



“Equal power and
glory to the women
of South Africa!”

– Nelson Mandela,
Women’s Day, 1996

malibongwe
praise be
igama
to women
lamakhosikazi

DIALOGUE SESSIONS 2007 - 2009





CONTENTS

Foreword	Page 4
Introduction	Page 5
About the organisation	Page 6
Malibongwe 2009	Page 7 - 41
Malibongwe 2008	Page 43 - 83
Malibongwe 2007	Page 85 - 127



FOREWORD

Too often, the role and contribution of women in the building of our nation has been ignored and forgotten.

Women are the bedrock of our families and society. When we were fighting for our freedom, they were with us. They were there as leaders – organising the 1956 women’s march, defying the authorities with a sense of courage and fortitude that sometimes put the men to shame. They were there as sisters – supporting one another and their brothers, to ensure that they never gave up. They were there as mothers – giving their children and often the children of others love, protection and something to aspire to.

We are proud of how far South Africa has come in celebrating its women and recognising the role they play at all levels of society, including government. We are doing comparatively well in gender representation in this area. But we have far

to go. Business needs to embrace the potential of women as corporate leaders. And we have far to go as a society that honours and protects women. The levels of rape and abuse of women shame us as a nation.

We need to celebrate women as a national treasure, to recognise them and to honour their contribution to our history, our present and our future. Unless we do this, our society can never fulfil its potential, and we can never be truly free.

Malibongwe igama lamakhosikazi!

Achmat Dangor
Chief Executive



INTRODUCTION

BUILDING HEALTHY COMMUNITIES

MOTHOMANG DIAHO

Head: Dialogue Programme, Nelson Mandela Foundation

Over the years, the Nelson Mandela Foundation’s Dialogue Programme has convened a series of community-level dialogues around critical social issues. The intended outcome is communities that work together to bring poverty to an end.

The three Malibongwe dialogues held since 2007, each with its own emphasis, form an important pillar of the Foundation’s dialogue work.

The Malibongwe dialogues started in 2007 as an occasion to acknowledge those who made possible the democracy enjoyed by all today. The first dialogue was about remembering the role of women in South Africa’s history, with a specific focus on the 1956 march to the Union Buildings. Its primary purpose was to honour these women and apply their struggle to today’s issues.

The second Malibongwe dialogue, held in 2008, focused on economic regeneration and women empowerment specifically. It started by exploring the concept of harvesting from history, the importance of learning from those who came before us. It further explored the importance of values and the role of family in cementing communities.

The third dialogue in the series was not only

the
importance of
learning from
those who
came before us



about what crops we had grown since we last met, but about actively investing for the future and taking up Professor Muhammad Yunus’ challenge to be the first country to make poverty history.

The Malibongwe dialogues will now take on a form that recognises the role of communities in identifying their own challenges and coming up with solutions.

The dialogues will continue to focus on the economic emancipation of women and supporting women to take charge of their own development within their communities. The settings will be both rural and urban.

The dialogues, starting in 2010, will be convened by the NMF in partnership with organisations with a strong community-level presence. We welcome the positive response to a call to reinvest in our communities and we look forward to working together to building healthy communities.

ABOUT THE ORGANISATION

the NMF intends bringing about meaningful conversations among all relevant stakeholders

The Nelson Mandela Foundation, through the Centre of Memory and Dialogue, contributes to the making of a just society by promoting the values, vision and work of our Founder.

The Dialogue Programme promotes and facilitates dialogue around critical social issues within communities and between communities, business, policy makers and the media, among others.

Our Founder, Mr Nelson Mandela, based his entire life on the principle of dialogue and the art of listening and speaking to others; it is also the art of getting others to listen and speak to each other.

Drawing on the contribution that he, his colleagues and comrades made towards creating our fledgling democracy, the NMF's Centre of Memory and Dialogue encourages people to enter into

dialogue – often about difficult subjects – in order to address the challenges we face today.

The objective of the Dialogue Programme is to develop and sustain a dialogue platform promoting the Founder's legacy. It aims to utilise the history, experience, values, vision and leadership of its Founder to provide a non-partisan platform for public discourse on important social issues, and in doing so, contribute to policy decision-making.

South Africa occupies a unique space in Africa and globally as an example of a country that emerged from the morass of deeply rooted racial, cultural and political divides – primarily because of timely dialogue between all its stakeholders. Yet, the country continues to face a range of complex challenges. It is the NMF's view that the original spirit of inclusive and open dialogue that broke the political deadlock needs re-invigoration.

Drawing on the rich traditions of transformative dialogue, problem-solving and social renewal that made possible South Africa's remarkable transition, we hope to facilitate greater understanding and awareness about the problems faced by people particularly in South Africa and Africa, and the possible solutions available to them.

The Dialogue Programme promotes and facilitates dialogue around critical social issues within communities and between communities, business, policy makers and the media.

MALIBONGWE 2009



CONTENTS

Interactive dialogue: Can we have a world without poverty?
by Prof Muhammad Yunus

Page 11 - 15

Malibongwe dialogue

Page 16

South African perspective
by Minister Rob Davies

Page 18 - 21

Women's unity and activism
by Sibongile Mkhabela

Page 22 - 23

Questions and answers

Page 24 - 29

Global perspective
by Ruth Kagia

Page 30 - 34

Questions and answers

Page 35 - 37

Table discussion

Page 38 - 39

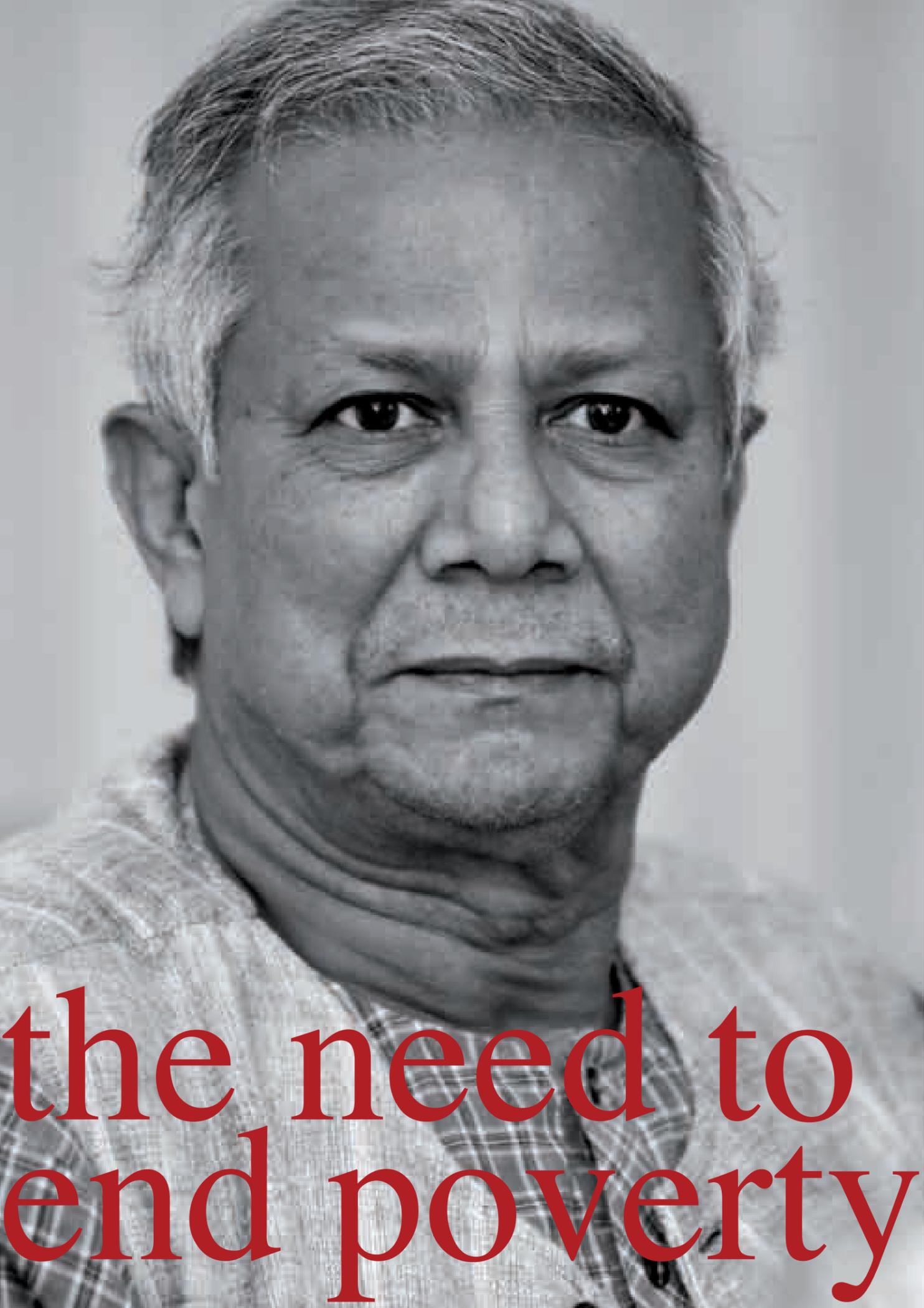
Reflections

Page 40 - 41



Special thanks to the organising team of the Malibongwe Dialogue: Molly Loate (NMF), Yase Godlo (NMF), Lee Davies (NMF), Yoliswa Makhasi (Film and Publications Board) and Mothomang Diaho (NMF).

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the need to
end poverty

INTERACTIVE DIALOGUE

Can we have a world without poverty?

PROF MUHAMMAD YUNUS

The Nelson Mandela Foundation, in partnership with Women's Development Businesses (WDB), held a dialogue on July 9, 2009 in Johannesburg in which Grameen Bank founder Professor Muhammad Yunus engaged with bankers, business people, government representatives, social entrepreneurs and the media to discuss microfinance and social business.

The purpose was to stimulate debate among society leaders on how to end poverty.

