and work. She is a founder member of the journal Agenda, a member of the International Sociological Association and vice-president of RC52 Sociology of Professional Groups.



Dr Uhuru Phalafala

(PhD, University of Cape Town) is a lecturer in the English department at Stellenbosch University. She is the 2019 African Humanities Program fellow. Her research interests are material and expressive cultures, apartheid and Cold War-era cultural circuitries, black internationalism, translation, decoloniality, and world literatures. She heads a Mellon-funded research project 'Recovering Subterranean Archives', which investigates South African culture in exile, repatriates and republishes it. She is the co-editor of Safundi Special Issue on "Cultural Solidarities: Apartheid and itineraries of expressive culture" and is completing her book project on Black Radical Traditions From The South.



Prof Kim Miller

is the Jane Oxford Keiter '64 Professor of Women's & Gender Studies and History of Art at Wheaton College (in Massachusetts). She is also the founding coordinator of Wheaton's Peace and Social Justice Studies Program. Her scholarship examines the relationship between visual culture, gender, and power. Her forthcoming book, How did they Dare? Women's Activism and the Work of Memory in South African Commemorative Art, examines how memorial practices and commemorative sites are associated with women's political struggle in South Africa's anti-apartheid movement. Her first book, Bronze Warriors and Plastic Presidents: Public Art in South Africa, 1999 – 2015, is co-edited with Brenda Schmahmann. As a feminist college administrator, Kim is also interested in gendered work practices, including care economies, and is committed to advocating for policies that help make institutions more gender balanced and gender equitable. Kim is also a research associate at the South African Research Chair in South African Art & Visual Culture, University of Johannesburg, South Africa.



Dr Athambile Masola

is a writer, researcher and lecturer who will be joining the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town in August. She graduated with a PhD from Rhodes University in 2020. Her research focuses on black women's historiography, intellectual histories and life writing. She is the founder of Asinakuthula Collective which is a group of teachers and researchers who aim to challenge the continued marginalisation of women's narratives in the school curriculum as well as hosting the Maxeke-Mgqwetho Annual Lecture. She is a member of Bua-Lit Collective which is a group of researchers and educators advocating for the use of African languages as a social justice issue. She is a Mandela-Rhodes Scholar (2010). Athambile is one of the creators of the podcast Umoya: On African Spirituality. Her writing has been published in academic journals, magazines and newspapers such as Prufrock, Sable Literary Magazine, Al Jazeera, Mail and Guardian, Sawubona, The Guardian, online blogs. She will be publishing her first collection of poems titled Ilifa, written in isiXhosa with Uhlanga Press.







Shanthini Naidoo

is a former Sunday Times journalist who works in content marketing. Her recent book, Women in Solitary: Inside the female resistance to apartheid is an intersectional feminist work which resulted from her Masters in Journalism and Media Studies thesis (Wits). The book has been licensed in the United States and Canada, translated into Dutch for Belgian audiences and soon to be published internationally by Routledge/Taylor&Francis. Shanthini has also worked as news editor for The Times newspaper and features writer at O, The Oprah magazine. She lives in Johannesburg with her husband, and two daughters.



Dr. Zosa De Sas Kropiwnicki-Gruber

is the Policy Director and Gender Specialist at the British Columbia Council for International Cooperation (BCCIC) in Canada. She was awarded a doctorate in International Development Studies from the University of Oxford, as well as two Masters degrees in Political Science and Social Policy from Leeds University and Rhodes University, respectively. Formerly an Associate Professor at the University of Johannesburg, Zosa has accrued 17 years of experience in research, evaluation, and policy analysis in developing, transitional, and emergency contexts in South East Europe, Central Asia, West Africa, and Southern Africa. Zosa has worked for a wide range of government, non-government, and international non-governmental organizations such as UNICEF, UNDP, UNODC, IOM, Save the Children, Childline and Family for Every Child. She has also written numerous reports, policy briefs, peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters and two books, including a book entitled Exile Identity, Agency and Belonging in South Africa: The Masupatsela Generation (2017), which was published by Palgrave MacMillan. For the most part, Zosa's research, advocacy and policy development has centred on protecting women, youth and children from different forms of violence, exploitation and trafficking, addressing the root causes of this violence, and promoting resilience, agency and empowerment among girls and women from a decolonial, inclusive and social justice lens. At BCCIC, Zosa has taken the lead on several policy, research and capacity development initiatives related to gender equality, women's empowerment and the Leave No One Behind (LNOB) pledge of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goal Agenda.

N is a lec La ful

Nomfundo Xaluva





Danielle Bowler

is a feminist culture editor, writer and musician based in Johannesburg. Currently the Culture Editor at New Frame, she is the former Managing Editor of ELLE Magazine and has bylines in Mail & Guardian, Eyewitness News, Cosmopolitan, Africa is a Country and Superbalist, among other publications. Danielle is also part of the team at Bloom, a platform for creative women entrepreneurs and freelancers, where she is the host of their bi-weekly conversation series.





Zikho Dana

holds a Bachelor of Arts Joint Honors in African Languages and Political and International Studies and is currently pursuing her Masters in African Language Studies at Rhodes University's School of Languages and Literatures. Zikho is one of the isiXhosa translators for the Political and International Studies undergraduate course outlines and a research assistant.



Siphokazi Tau

is a student assistant in the Centre for Women and Gender Studies at Nelson Mandela University. She is an MA Candidate in the Department of History and Political Studies at Nelson Mandela University.



Nomphumelelo Queen Babeli

holds a triple major Bachelor's degree and an Honours degree from Rhodes University. She is currently a Masters Candidate at the Department of Political and International Studies at Rhodes University. Nomphumelelo is passionate about magnifying the role of women in Society.





Moleboheng Ntsika Maweni

is a Student Leader in her own right, born and raised in the East Rand, Johannesburg. At only 22, she has advocated for the visibility of persons living with disabilities through Academia and Civic Leadership campaigns such as Activate Change-Drivers and Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung. Ntsika obtained her Bachelor of Social Sciences in Political and International Studies, and IsiXhosa from Rhodes University. She is currently pursuing her Bachelor of Arts Joint-Honours in Political and International Studies and African Languages at Rhodes University. Given that Ntsika also lives with a visible disability, she hopes to pursue her studies further and work in a research institute with the hope of unpacking the language of disability in spaces of Academia.



Alexandreo Talbot

is currently studying her Honours in Politics and International Studies at Rhodes University with a focus on International Relations and white masculinities and gender-based violence. In 2020, she graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Geography and Politics and International Studies at Rhodes University. Her personal interests lie in promoting societal social justice and equity, in particular in gender. In pursuit of this ambition, she has worked as a part-time administrator and volunteer in the Rhodes University Community Engagement Division and currently serves as the chairperson of the Rhodes University Student Sports Council.





Zvikomborero Maziyanhanga

completed a BA in Political Science and Law in 2019 and Honours in Political Science with distinction in 2020. Zviko received Academic Colours. He is currently studying for his Masters in Politics at Rhodes University. He is part of the Local Organizing Committee for the 15th Biennial South Africa Association for Political Studies 2021. He is also a student tutor at St Andrew's College, where he coaches hockey and cricket.



Reagan Maume

is a Fourth year Bachelor of Pharmacy student at Rhodes University. He is also a technician at the Rhodes University Facilities Office and the IT department.



SPEAKER ABSTRACTS

Prof Saleem Badat - Women and Political Banishment in Apartheid South Africa

Writing about forced removals in South Africa in 1984, the late Bill Freund referred to 'the use of resettlement as a form of political punishment.' He cited the expulsion of Winnie Mandela to the Orange Free State town of Brandfort. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) gave scant attention to political banishment: it acknowledged that banishments were a gross violation of human rights and that the apartheid government was accountable. However, 'no further action was taken', the experiences of the banished 'were not investigated by the TRC, and there were no amnesty applications from those responsible'. Social memory is a terrain of contestation, and that outcome was most unfortunate. Still, the obscuring of banishment may not be dissimilar to 'the amnesias resulting from a construction of Robben Island as the predominant signifier of liberation struggle histories, most notably the lack of attention directed at women's experiences as anti-apartheid activists 'bound up with a general marginalisation of women's role in struggle histories.' In this paper I focus on the question of women and political banishment. I address questions such as: what was banishment, as distinct from other forms of administrative repression; what were the origins of this repressive measure; why was it utilized, given the availability of other repressive measures; how many women were banished; who were the banished women and why were they banished; for how long were they banished; from which localities and to which areas were women banished; what were the effects on the communities from which the women were banished, and what were conditions like in banishment.

Lebohang Liepollo Pheko - More than Tea and Scones: Women Warriors, The Mobility of Struggle and Azanian Struggle Memories

It remains frustrating to many feminists and decolonial historians that the narratives of Afrikan liberation are still written without examining the extensive and complex layers women's contributions. Many note that liberation history predominantly focusses on the role of great heroes, big men and their conspicuous endeavours. A more nuanced approach to liberation memories makes the link between varied social contexts, and political geographies, to centre women's formidable struggle contributions. Many of these struggle battles were waged across geographic, political and social borders, and are still typically analysed as auxiliary support to the 'real struggle'. While patently untrue, the idea of the 'little woman' still has stubborn currency and obfuscates the reality that making tea, hosting comrades and rebuilding homes across borders were hazardous, courageous and deeply revolutionary acts. This paper examines the contradictory and complicated nexus between Afrikan liberation, memory imperialism and feminist memorialising in popular liberation narrations. While attempting to contribute to the decolonisation and de-masculinisation of South African liberation memory, the paper does not propose a counter-history or herstory of 'big women' to neutralise the 'big men' narrative but rather to present many great women and many forms of women's revolutionary greatness.