Prof Yunus was in South Africa to deliver the Seventh Annual Nelson Mandela Lecture. In his various public engagements over this time, he shared his experience of starting Grameen Bank in Bangladesh in 1983, making small, unsecured loans to the rural poor, mostly women. This mechanism of lifting people out of poverty has become known as microcredit, microfinance, or social business.

Microfinance in South Africa

In South Africa, Grameen-type microcredit is not thriving.

Investment capital for microfinance institutions (MFIs) comes almost exclusively from international investors. In 2000 there were 30 MFIs operating in South Africa and most were battling to break even. They had neither the scale nor the reach they needed. In 2009, only 12 MFIs remain, most having collapsed as a result of expensive loan funds, skills shortages, high operating costs and an operating

environment that is not conducive to their growth.

They are regulated in a predominantly commercial environment where, unlike MFIs, the majority of lenders provide services to salaried consumers as a business and do not lend to the illiterate, rural poor who have no assets. The regulatory environment does not differentiate between low-end commercial banking and credit as an instrument to alleviate poverty. MFIs have no government support in contending with challenges like high labour costs, great travelling distances, and varying population density in rural areas.

In South Africa, far greater advocacy is required to promote the benefits of microfinance as a tool for poverty alleviation if the sector is to get the enabling environment (regulatory, financing, training, savings) that it requires to thrive, and which has been achieved in other parts of the world.

Aims of the dialogue

The dialogue held on July 9 aimed to make these benefits clear to policy makers, government officials, civil society activists and others, specifically to:

- Create awareness of the various types of credit providers in the development microfinance industry;
- Stimulate research on the effects of microfinance on poverty;
- Share the work and achievements of the industry; and

- Discuss how certain current legislation hinders this work.

The participants were asked to discuss the following questions:

- How do we make sure that the legislative environment helps alleviate poverty through initiatives such as Grameen Bank? Where do we get money for expansion of microfinance? Should we have special legislation for microfinance?
- If you had to devise a scorecard to measure your success in poverty alleviation, what key measurements or criteria would you put on the scorecard? Who would the essential participants be? How would you ensure that the key role players are included in the measurement process?

Panel members:

Prof Muhammad Yunus,
Grameen Bank founder and recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1996

Rob Davies,
South Africa's Minister of Trade and Industry

Cas Coovadia,
Banking Association of South Africa managing director

Ben Nkuna,
Women's Development Businesses project manager

John de Wit,
Small Enterprise Foundation managing director

Buhle Mthethwa,
National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoc) chief executive officer

Jay Naidoo,
Development Bank of Southern Africa board chairman

Mmatshilo Motsei,
author, healer and rural development practitioner, Waterdown Holistic Health Farm, Nelspruit



Is it about money?

The day's discussions highlighted the need for communities to stop looking for handouts and start "doing".

Small Enterprise Foundation MD John de Wit noted that of the R1-billion the SEF had disbursed to the poor (mostly women), only 0.3% had not been repaid. He called for care in lending to ensure that financiers did not turn the very poor into bad debtors, as this caused social harm. Some of the benefits of successful microfinancing, he said, were a reduction in crime, a decrease in violence against women and children and an increase in school attendance.

Nafcoc CEO Buhle Mthethwa reminded the participants that losing the skills of people retrenched in the current recession would be a mistake. These people needed support.

"Money is not the solution to all our problems," commented DBSA board chairman Jay Naidoo. "What we have to look at is what people need to do to solve our problems." He recalled the way in which people who were actively oppressed under apartheid had created powerful institutions.

However, Zanele Mbeki, a trustee of the Women's Development Businesses Trust, said that microfinance institutions did indeed need financial

it starts with us changing the way that we look at the poor

support. "The issue is about money for the poor. Poverty is a major issue in South Africa. Most legislation works against microfinance institutions, not for them."

The main reflections coming out of the smaller group dialogues were that the legislative process needed to be reviewed and made simpler to understand; that there was a need for a strong network for development; that microfinance organisations should practise good values; and that existing funding structures could be strengthened.

The feedback on scorecards suggested measuring by improved living conditions, a higher level of education, access to health care and an increased level of savings.

The key role players were identified as the NGO sector, the private sector and academic institutions.

In closing the day's dialogue, Margaret Mahlke from Women's Development Businesses said: "It starts with us changing the way that we look at the poor."



WE CAN CREATE A WORLD OF OUR CHOICE

Extracts from the Seventh Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture delivered by Prof Muhammad Yunus on July 11, 2009

Oneeds to be bold, to shake off whatever is in the textbook and go by common sense, by the human spirit, to see if there is anything that can be done without any reference to any textbook.”

“That is the beginning of the story of Grameen Bank’s work – we were trying to do something for our neighbours to save them from the clutches of money lenders. A few people in the village all together borrowed US\$27. So without reference or anybody’s advice, I decided to lend US\$27 to those people so they could return it to the loan sharks and be free from their clutches. The excitement that it generated in the people caught me. I thought, if you can make people happy for US\$27, why shouldn’t I do more of it?”

“We wanted to focus on women because we saw that when money goes to the family through women, it does so much more than going through men.”

“People said we were destroying their culture; that women needed to be kept at home because they weren’t supposed to have or handle money ... Ever since then I have felt so strongly that culture is useless unless it is constantly challenged ... When people hide behind a culture, you know that’s a dead culture ... We defied the culture that wanted to remain a dead culture. Today we have nearly eight million borrowers at Grameen Bank, 97% of them women.”

“Women borrowers, elected by their peers, sit on our board; they make decisions. Money comes from the bank’s own resources. We thought that if we depended on donor money we would be stuck, so we take deposits from people and then we lend this money to poor women.”

“There is nothing wrong with poor people – they are as capable as anyone else – but society never gave them a chance. Poverty is created by the system. Banks don’t want to lend money to the poor people. The banks used to say if you lend money to poor people you won’t get it back, but today Grameen Bank and microcredit programmes all over the world have shown that poor people are the ones that pay the money back.”

“Charity freezes poverty, imprisons people. It takes away a sense of responsibility from people; it takes initiative away from them. The responsibility of the state is to create opportunities for people, support them, so that they can stand up for themselves. Human life is all about taking challenges; it excites human beings to take on challenges.”

When people hide behind a culture, you know that’s a dead culture.

“I am proposing to create another kind of business, based on selflessness that is in all of us. I am calling it social business. I am postulating that people are willing to invest money in a social business.”

“Every single company can create social business; there are many locations companies don’t want to operate in because operating there doesn’t give them enough profit. If that company can create a social business in those locations, people can be employed and those locations will enjoy a service which did not exist for them before.”

“The current financial crisis makes it very clear that the system that we have isn’t really working, and this is the right time for us to undo things and build them in a new way.”

“This year marks the 40th anniversary of the first man who landed on the moon ... If we can go all the way to land on the moon, can’t we go to our neighbour’s house and get him out of the misery of poverty?”

“We are now celebrating Madiba’s 91st birthday, the man who brought an end to apartheid. Everyone thought it couldn’t be done. He did the impossible. We got rid of colonialism, we got rid of slavery, and we got rid of apartheid – everyone thought each one of them was impossible. Let’s take the next impossible, do it with joy and get it finished with and create a world free from poverty. Let us create the world of our choice.”

A BETTER WORLD STARTS WITH IMAGINATION

Prof Muhammad Yunus in dialogue with the youth

The Nelson Mandela Foundation, in partnership with CIDA City Campus, hosted a dialogue on July 10, 2009 in Johannesburg. A diverse group of high school and tertiary-level students attended to engage with Prof Muhammad Yunus on issues around social business, social entrepreneurship and the success story of the Grameen Bank model.

Prof Yunus shared his dreams around eradicating poverty and what he would like to see achieved by 2050, as documented in his book *Creating a World without Poverty*. In summary, his “wish list” is:

- **Globalised hope:** There will be no poor people, no beggars and no homeless people.
- **High quality healthcare will be available to everyone:** Infant mortality and maternal mortality will be things of the past. There will be no more incurable diseases anywhere in the world.
- **Encouraging entrepreneurship:** The global economic system will encourage individuals and businesses.
- **All cultures, ethnic groups and religions will flourish to their full beauty:** All will contribute to the magnificent orchestra of human society.
- **The future of banking:** State-of-the-art financial services will be available to every person in the world.
- **Sustainable lifestyles:** All people will be committed to maintaining a sustainable lifestyle.
- **A global economic system:** This will encourage individuals and businesses to share their prosperity and participate in bringing prosperity to others.
- **Universal communication:** There will be no need for paper and therefore no need to cut down trees. Basic connectivity will be wireless and nearly costless.
- **Preserving cultural identities:** Everyone will read and hear everything in their own language. Technology will make it possible.
- **Unlimited human potential:** All people will share a world of peace, harmony and friendship,



devoted to expanding the frontiers of human potential.

- **All children will grow up as caring and sharing persons:** They will believe that their own development should be consistent with the development of others in the world.

The participants made their own wish list and talked about how they could turn wishes into reality. The list included:

- **A truly global, inclusive and equal society** – one abundant world, without scarcity
- **Environmental care and awareness** – reusing waste
- **Wellness and safety in society** – including access for the disabled, and care for orphans
- **People being their own change agents** and being true to themselves
- **Good governance and delivery** – accountability, conversion of policy into action
- **Constructive civic participation**, pro-social orientation and accountability
- **Being good and doing good**
- **Better education**

MALIBONGWE DIALOGUE

August 27, 2009, Turbine Hall, Johannesburg

Programme director Lerato Mbele welcomed all the speakers and guests to the third Malibongwe Dialogue. She said the approach would be one of equality, despite the many titles and achievements of the women present.

“As we know, August is Women’s Month in South Africa; it is an opportunity for us to reflect on how far the process of gender equality and emancipation has come in this country. One of the more encouraging things is that at a legislative level South Africa is one of the top-ranking African countries in terms of meeting the quotas that have been set at a NEPAD and African Union level. The unfortunate thing, though, is when we hear the experiences that women go through on a daily basis, South Africa still has the worst statistics on domestic violence, crime against women, and sexual violence against women and children, so there is still a lot to be done in terms of culture, society and patriarchy.”

Trade and Industry Minister Rob Davies was the first guest speaker. An edited summary of his keynote address appears on the pages that follow.

As we know, August is Women’s Month in South Africa; it is an opportunity for us to reflect on how far the process of gender equality and emancipation has come in this country.



**we are
trying to cut
the red tape**

SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

Trade and Industry Minister Rob Davies

I have taken the mandate to continue the dialogue which we began with Professor Muhammad Yunus. The issue that we put forward at that dialogue, which is also the theme for today, is 'Can we create a world without poverty?'

I am going to focus particularly on the way in which we can empower the poorest of the poor with the same sort of approach that Prof Yunus developed with the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh.

I think the relevance of this to a Malibongwe Dialogue is that women are over-represented among the poorest of the poor, for reasons that we can find in our history and in the structure of our society.

If we look at the performance of the South African economy just before the onset of the economic recession, when we had the longest period of economic growth at any time since the end of the Second World War: what we saw then was that our growth rate did not get any higher than 5%.

During this period of growth our unemployment reduced to a minimum of 23% on the strict

women are over-represented among the poorest of the poor



definition of unemployment. We have now entered a different phase, in which there is a very profound state of economic crisis in the world, and this has affected South Africa.

We are now in a formal recession which has seen the loss of over 200 000 jobs. Formal-sector jobs have been lost and the unemployment rate has increased significantly as a consequence. If we are to provide improved living standards for our people, and create decent work and sustainable livelihoods, we have got to bring about structural change.

Our election manifesto enjoined us to put at the very heart of all our efforts in the economic cluster the creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods on an increasing scale and to do this against all the forces of the recession which have led to job losses.

Our aspiration is to create a developmental state and upscale our industrial policy so that we can put our economy on a different growth trajectory.

We are looking to stimulate and encourage the most labour-absorbing activities in each of the different sectoral strategies which we are developing.

We need to make a structural shift away from being participants in the global economy as producers of primary products and towards the production of more value-added products.

We are determined to build on a successful infrastructure investment programme. We need to build a series of industries that are going to make an input into the infrastructure investment programme, which means anything from components for power stations through to buses for public transport.

That is one component of our strategy; the other part is sustainable livelihoods. The development of small enterprises and self-employment is going to be a critical part of our struggle to end poverty in this country.

We have in place a number of programmes: we have a Small Enterprise Development Agency and we have Khula, which now wants to move into being a direct retail provider of finance; and we will expand and accelerate those programmes while critically monitoring what they produce.

To make a point about gender, we know very well that there is a need for specific promotion of women entrepreneurship; things like points for gender empowerment in the broad-based black economic empowerment quotas. We also need to encourage women entrepreneurs to identify their own challenges. So we have established SAWEN



(South African Women's Entrepreneur Network), which is a dialogue forum, and we have a series of events where we recognise the achievements by women entrepreneurs.

We have a large number of people who are trying to make a living under conditions where their prospects of formal-sector employment are considerably restricted.

Where I really want to focus is the situation of the poorest of the poor; those who are in the so-called informal economy or the second economy. This is an economy consisting of people who are engaged in a struggle for survival and whose prospects for improved living standards are in no way affected positively by the growth and development of the formal economy.

We have a large number of people who are trying to make a living under conditions where their prospects of formal-sector employment are considerably restricted. This is related to some important structural changes that took place in the South African economy from the middle of the 1970s. Up until that time the accumulation in the South African economy had been based on the super exploitation of low-skilled, cheap black migrant labour in the mining industry.

A large number of males were drawn from the rural areas, not to go permanently into the cities but to live in hostels, serving in contracts in the mining industry and receiving low wages. These low wages were made possible because the family reproduction depended on the fact that there was still a household plot which was run by the women in the so-called homelands or Bantustans. What happened from the 1970s onwards was that those people, instead of being subject to super



exploitation, became increasingly marginalised.

The mining industry reduced sharply its demand for those labourers; so did agriculture. If we look at the economy now, any jobs being created are for people with at least secondary school education and above. The number of jobs for people without secondary education is shrinking fast. We find that the people who historically performed those roles are now being marginalised from the mainstream economy. The main sources of accumulation no longer depend on those people.

With influx control having ended, large numbers of people are now moving away from the rural areas into the cities. But we are facing problems of urbanisation without industrialisation. People are not moving to the cities because there is industrial development and new jobs are being created. They are moving in the hope of finding something better than they have in the rural areas, but the commensurate development and economic activity is not taking place.

How do we respond to that?

We need dedicated programmes and support measures from all of us. Thirty years ago, Prof Yunus encountered similar problems in his country, Bangladesh. There were large numbers of people outside the mainstream economy – people who could actually make a considerable difference in their lives if they had access to basic financial resources and basic services.

I have no doubt that even if we succeed in creating formal sector jobs and if we significantly reduce the formal unemployment rate in this country, the fight against poverty is also going to have to involve empowering people whose lives for the immediate term will continue to be self-employment in fairly basic activities.

We have done some work in this country as a result of pressure from organisations and activists that wanted to move in the same direction as Grameen Bank. I want to reflect on that and suggest a few ideas for how we might move forward.

Firstly we found that the existing credit situation was very much as Prof Yunus described it in Bangladesh. The formal financial institutions had no interest in making any finance available for developmental work among poor communities. Banks were very risk-averse and weren't providing any facilities for large numbers of people who needed very small loans. We had a regulatory system in place which was largely orientated towards ensuring the systemic health of that formal financial system. The exemption from the Usury Act in 1992 had spawned a microlending industry, but this was not lending for developmental purposes, it was providing loans for consumption and was engaged in a whole range of dubious practices. These were what we call the *mashonisas*.

We started to change this environment and we made a number of changes to the legislation. Now, through the *Government Gazette* number 887 of August last year, we have created the possibility for non-banking institutions on a smaller scale to take deposits and therefore mobilise savings for developmental purposes. We now have about 15 microfinance institutions serving over 150 000 clients operating in several parts of the country. And we established the South Africa Microfinance Apex Fund (SAMAF) to provide financial resources to microfinance institutions.

I would suggest that we have barely scratched the surface of what we need to do in this regard. On the regulatory side we have made improvements,

but we've done this by way of exemptions from the existing legislation; there is not in place a piece of purpose-built legislation that serves the interests of the microfinance industry; and that is a concern that has been raised by a number of practitioners.

We need to work on legislation which creates an empowerment vehicle for more micro credit institutions.

We need to work on legislation which creates an empowerment vehicle for more micro credit institutions.

SAMAF operates as a public entity in terms of the Public Finance Management Act. That means that if it spends funds for development and doesn't get them back, it is then criticised by the Auditor General; and this is a big debate which is not exclusive to SAMAF. If we have development finance institutions which we want to take the risks that the banks are not prepared to take, should we then be expecting them to turn in a return on their investment?

That's a debate we are taking forward in government.

I've also become aware that we have a small number of microfinance institutions which are

increasing their impact and expanding their footprint and probably a larger number of institutions which may not make it. The limit on the funding has meant that we will be supporting a large number of activities and some of the bigger ones that make headway will not be able to get the funding they require.

What I am proposing concretely is that I am going to call a roundtable meeting with recognised practitioners, SAMAF and officials from our department where I will openly discuss all these challenges and try to collectively develop a model to push this microfinance support programme that we run in government further forward. I have no doubt there is a lot of wisdom and experience among the practitioners that we need to build on.



WOMEN'S UNITY AND ACTIVISM

Lerato Mbele thanked the minister for his address and mentioned what the President of Rwanda had said at the World Economic Forum: that in a way it is not a good thing that Africa is immune from the global crisis, because it means that Africa is not in the mainstream of global economics and trade; and it is not good that African women didn't lose their investments, because it means women are not driving the economy.

we were not talking about 'them', we were talking about 'us'

She went on to introduce **Sibongile Mkhabela, CEO of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund.**

"Today we're going to get real," said Mkhabela. "We're going to look at the problems in the face."

After greeting the veterans among the guests – "women who give me hope that things will turn around" – she said she wanted to connect ordinary women, many of whose lives had not improved over the years since apartheid ended, with what was being discussed among the more advantaged

women and policy-makers.

"What made the struggle work?" she asked. "We worked in the struggle because we were all in the same struggle. We did not have the poor 'out there'. We were not talking about 'them', we were talking about 'us'. When we fought the school system, it wasn't for 'them', it was for 'us'. So, until these conversations cease to be about 'them' and become about 'us', they are going to be futile."

As an example of women's daily struggles and the need for activism, Mkhabela referred to the recent issue of the taxi industry objecting to the new Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system. "When taxi owners say the routes belong to them, I don't hear the voice of women who are carried in those taxis. I worry that as we come together on these platforms, real life is happening and leaving us behind."

She also spoke about the fact that often when women spend money, it does not circulate in their local communities but is taken out of those areas. She said that the stalwarts of women's struggles in the audience had been organised and it was interesting how they had organised their money. Another conversation among the guests had been about why children are in crisis. "We said they are in crisis because women are in crisis. These conversations are beginning to come together: they are not only about money but about values, culture, who we are.

"We need to have a vision of what is it that we are trying to drive to," continued Mkhabela. "What kind of a child do we want to see? What should represent the African woman?"

Mbele then opened the floor to questions for the minister.

When women spend money, it does not circulate in their local communities.



I don't hear the voice of women

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS



Fungi Rakoena: Is there a process, minister, whereby there's going to be serious infrastructure development in rural areas to eradicate poverty? For example, in areas like Lusikisiki, young children are still forced into the tradition of *ukuthwala* (abduction into forced marriage) so that the family can get a few goats, because of poverty.



Pearlle Joubert: Minister, you said that your concrete suggestion for addressing poverty would be to call a roundtable meeting. Most women in this country, and men for that matter, including the 40% unemployed, have cellphones. Can't you as a minister start addressing corporates that made super profits? That will immediately put millions of rand into the hands of the most needy.



Riah Phiyega: As we reformulate our industrial policy, is it really geared towards taking transformation to poor areas, rather than subjecting people to leaving the places they would prefer to be in, to come to the industrialised areas?