Prof Janet Cherry - Women in the 1980s township uprising in the Eastern Cape

The role of women in the struggle is often portrayed and reflected as a maternal one: from the 'mothers of the nation' who stood as symbols of resilience when their men went off to fight and sometimes to die in combat; and who provided shelter and food to MK combatants when they returned; to the township mothers who provided Vaseline to the comrades when they were teargassed by the riot police. Yet the reality is that women played contradictory and diverse roles in the township uprising of the mid-1980s, sometimes leading from the front; and sometimes in backrooms strategizing innovative ways of undermining the black local authorities. Sometimes preventing violence and pleading for peace; and sometimes engaging directly in violent and disruptive tactics. Some women adopted traditional female roles, while others adopted traditionally male or complex transgender roles. This paper explores these diverse roles and how they related to overall strategy of the liberation movement in the mid-1980s.

Prof Debby Bonnin - Reflections on Women and Political Violence in Kwazulu-Natal

In Natal (KwaZulu-Natal), in the 1980s and into the early 1990s, the spaces of everyday life were deeply interrupted and recast by political violence, which many have termed a low-level civil war, between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha. Initially the violence was between known supporters of these political movements but soon it engulfed entire communities and all the residents of those communities. The spatiality of the violence shifted – from the body, to the household and finally to the neighbourhood; in effect it re-territorialised the spaces of everyday life. Residents were drawn into the violence differentially on the basis of their gender and age, rather than political beliefs and affiliations. To be a woman at this time meant you faced danger on all fronts – from the 'enemy' but also from your own comrades. In this paper I will examine these processes discussing what the political violence meant for women in Mpumalanga and the legacies it has left behind.

Prof Kim Miller - Nokuthula Simelane, the pain of memory, real and figural displays of female authority in the public sphere

This paper centers on a single incident – the 2011 theft and dismemberment of a bronze statue depicting Nokuthula Aurelia Simelane, a former female struggle activist, in the town of Bethel in Mpumalanga. Nokuthula Simelane was a militant woman. As a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe she worked as a courier while studying at the University of Swaziland in early 1980s. In 1983 she was abducted, tortured, and forcibly disappeared by members of the Security Branch. This incident is a reminder of the violence that was enacted on the symbolic body of a militant black woman – at the time the only female liberation hero to be honored with a figurative statue in South Africa's post-apartheid era. In 2009 the Mpumalanga provincial government sponsored the creation of a memorial statue depicting her to recognize her courageous contribution to the struggle and place her story in the public domain. Two years later, the commemorative statue was vandalized and destroyed. How might this story – a story about a heroic woman, her demise, her commemoration, and its subsequent destruction – demonstrate the political function of visual culture and shed light on the gender politics underpinning commemoration in South Africa's public sphere? What can it tell us about the possibilities and the limits of public displays of female power and authority? In this paper, I demonstrate that the destruction of Simelane's statue is symbolic of a larger failure to adequately memorialize South Africa's heroic women and, as we shall see, this failure is mirrored in a range of other commemorative efforts.



I argue that this particular episode is instructive for thinking through the relationship between violence and representation in the public sphere – what W.J.T. Mitchell calls "the economy of violence encoded in public images" – which I believe to be especially true in relation to post-apartheid commemorations of heroic women, whose courageous actions have sadly gone relatively unnoticed in the post-apartheid public sphere. Further, I suggest that the relative absence of depictions of heroic women has significant implications for women's political viability and power in South Africa's public sphere.

Prof Puleng Segalo - Stitching resistance and solidarity narratives

Colonialism and later apartheid in South Africa rendered women (black women in particular) as second-class citizens. Denied a voice and exposed to perpetual violence both in their private spaces and in public, many women had to find ways to survive both state violence in public and intimate partner violence in private. In the post-apartheid South Africa, many women continue to embody scars of past violence and are haunted by unspeakable traumas that they experienced while growing up in an oppressive world. South African women who grew up during apartheid had to navigate a system that constantly surveilled them and attempted to control their every move. Many attempted to find ways to navigate a system that restricted and criminalised their movement from one place to another. In this presentation, I engage the ways in which the women from a collective called Intuthuko embroidery project use embroidery to reflect, re-member and narrate ways in which they resisted the apartheid system and forged solidarities within their communities. I point to the ways in which critical participatory visual research methods offer an added layer that assists in confronting and telling stories that are often difficult to express in words. I conclude by arguing for the importance for creating space for alternative methodologies in our research endeavours.