Ketso Moorosi: I'm always concerned about infrastructure in the rural areas. I'll give the example of Brits and Baphong: for a woman in Baphong who's going to give birth soon, or a child who's sick, or anyone who's been shot or knifed – for that person to get simple medical help, they have to travel 60km to Brits. It is high time that we as women become directors and owners of big hospitals so that we are able to improve the health and wellbeing of our entire population.



Rob Davies: I believe it's important that we try to give some sense of process, because a lot of these things are not going to be dealt with overnight.

Let me start with the question about rural development. I did indicate that particularly the rural areas that were the so-called homelands, these are the areas where we have seen extreme marginalisation of people and that the poorest people in the country are found in these areas. ...

The other part of it, though, that we need to bear in mind is urbanisation without industrialisation: people are moving into the urban areas. So 20% of the poorest people in the country live in Gauteng. They come here and they can't find jobs. The programmes and strategies have to focus on both those legs.

This new government has put in place a new Ministry of Rural Development, precisely because there's a recognition that we need to address rural development as an integrated process.

There are also some bigger questions which are going to confront all of us. How do we promote decentralisation of economic activities in the country? We are in the process now of reviewing all the mechanisms that were put in place. I don't think they have achieved what they are intended to achieve. We have to seriously look again at local economic development strategies of municipalities, and which is the appropriate sphere of government to intervene and support there, and this is a piece of work which another new ministry, Economic Development, will be leading on.

Another thing that Sis' Sibongile said: very often if there is any purchasing in the rural areas or townships, the benefits of that purchasing are going outside those areas. This is where the microcredit and small business thing can work.

There's this assumption that poor people don't pay back, but actually in the Grameen Bank the repayment rate is about 99%, and some of our better microcredit institutions in South Africa have records like that too. Our people have a dignity, they want to pay back, they use the loans to generate income and they pay it back. And there is a possibility of developing economic activity in townships and rural areas.

On the question of unemployment and profits of companies: the crisis is an opportunity for us as well. In this crisis, lots of companies have been asking government to assist them, and we have to do so otherwise we are going to lose jobs, but we have been saying to them that if we do so, we want some commitments out of them. We've got companies to agree on training layoffs. If they lay people off, they've got to contribute to those people going into a training programme. In the auto sector we said to them, while you access crisis-related support you will not be able to engage in any further layoffs. We also said, there are no extraordinary dividend payments or bonuses to managers while you're accessing this.

The industrial policy action plan: we are reviewing all the different programmes and mechanisms to achieve industrial decentralisation.

Infrastructure in the rural areas, clinics and so on: infrastructure is the flagship countercyclical measure that we have in this country. The 500 000 jobs that the president said we will create by the end of the year will be jobs in public works, and a lot of that will be infrastructure in poor areas.

The Minister of Health is talking openly about the challenges

we face in the health sector and our aspiration and commitment is to move towards the creation of a national health system in the country where all people can have access to decent basic health services and we know that we are fairly far from that. The attitude of the government is to acknowledge the problems and try to address them.



Linda Yako: The government is very slow in doing things; I hope they can learn from the corporate sector on how to turn things around. Going back to the issue of finance: it seems 15 years down the line it is still a challenge for the Trade and Industry Department to finance SMEs. Does the department have any monitoring system in place to evaluate an entity they have funded? Maybe there is a lack of resources, skills, beyond finance? And the bottlenecks in getting finance: not everyone is able to read and understand the policies and documents of the department, not everyone can pay for a business plan to be drawn up. How does the department make these people's lives easier? Also I know there's a section within the department called Trade Investment South Africa (TISA), which I believe is very good on paper but it's not visible enough to most South Africans.



Corlett Letlojane: Maybe we're leaving the poor and illiterate behind because we're not doing something about our communication strategies. The language we use, the policies are in very sophisticated language that ordinary people cannot understand. We spoke about having the voices of the poor, of women, representing themselves. We'll always have that gap if we don't engage with people in the language that they use.



Scholastica Kimaryo: Minister, I saw an opportunity in what you said. You have in place mechanisms for discussing policy and legislative reform. My appeal is: please make sure women are part of those conversations. And in particular, within the context of a developmental state, give us a sense of how you plan as a government to address some of the broader issues, because some of the gaps between policy and implementation are ideological.



Frene Ginwala: Minister, there is a disjuncture between policies and outcomes. What is the problem? That's my question to all of us. I want to use one simple example. The Competition Commission fined food companies enormous amounts of money. What did we all do about the price of bread? What about a bread boycott? In other words, activism.



Rob Davies: Let me start off with the question of finance for SMMEs. If you ask an SMME what they want, they say they want access to finance, but sometimes that is not the fundamental challenge they face. We have in place the Small Enterprise Development Agency, which provides a range of structured non-financial services. So if you want to start a business it should be able to give you some advice.

Having said that, we do need to acknowledge that access to finance for small business is a real issue. Not just micro-credit, but other small businesses. Established financial institutions have been very risk-averse. What are we trying to do about it? The budget is very tight because of the revenue inflow but we are arguing that in a recession like this it is necessary for agencies that are involved in supporting productive activities to expand their role.

One of the things we're trying to do is Khula. One of the problems with Khula is that it has been a wholesale institution operating through intermediaries like banks. It has not been visible to anybody – nobody knows where Khula is. Now there's a programme called Khula Direct; Khula will be setting up a network and we hope there will be one building where there is SEDA, Khula and whatever the province may be offering so that people don't have to go to different places. We want to try to make Khula products more accessible.

The other issue is that we know the failure rate of small businesses in the first year is about 50%; if we are going to provide start-up finance to business, that's the reality. But we don't want to build in a lot of risk aversion. How do development finance institutions dealing with small business operate in terms of the Public Finance Management Act; what are the expectations in terms of capitalising those?

We are also trying to reduce the regulatory burden. The new Companies Act will make it much easier for small businesses to register as a company. We are trying to simplify that process and establish more online facilities.

In general, in terms of the red tape, I've put the challenge to our department, can we cut the upfront requirements? But if you take public money and misuse it, then we must have an inspection service and we whack you afterwards.

About TISA: one of the things they do with small businesses is take them on trade missions. Is it visible enough? I don't know – we're trying to jack up our call centre so that people can call in and get access to these services. The communication is important – it's why we have a dedicated deputy minister whose job it is to go round to the provinces and talk to people in their own language and get feedback. But the communication issue is a real one.

I don't think we can have a conversation about small enterprise development, micro-credit, that women are not involved in. If we saw that there were no women at a meeting, there'd be something wrong with the meeting. I think that what Dr Ginwala said is important: it's a combination of us being accessible and women organising themselves. In government, we can deal much better with organisations than we can with individuals. We can respond more rapidly.

Dr Ginwala raises the disjuncture between policy and outcomes. I can see that there are administrative procedures in departments that are archaic, a sort of desire on the part of officials to keep the public at bay and try to set up barriers. I think all of this arises from a conception of the state which is not yet a developmental state. But the slogan we've got is 'working together we can do more'. It's important for people to think about what they can do: if the dialogue is one where people expect everything to happen from government, it's not going to work. It has to be that if government does this, then we can do that. That is the type of dialogue we need urgently.



Victoria Maloka: I'm always concerned when we talk about poverty and unemployment – there's always a bias towards output, that is, let's create more jobs, as opposed to input: let's build skills, knowledge, expertise to sustain jobs. Bringing in skills perpetuates inequality and dependency on government always doing things for us.



Nana Ditodi: Minister, you spoke about bringing about structural changes and having a roundtable. Please include us, SAWEN, as we have whole basket of challenges.



Manone Madyo: The minister indicated that there are some regulatory exemptions, but only for microlending companies. What about the clients? The women in the rural areas go to the microlending companies only for consumption, not for production, just to get money to buy bread. These companies take the card of a poor woman and keep it until the debt is finished. What measures are there to protect these women?



Rob Davies: It is correct that the creation of jobs and promotion of economic activity is inextricably linked with skills development. We have chosen to use more labour-intensive methods on local infrastructure projects and people employed on these projects are exposed to some training.

On the broader issues of SAWEN, I'm open to a discussion and I want to bring in the deputy ministers that are working in this area. I want to listen to people who consume our services: what can we do to make them better.

On the microlenders, there's no doubt that many poor people have been subjected to predatory lending practices. The way we're dealing with this is through the provisions of the National Credit Act. There are maximum lending rates and a provision on reckless lending. I'm sure there are many challenges; we do have inadequate inspection services. My message about micro-credit for productive activity: this is a different category. The problem was that the regulatory regime that applied to the *mashonisas* was also catching the Grameen-type microcredit institutions that were trying

to provide developmental finance. Whether we need a dedicated piece of legislation rather than exemption is something that we can discuss in the roundtable on micro credit.

After the session of questions and answers, the guests shared their experiences of empowering others and discussed the question of how to make credit more accessible to women.

The next speaker was Ruth Kagia, World Bank Country Director for Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland.

An edited summary of her address follows.



GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Ruth Kagia, World Bank

I'd like to make my comments this morning using my current job only as a backdrop, but primarily speaking to you as a woman and a sister. We are connected by common issues that continue to challenge us. You could look at those issues and wonder why we have not made more progress, or you could say there are enough of us who have the influence to begin to make a dent on these issues.

Some of the underlying work that was done on the constitution, which has made the South African constitution perhaps one of the most progressive, was done by women. But why is there still such a gap between the progressive laws and the reality, particularly as it pertains to the status of women and gender values and so on? I'll come to that.

The same with education: South Africa is way ahead of the pack in terms of enrolment and resources put into education, and yet when you look at the quality you see gaps.



Perhaps most sobering is the report that was released the day before yesterday, the South African health report by *The Lancet* [published August 25,

2009]. South Africa gets the dubious recognition of having five times more personal crime committed by intimate partners against women than the global average.

The question then becomes, what has happened to create these gaps? The minister addressed some of those gaps and we'll come back to that in a minute.

So that is the background. I want to highlight a few issues which hopefully can stimulate some discussion today and in subsequent dialogues.

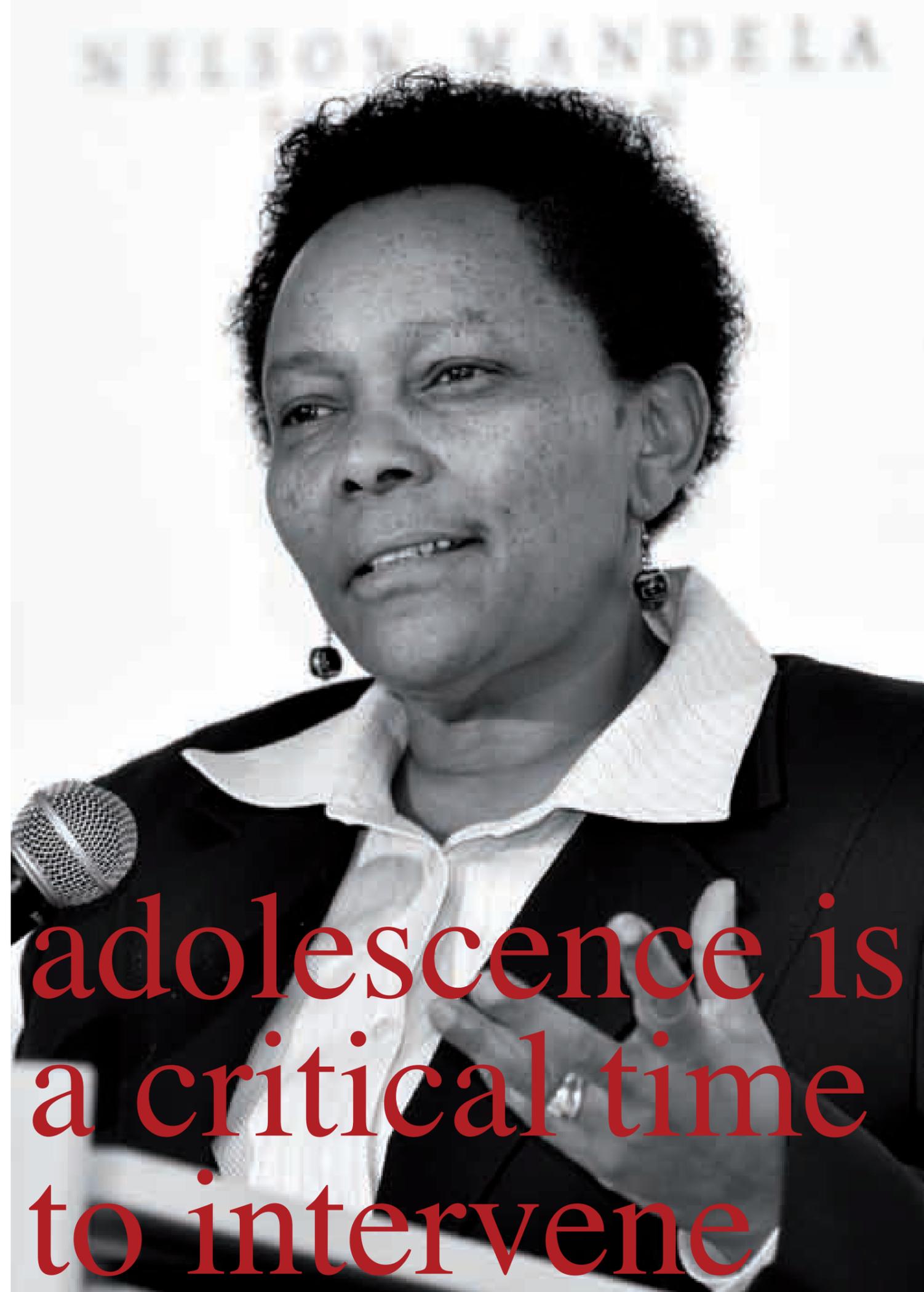
The question was, can we create a world without poverty? I have no doubt in my mind that we can, but only if certain imperatives were to happen. Perhaps the most important 'if' is where women fit in society.

South Africa is way ahead of the pack in terms of enrolment and resources put into education, and yet when you look at the quality you see gaps.

A very interesting article in *The New York Times* ("The Women's Crusade", August 17, 2009) concludes that the world is waking up to a well-known truth: that in most countries the greatest unexploited resource isn't oilfields, or veins of gold, it is the women and girls who aren't educated and never become a presence in the formal economy.

We know that there's a very strong business and economic case for investing in women and girls, so why is it that we don't do this?

We know that gender equality fuels thriving economies – there are no economies that I know of that are thriving in a sustainable manner that don't have gender equality.



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a critical time
to intervene

almost invariably you can predict the success of children through the education of their mothers, not their fathers

When you look at the economies that have grown fastest, South Korea perhaps is the best example. In 1961, I believe, the GDP per capita in South Korea was \$90. The last time I checked, I think last year, it was \$18 000; it was the 13th largest economy in the world. There are very simple things that they have done. The first is that they have broadened the base of education to everybody. Not just making sure that the kids went to school: creating equitable education, quality education. And they strengthened the linkages between education and the labour market. So part of it was building the human capital.

The second thing was broadening the economic opportunities, and the third was improving the amount of assets. I'm oversimplifying here because I'm trying to make a point about what it takes to reduce or eliminate poverty.

Three principal ingredients must be in place. The first is strong human capital (education, skills, health). The second is the opportunity to use those

skills and the third is assets – land or finance or both.

Why is it that with such a simple concept, we have not applied it as easily or as equally to women?

In a sense, that is where our challenge lies. Particularly when you look at the evidence that has been raised. One, when women have control over assets it dramatically improves child and family welfare. By strengthening human capital through education and health, through giving women assets, through giving them opportunities, you create a virtuous cycle which quickly translates into social and economic outcomes.

Almost invariably you can predict the success of children through the education of their mothers, not their fathers. Because of the transformations in many of the countries in Africa, including this one, some families suddenly became very wealthy without the women having had time to catch up on their education. Where the mother's education was weak, the intergenerational success was much less than where there was more education for the mother.

I just want to highlight this, as these are the underpinnings of why these dialogues become so important.

Much less focused on, but a critical issue for South Africa in particular, is adolescence – particularly adolescent girls. Adolescence is a critical time to intervene to break the inter-generational



cycle of poverty.

Investing in and facilitating young women's transition to work helps them to stay in school longer, it delays marriages, it helps them build capital assets and so on.

Given the tremendous pay-off of investing in women and girls, the common sense of doing this, why has progress been so slow? I'm not just talking about South Africa, I'm talking globally.

I'll just throw out three ideas, and hope that we can come up with a longer list as we have the discussion.

The first is that there exists a huge gap between policies and actions, between intentions and implementation. The minister alluded to that when he talked about urbanisation without industrialisation. And Sibongile put it very pertinently: we are sitting here, mainly as elite women, but to what extent are we speaking about the issues that are affecting the majority of women in the rural areas or even in the urban poor areas? These gaps are quite wide.

On health, it's not a lack of resources being allocated to the health sector, it's not a lack of awareness of the issues, but for some reason there is misalignment of policies and action that is leading to very high levels of violence, particularly against women, that is then exacerbated by HIV/AIDS, that is then exacerbated further by tuberculosis.

There exists a huge gap between policies and actions, between intentions and implementation.

Tremendous progress has been made since 1994 in terms of getting children to school. And then you see that in terms of achievement, South Africa has one of the widest gaps between the rich who are at school and poor who are at school. When you break it up further, you see lots of zones of exclusion and the common denominator in all those is girls. If the foundations are that skewed, the result is automatically going to be skewed.

The challenge that we have as women is to make sure that the solutions we are implementing or proposing are solutions to today's problems, not to yesterday's problems.

The second issue that I think stands in the way of faster progress, or sustained progress, is the tenacity of customs and traditional approaches to



socio-economic values. In South Africa this is a particularly complicated issue.

The traditional family structure was disrupted fundamentally by apartheid. The number of families that are broken or incomplete is high. It's one thing to build on the culture as we should do, but when that has been disrupted, which culture are you building upon?

Finally, the third constraint is the value that is attached to women. We see it in India and the value attached to girls, we see it much more directly in China. If you had to ask a parent, why is it that you don't want a girl?, I don't think they could even answer that. It's structural, it's social, it's whatever, but it cuts across many societies.

How do we, as women who have better advantages, begin to change those values? In the article I mentioned in *The New York Times*, one of the things that I found quite interesting was a story they tell of a woman who was attending some women's group meeting and the husband didn't want her to attend, and then he realised that there's money coming out of the group and he became very supportive. After that he began to listen much more to what women were doing.

It's the same message we got from Prof Yunus: the moment women begin to bring money into the household, they suddenly acquire a different status. So there are ways of breaking this in very simple and direct ways that also benefit the family.

A lot of good things are going on, whether it's in microfinance or in other areas, but they are too small: they are reaching 47 000 people, they are reaching 100 000 people. In a country of 40-million people how do we make what is working work much better? That was one of the key messages from the minister. How do we scale up what is working, so that it reaches more people?

The second issue that came up is the issue of activism. This country would not be where it is without the tenacity of women, some of whom are in this room. Where is the second generation following from that?

Therefore, in closing, let me finish with a quote from Hillary Clinton soon after she became Secretary of State. She says, 'I've concluded after travelling many miles and visiting many places in the last decade that talent is universally distributed, but opportunity is not. The future of women and girls affects yours and mine, and therefore it is not only the right thing to do, but also the smart thing.'

We as women who have had many more opportunities than our sisters in the rural areas have that burden of helping them to utilise their talent. What they lack is not the talent, it is the opportunity.



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

After Ruth Kagia's address, the dialogue participants put questions and comments to her.



Mmabatho Matiwane: The scary thing about what you've just showed us is that those inequalities are going to persist over the next 10 to 15 years.



Babalwa Matutu: In relation to why progress has been so slow, my concern is that there seems to be a proliferation of women's organisations that seem to want to talk to the same issue, but that fragments women's voice.