Dr. Zosa De Sas Kropiwnicki-Gruber - Exile Identity, Agency and Belonging in South Africa: The Masupatsela Generation

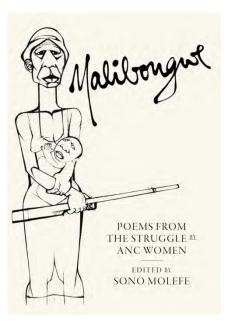
In a discussion of her book, Exile Identity, Agency and Belonging in South Africa: The Masupatsela Generation (2017), Dr. Zosa De Sas Kropiwnicki – Gruber engages with the symposium theme of "representation, memories and legacies". Her book examines the experiences of 49 second-generation exiles from South Africa. Using "generation" as an analytical concept, it investigates the relational, temporal and embodied nature of their childhoods in terms of kinship relations, life cycle, cohort development and memory-making. In weaving together the stories that second-generation exiles have struggled to tell, the book reveals that their voices are neither singular nor universal. As individual memories, they might be merely partial versions of experiences, but in their combination reveal the multiplicity of childhoods in exile and myriad of homecoming experiences for second-generation exiles. Memory in this study was a 'means of excavating silence', silences regarding the experiences of second-generation exiles, who through their agency transgressed conventional boundaries of childhood and developed a range of strategies to cope and survive. Memory was not the means of discovering the truth about the past, but was a means of self-location through an ongoing narrative. As returnees narrated their memories of childhood in exile as adults, their intersecting identities and positionalities in the present influenced the (re)telling and (re)construction of memories from the past, revealing temporal continuity, with the present informing what is 'remembered' and narrated about exile (and the needs this narration is intended to meet), but the past informing the identity and worldview of the teller in the present. In the present, political interest in



constructing exile as sites of memorialisation linked to the identity and healing of individuals, collectives and the nation state have permeated memory narration. As a result, 'memories, like stories, can never be "free", nor are they immune from the negotiated research encounter; however, in the selective recall and narration of memories, agency was revealed and content was given to notions of home and belonging. Memory – and its retelling - also informed the emergence of the Masupatsela generational cohort concerned with driving social and political change in South Africa.

BOOK LAUNCHES

Malibongwe: Poems from the struggle by ANC women. Sono Molefe (ed.) (Uhlanga Press, 2020)



The first South African edition of a Struggle classic. With a new preface by Uhuru Phalafala and a new introduction by Makhosazana Xaba, and featuring a lost artwork by Dumile Feni. In the late 1970s, Lindiwe Mabuza, a.k.a. Sono Molefe, sent out a call for poems written by women in ANC camps and offices throughout Africa and the world. The book that resulted, published and distributed in Europe in the early 1980s, was banned by the apartheid regime. Half-forgotten, it has never appeared in a South African edition – until now. Authorised by the editor, this re-issue of Malibongwe re-establishes a place for women artists in the history of South Africa's liberation.

These are the struggles within the Struggle: a book that records the hopes and fears, the drives and disappointments, and the motivation and resilience of women at the front lines of the battle against apartheid. Here we see the evidence, too often airbrushed out of the narratives of national liberation, of a deep and unrelenting radicalism within women; of a dream of a South Africa in which not only freedom reigned, but justice too. Uhlanga Press: http://uhlangapress.co.za/malibongwe-poems-from-the-struggle-by-anc-women-ed-sono-molefe



Women in Solitary: Inside the female resistance to apartheid. Shanthini Naidoo (Tafelberg, 2020).



'The freezing loneliness made one wish for death,' the journalist Joyce Sikhakhane-Rankin said of her time in solitary confinement. With seven other women, including Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, she was held and tortured in Pretoria Central Prison for more than a year. This is the story of four women – Sikhakhane-Rankin, Rita Ndzanga, Shanthie Naidoo and Nondwe Mankahla – and their refusal to testify in the 'Trial of 22' in 1969, their brutal detention and how they picked up their lives afterwards.

WOMEN IN SOLITARY Inside the female resistance to apartheid Stranthing Nalidop Through interviews with the four, author Shanthini Naidoo explores the female experience of activism and how women take on additional political roles to their personal ones. These mothers, daughters and sisters who fought for our democracy, even after their release, are remembered through storytelling - a tool for healing generational wounds in South Africa.

Thank you to the members of the organising team:

Dr Siphokazi Magadla Dr Babalwa Magoqwana Dr Athambile Masola Zikho Dana Siphokazi Tau Charmaine Avery Moleboheng Ntsika Maweni Alexandreo Talbot Zvikomborero Maziyanhanga Reagan Maume