Nomboniso Gasa: I think we need to recognise that it took Prof Yunus more than three decades for his paradigm to be accepted. The Grameen model has not always been the darling of the global economic community and continues to require continuous improvement. We cannot simply take it from one context to the other.

The second issue is, if you look at abortions — the kids who are dumped in the rivers and so on in this country, you'll find most of them are girl children.

The point that always gets me going is this whole issue about lots of organisations and how we need to speak with one voice: not necessarily. If we think that because we have access to this platform we are necessarily going to be able to articulate everything in the same way as women who don't have access to this platform, I think we are fooling ourselves. I think that if I go to my rural community, I'm continuously humbled by the wisdom, the richness, that remains untapped in that community and I think that should be celebrated.



Amelia Rawhani: I have the feeling that poverty has nothing to do with finances or economies. There has never been this much aid being thrown at countries, never been this much financial assistance. I think the problem is with value — not in the commercial financial sense, but in the inherent fundamental human dignity sense. If people are aware of their inherent dignity and nobility then what goes with it is a sense of autonomy and wanting to look after yourself and women at the moment are being used

in the economy as a commodity and a product: the porn industry, human trafficking, things like this are very distressing.

In Johannesburg there are posters and billboards for strip joints and we have outlawed the advertising of cigarettes, because there is a cancer risk, but there is a moral cancer in the way that women are being treated at the moment and it directly influences the economy.

I'm wondering how to go about enforcing that awareness of inherent dignity as opposed to just throwing money at a situation.



Lerato Mbele: I have a mother who will push me to have an education, who will push for me to have an independent voice, but she can't apply it in her own context. And I watch women in my generation: MBAs, MScs pushed to improve their circumstances, but once they're in a relationship with a man, they lose that voice. The husband can go off, have an affair and just come back. If we're going to talk about a shift in culture it has to start in our own households.



Ruth Kagia: It is very difficult to talk about personal relationships in a generic manner because the circumstances are always so different.

Let me share a story with you that begins to respond to one of the very fundamental issues that you raised, which is that it takes a long time to bring about change and even more importantly to sustain it. The story is about when we had the women's conference in 1985, in Nairobi, which is my home city. I was then working for the university. In preparation for the conference, I did a very simple analytical piece: I said why is it that in spite of the fact that we have had women going through the universities for 20 years since independence, we don't see any women at the top level in government? I did a very simple study, I just interviewed all the women who had a degree and who had worked for at least 10 years. There were not many, and I was able to track about 95% of them. I was asking them very simple questions like: have you ever applied for a job and been denied? The answer was always no. If you were appointed director-general, how would you feel? And they would laugh and say who'd be crazy enough to do that? Have you ever seen a director-general who was a woman?

What came through from that analysis is that there was a self-selection mechanism: women would get to the director level, realise they were going to be earning more than their husbands, and then opt out and go to the private sector. That's how the flower industry actually blossomed in Kenya, because they went into the private sector and became very successful in the flower industry and in other industries. There they could make as much money as they wanted, they could build as much influence as they needed to, without showing up their men.

After the conference, my then president decided he needed to show

that women can be permanent secretaries and managing directors, and with a lot of fanfare he appointed seven of us – I was one of them for my sins – to head major corporations. So it was a major thing done with a lot of political fanfare, we became President Moi's girls so to speak, we became the poster women to show that women can break the ceiling.

I did the job for about three years. None of those who were appointed are any longer in those jobs because there was a disjuncture between what was being done and the social structure.

Too many times we tend to do these things as one-offs, as things that have political cachet.

The first question, what to do about that huge, growing gap in education: the solutions are fairly simple and subconsciously we are aware of them and we are implementing them, albeit in a non-comprehensive manner.

The other comment was, do we allow a thousand flowers to bloom, or do we speak with one voice? I don't think it's an either/or. There are some issues where we need to speak with one voice – not necessarily saying the same thing. What we should be aiming for is to make sure that the sum is greater than the parts.

There's a worldwide issue about the value attached to girls, and only we can stop that.



Lerato Mbele: We've heard about the problem of skills; the discrepancies in our value system; the big gap between rural and urban women; opportunities that must be maximised through government intervention; but the recurring theme is the gap between policy and implementation. What we want and value for our country and tangible results. And the subtext of the voice: how do we make sure women have a voice, not just in a forum like this one, but everywhere? And I add: how do you ensure that your daughter is not just educated and contributing to the economy but contributing to the general cultural change that needs to happen?

The third Malibongwe Dialogue concluded with thanks by **Yoliswa Makhasi**, CEO of the Film and Publications Board.



TABLE DISCUSSION

Dialogue participants discussed the following themes at each table: experiences of “giving back” or empowering others; and bridging the gap between policy and reality.

In point form, they recorded the main issues discussed.

- Information and literacy: There should be more information centres where things are communicated in people’s own languages. Government should appoint educators to inform people about what departments are doing.
- Dialogue in communities: Multipurpose centres in townships should be used as a platform and people who attend dialogues should go back and inform others.
- Teenage pregnancies: How do we empower young mothers? There’s a lack of facilities for them to keep busy; they need after-school programmes. Young people should be taught about respect for their bodies; “tough love” should come back.
- Change the mindset: Young girls have a sense of dependency. Sugar daddies are a problem. Boys should be empowered to respect women.
- Feeling disconnected, having previously been connected. Need conscious effort to build women’s networks and be more visible.
- Supporting HIV-positive women to access antiretroviral drugs. Personalise the battle. Take back power.
- Value of human contact. Intangible resources; ubuntu.
- Access to funds: No proper means test is done. Revisit rules, criteria and legal requirements.
- Access to information on how to start businesses.
- Start locally and act globally.
- Going back to rural homes to remain in touch with the realities that ordinary people have to grapple with daily.
- Communication is key.
- Regulatory requirements need to be simplified.
- Research to yield appropriate and responsive strategies.



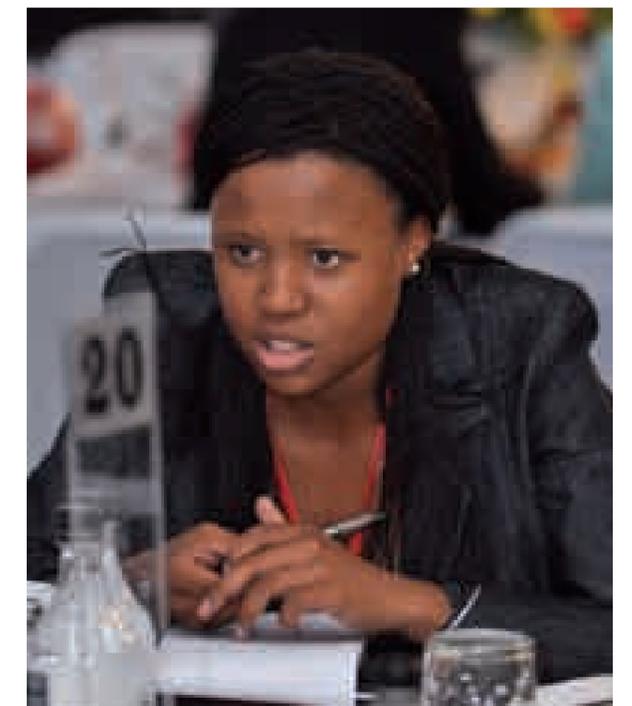
- What is it that people really want?
- Give back: education, knowledge, information, training, empowerment.
- Discourage unrealistic expectations about what government can do.
- Reorient child grants; do not promote dependency.
- Deal with systematic and structural issues.
- Encourage networking.
- Revisit training practices and career guidance values and practices.
- Activism should be a way of life, not an event.
- Change of mindset: Educate children and men. Spread the dialogue and its geographic reach.
- Start with the family.
- Involve women when formulating funding policies.
- State to support development of infrastructure to circumvent reluctant commercial banks.
- Need more dialogue with women outside urban settings; change the us-and-them approach.
- How can we bridge the gap between policy

and reality? Take a simplified approach so all women can understand better. Look at outcomes of activities and measure against them. Involve affected people in policy-making to make it more practical.

- Service providers must go to communities.
- Programmes must be understandable and accessible.
- Mother tongue communication is key to understanding and effectiveness.
- Banks should simplify their requirements.
- We need to organise women to have a national women’s forum, not politically motivated but to discuss national economic and social issues. The Nelson Mandela Foundation could initiate and co-ordinate this in communities where women are situated.
- Accessibility of microfinance: information is the most important thing; clear communication needed; process is too cumbersome and not integrated.
- On “giving back”: It’s important to move away from seeing ourselves as “empowerers” and instead to create space for people to do things for themselves. It’s important to prepare for succession in all spheres – homes, schools, churches etc (prepare for a second layer of leadership). Create opportunities for growth of others in your sphere, eg allow junior staff to work outside their comfort zones and confront new challenges.
- Create the opportunity to engage with boys, young men and grown men to create understanding of issues relevant to a healthy society.
- Dialogue to go to other areas, such as women’s prisons, churches, rural communities.
- What are the intended outcomes of our dialogue? We seem to be preaching to the converted.
- Invest in our own community initiatives and local businesses.
- Pass experience to each other.
- Use the model of the WDB and expand.
- Build women’s networks and reach out to each other.
- Government must listen to women and include them in policy dialogue. We must break down the bureaucracy.
- “Giving back” is an ongoing journey, a way of life for many of us, based on family values and how we were brought up.
- Interventions should be genuine, not just fanfare.
- Not just about giving but empowering; leaving

skills or tools behind.

- Start from our households, then cast the net wider to extended communities.
- Literacy and language issues are a hindrance to women’s participation in policy-making.
- Grassroots forum needed where women can say what their needs are.
- Empowerment can only happen if the individual is willing to be empowered. Empowerment should focus on providing technical skills and soft skills (like emotional intelligence), strengthening women to value themselves and unleashing their potential.
- Women should take the lead in policy formulation and challenge policies and actions that prejudice them.
- Access to credit: Women must save so they can negotiate from a position of strength. We need to improve access to information on opportunities and available finance. Easy internet access is needed in rural areas.
- We should develop finance solutions that are informed by the needs of women.
- Rebuilding family values and empowering families facilitates the empowerment of the community.
- Leadership among young people.
- Focus on the adolescent girl child.
- Look into the past to prepare for the future.
- Partnerships: government, civil society, private sector, communities.



REFLECTIONS

“What a wonderful experience – I hope that we go back to other communities and inspire other people.”
– **Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, political activist**

“It was an important session. It is extremely encouraging to know the government’s plan for economic empowerment and the involvement of women in that.”
– **Scholastica Sylvan Kimaryo, former United Nations Development Programme representative in South Africa**

“It was a remarkable gathering with remarkable women trying to find ways to uplift and enable other women. I feel sure that a lot of action will eventuate from this.”
– **Joan Joffe, business woman**

“It was stimulating, it was encouraging to see so many young women speaking up. I hope that we will go to the communities, otherwise we will keep talking to each other.”
– **Frene Ginwala, former Speaker of Parliament**

“It was a great session; the challenge is how to take it to the women in the rural areas. Today we put our titles aside and became equal and that was critical to reviving the spirit of social activism that is slowly dying.”
– **Nomonde Gongxeka, media executive**

“One thing the minister didn’t address was that as university students we are not given the skills that the labour market requires.”
– **Khensane Hlongwane, University of the Witwatersrand student**

“It was excellent and informative. The lack of information and the challenges of regular service delivery were acknowledged by the minister and the challenge is now how we turn this around.”
– **Liezl Olivier, Department of Arts and Culture**

“The issues raised by the minister are very important in particular for the development and empowerment of women. Women have ideas but lack the skills and training to implement them. We need to focus on the skills and training.”
– **Babalwa Ntabeni-Matutu, Department of Higher Education and Training**

“For me, the real issue is changing the consciousness. A lot of what was said was about disenfranchisement, not enfranchisement. We need to talk more about how we can be enabling.”
– **Angela James, Alchemist**

“It’s been very interesting, but I don’t see women as a separate entity. I don’t think we are a separate group like dogs, the disabled and children. We shouldn’t be discussing these issues in isolation. The white captains of industry and the black tycoons should be here, too.”
– **Pearlie Joubert, freelance journalist**

“I think there’s a lack of spirituality in our approach [in fighting for the upliftment of women]. We need to find that somehow, and we need to deal with the realities – that we still live in a patriarchal society.”
– **Tsepiso Makwetla, journalist**

“I feel nostalgic being here, because I was at the first one [the 2007 Malibongwe Dialogue]. What I like about this one is the call to action. Dialogue and action need to go hand in hand.”
– **Shadrack Katuu, doctoral student and past staff member of the Nelson Mandela Foundation**

“Fantabulous! I enjoyed it. It inspired me. Despite being 87 I want to go out and do more; Madiba won’t beat me!”
– **Vesta Smith, political stalwart**

“We must not let this discussion only be about the women in this room, but about the people from the rural communities, too.”
– **Tshegofatso Leeuw, Nelson Mandela Children’s Fund**

“People in rural areas are vulnerable and if there is no concrete strategy they will remain in a vulnerable position.”
– **Tapiwa Nyakabau, Age-in-Action**

“Many questions were not answered, however very good points were made. Each individual must create their own change. If you want to make a change, you must do it yourself. It is nice to share each other’s ideas.”
– **Rose Nightingale, Business Honour**

“We must hear the communities’ thoughts and views. Policies must be simplified.”
– **Miriam Mogami, Age-in-Action**





MALIBONGWE 2008

CONTENTS

Introduction	Page 46 - 47
Theme 1: Business Unusual: Speeding Up Economic Empowerment For Women	Page 49 - 54
Panel Discussion	Page 55 - 62
Table Outputs	Page 63 -64
Theme 2: Harvesting From Each Other	Page 65 - 67
Panel Discussion	Page 68 - 78
Table Outputs	Page 79 - 80
Closing	Page 81
Poem: I Am A Woman	Page 82
Reflections	Page 83



Special thanks to the organising committee of the Malibongwe Dialogue: Fungi Rakoena (DAC), Phola Mabizela (DAC), Yoliswa Makhasi (NYC), Palesa Notsi (NYC), Mothomang Diaho (NMF), Molly Loate (NMF), Yase Godlo (NMF), Lee Davies (NMF), Sekete Khanye (NMF) and Naomi Warren (NMF).

The text in this booklet is an edited version of the Malibongwe Dialogue, which took place on August 22 2008. Special thanks to our donor, Hasso Plattner Foundation.

The cultural programme at the dialogue was presented by Busiswa Gqulu, the Ipelegene Community Dancers from Soweto and Tu Nokwe.

INTRODUCTION MOTHOMANG DIAHO

Head: Dialogue for Justice Programme – Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue

The Centre of Memory and Dialogue aims to develop and sustain dialogue around Nelson Mandela’s legacy. It is committed to utilising the history, experience, values, vision and leadership of its Founder to provide a non-partisan platform for public discourse



on critical social issues. The Centre promotes dialogue as a democratic practice.

The unique mandate and inheritance of the Nelson Mandela Foundation is to be used to strengthen existing initiatives, including the Malibongwe Dialogue Series, contribute to improved co-ordination and networking, and, most importantly, provide true leadership and act as an institutional “hub” of dialogue to bridge the gaps. We would agree, for the purpose of this series, with the definition put forward by Hal Saunders of the International Institute for Sustainable Dialogue:

“Dialogue is a process of genuine interaction through which human beings listen to each other deeply enough to be changed by what they learn. Each makes a serious effort to take others’ concerns into her or his own picture.”

The Founder of the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the then president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, stated in a speech delivered in Pretoria on Women’s Day, August 9, 1996, that “the challenge now, for government, for women, and for men is to seize the opportunities provided by these new formal instruments, so that women can indeed play their rightful role in transforming our society, in generating sustained economic growth, in reconstruction and development. Violence against women is a serious and escalating evil in our society. It is both a part of the subordination of women and consequence of that inequality.”

The first objective in bringing together this group of participants was to celebrate the legacy of Nelson Mandela’s 90 years, a foundational legacy of freedom, justice and development not only for non-racialism but for gender equality and economic prosperity.

These last two points lead to the second objective To chart a way forward for the participation of women in the economy. Within the broad spectrum of the liberation struggle in the history of the country, women’s contribution is more than sufficient to evolve a systematic engagement



and programmatic projection of how and when women will enhance and advance their economic empowerment, independence and contribution.

Twelve years since the speech, a lot has changed but much remains to be done. To that extent, the Nelson Mandela Foundation and its partners, the Department of Arts and Culture and the National Youth Commission, agreed to convene a second dialogue in this series to sustain the momentum that was created to address these glaring inequalities.

These two different realities are captured by the statement of the President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, at the women’s breakfast of July 11, 2008 organised by the Foundation. She praised the fact that South Africa had so many women in government, saying that Liberia could not compete with this record. However, suggesting a lesson for South Africa, she said: “What we did do was say we’ll put women in charge at strategic places – we’ll put them in charge of the money.”

The second Malibongwe Dialogue focused on just that – on discussing ways that women can empower themselves and others economically. We will continue with the conversations in the upcoming series by going into the bellies of communities across the nation. We hope you will enjoy reading and reflecting in more detail on those issues as you read this booklet. *Malibongwe igama lamakhosikazi!*

THEME 1

BUSINESS UNUSUAL

Speeding Up Economic Empowerment For Women

The session on Business Unusual looked at the economic challenges women currently face in South Africa and finding ways of overcoming these challenges.

ANGIE MAKWETLA

Moderator

I'd like to start off by introducing myself. My name is Angie Makwetla. I am in the seventh decade of my life and I am a very proud South African woman. I am privileged to be living here in this country at this time – standing on the shoulders of giants that have gone before me.

I look in this room and I see leaders: so let me start off by acknowledging Mrs Graça Machel, Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture Ntombazana Botha, Madam Frene Ginwala, Mothomang Diaho, members of the Nelson Mandela Foundation board and all ministers and deputies, director generals and most of all you women leaders in this room. I believe we are here because we are leaders and change agents.

We are here because we are concerned about the future of this country; about the plight of thousands of women out there who look up to us.

I would like to call onto stage Deputy Minister Ntombazana Botha. I know that she complains about being tired, but tiredness, DM, is part of the game – you and I know that. We have to keep going until we are satisfied that we have made a difference.

I was talking to Frene Ginwala earlier about retirement. What do you do when you are retired at home and you see the needs around you? So DM, the young

dancers energised us, as did our young poet, Busiswa Gqulu, who made us very proud, and Tu Nokwe.

Let's think about why it's important that we are all here today. We are here to honour the legacy of Tata, our own home-grown, global legend, and we should be very proud to have him as one of our foremost leaders. We are also here to ensure that we carry on his vision of building a people-centred society.

We have to continue to work hard to realise a better life for all the people of South Africa.

Last week I attended the SADC women's dialogue organised by Zanele Mbeki, and as we were discussing and deliberating where the responsibility lies, the consensus was that it came back to the individual.

What are you doing as a person? What are you doing in your small circle of influence to make a difference? Are you doing enough?

I'm also not sure if I am a business woman or a social entrepreneur: some people get irritated with me when we are sitting in meetings and I say, "let us not forget about the women of this country".

It has to come to that point where we must always

building a
people-centred
society



think back to where we came from. I don't want to use the word "grassroots" because when we refer to our people as "grassroots" we end up wanting to give them grass to eat.

We come from those communities – so we have to keep, first and foremost, our responsibilities to where we came from. I am happy that every time the DM appears she is surrounded by powerful women such as Fungi Rakoena, Nsebo Mangope, Phola Mabizela: those are the women who note what we say and make sure that it happens.

My humble request today is that next year's dialogue should be about reporting back. We must each come back here and say: "this is what we have done".

We are also here because we are celebrating Women's Month. We have to find ways in which we can jointly start implementing all the wonderful strategies and action plans that we are so good at developing. We have developed strategies, some of them have been implemented and some of them are gathering dust – our people are still starving. When there is an uprising we come up with all sorts of strategies and terminologies to describe what is happening, but people are still hungry.

Thank you.

Business woman Angie Makwetla is the former CEO of the Business Women's Association as well as the founder and CEO of Makwetla and Associates. Makwetla sits on the Market Theatre Foundation board and was a founding member of the Concerned Professional Women's Forum.

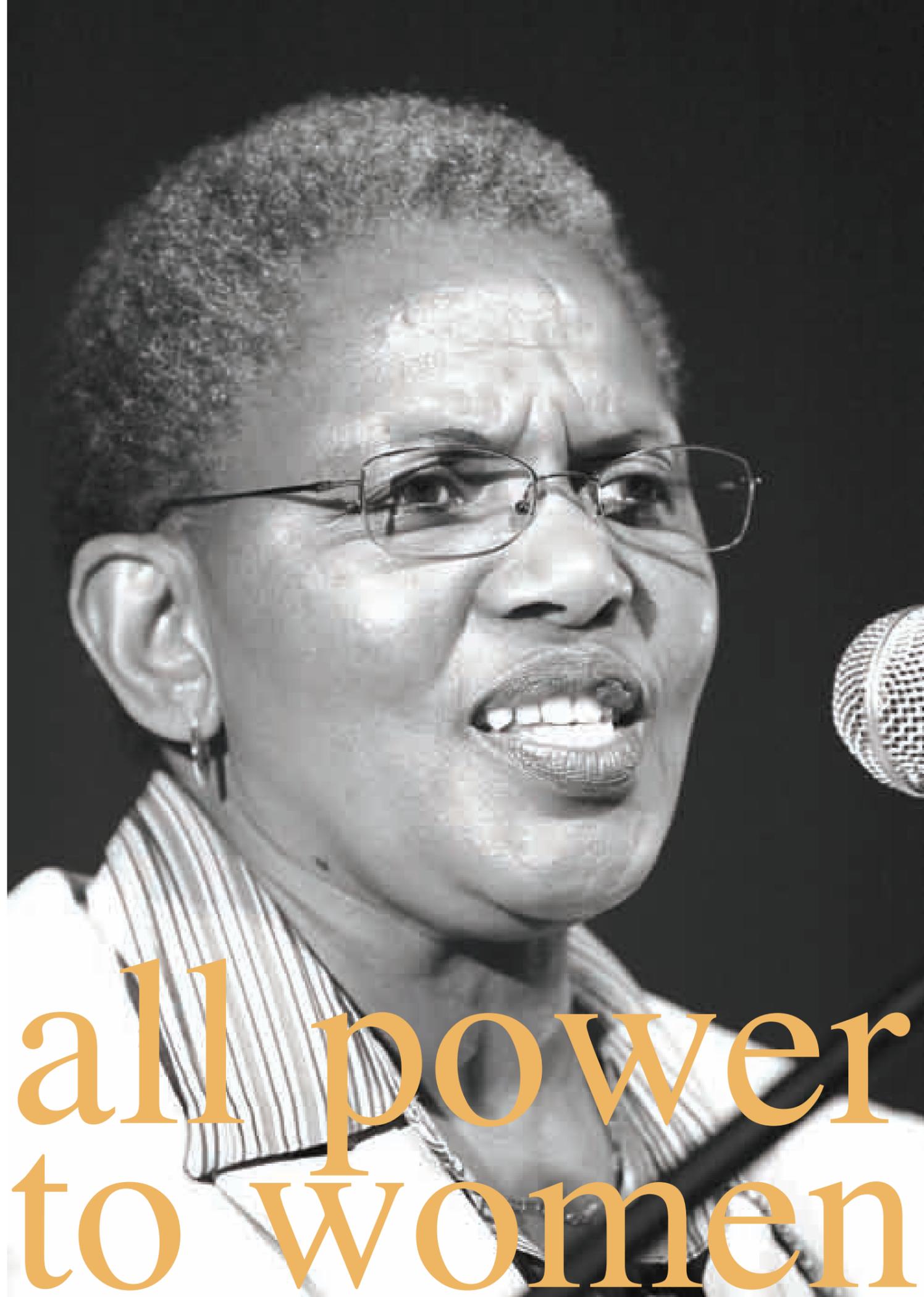
NTOMBAZANA BOTHHA

Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture

Thank you Sis' Angie, let me also recognise and greet the gracious lady Graça Machel, my former Speaker of the National Assembly, Frene Ginwala, and all you gracious veterans of our struggle: sisters, women leaders – and all of you are leaders in this room – distinguished guests, my brothers present here today, good morning everybody.

Perhaps I should just say *malibongwe igama lamakhosikazi* (all praise to women)! It's a privilege

and pleasure for me to welcome you this morning to this dialogue session in partnership with the DAC. This year we are celebrating the 90th birthday of one of our greatest, most well-renowned icons of the century, Tata Mandela. It's therefore commendable that the NMF organised a series of events to celebrate the life of a truly remarkable person. A father of our nation, a son of our beloved country and indeed a statesman who is loved and revered all over the world.



all power
to women

I want you to join me in wishing Tata Mandela a very happy birthday year. Good health and happiness and I am hoping that the gracious lady will convey that message to Tata.

The issues that we will be discussing here today in this dialogue session are some of the important issues which Tata Madiba placed before the nation when he took office as the first president of a democratic South Africa.

In his first state of the nation address he said, "It is vitally important that all structures of government, including the president himself, should understand this fully: that freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.

All of us must take this on board: that the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme will not have been realised unless we see, in visible and practical terms, that the condition of the women of our country has radically changed for the better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society."

It's now 14 years and a bit since Tata Madiba said these words, and in this month of August we take this opportunity to look back with pride at what has been accomplished in response to Tata Madiba's call.

As we celebrate Women's Month we should also be paying tribute to a phenomenal woman who gave birth to this unique gift of the world: Tata Madiba's mother, Mam' Nosekeni.

His inherent strength, his wisdom, his caring nature and his visionary leadership are qualities which I believe Tata Madiba acquired in his mother's womb. *Waza waphinda wayincanca emabeleni ka Mama wakhe uMam' uNosekeni* (he took in wisdom from the breast of his mother, Nosekeni), the woman who raised him, who nurtured him and instilled in him the values of *ubuntu* – of love, care and compassion.

We are deeply indebted to Mam' Nosekeni for the sacrifice she made offering her son for the liberation of the nation. We will therefore, year after year,

continue to pay tribute and salute all our unsung heroes, like Mam' Nosekeni, who led by example and left us a legacy of the true meaning of courage, sacrifice and determination in pursuit of the noble goal of equality, freedom and justice for all.

Every year, the month of August presents us, the women of South Africa, with an opportunity to renew our pledge, to join hands and together build a prosperous nation free from all forms of discrimination, injustice, social exclusion and inequality.

We are spurred on by the deep understanding that as long as women are bound by poverty, and as long as they are looked down upon, the ideals that Tata Madiba stands for will take a long while to be realised.

As long as patriarchal tendencies prevent women from making a meaningful contribution to society, progress will be slow.

As long as the nation refuses to acknowledge the important role women are playing in society, as leaders and as peacemakers, then, I dare say, we are pursuing a lost cause.

Our theme for Women's Month last year was Emancipation, Equality, and Empowerment of



Women for Poverty Eradication. This year's theme is: Business Unusual.

All power to women.

In a democratic South Africa, for which Nosekeni's son fought for many decades, we recognise the power that women possess and that it is because of women's involvement in the struggle spanning many years that today's women are playing a central role in the process of transformation of our country.

Today I wish to single out Mam' Nosekeni and place her in the realm of those who, throughout the long years of struggle, demonstrated fortitude in confronting the most difficult conditions. It is essential that we build on the tradition established by these heroic women, who contributed to our liberation, to ensure that women today continue to be social and political activists and fighters for their own emancipation and empowerment, and contribute to the achievement of the goal of a better life for all by eradicating poverty and all forms of inequality.

Furthermore, it behoves us to strengthen our resolve to accelerate the process of transforming South Africa to become a truly non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and peaceful society. We need to ensure that our government creates an enabling environment for the empowerment of all women by providing the necessary integrated services and resources to improve the quality of their lives.

What is required is unfailing commitment to work together in all sectors – including the private, public and religious sectors – to ensure proper representation of women at all levels of decision-making. We should work closely with our compatriots in business, so that together we can move away from the "old boys' club" mentality that results in the exclusion of women from positions in top and senior management, and give the women of this country the opportunity to demonstrate their capabilities and utilise their God-given talents and expertise to contribute to economic growth.

As we deliberate today, let us also reflect on how best to include those women in our communities who are still marginalised; those women who are still trapped in the cycle of poverty in the rural areas and in the informal settlements. The door-to-door visits to destitute families, which support the war-on-poverty campaign, force us to stare at poverty straight in the face and to come up with solutions to bring about change.

This is a challenge to all of us present here today. Some of us are involved in successful businesses, some are professionals and some are experts in their field of work. All of us together have the potential to



make a difference in the lives of our less privileged sisters and brothers.

Our national theme for this year is Business Unusual: all hands on deck to speed up change.

Let us take this opportunity to thank our dear father and leader, Tata Madiba, for foregrounding women's emancipation and also to thank President Thabo Mbeki for promoting the participation of women at various levels of decision-making in government.

Once again, welcome to this second Malibongwe Dialogue. Our panellists will have much more to share with us and I hope that all of us will participate in the discussions.

I have no doubt that this dialogue, and subsequent dialogues, will benefit all of us and help us chart the way forward to accelerate the process of transformation for a better life for all the people of our country. *Malibongwe igama lamakhosikazi*, I thank you.

Born in East London, Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture Ntombazana Botha is still heavily involved in projects in the area, working as the coordinator of the Choral Music Festival, and she is a member of the Gender Working Group. Botha is passionate about women and gender issues, and the improvement of the status of women in all aspects of life.

BASETSANA KUMALO

Panellist

Iwould like to acknowledge all the phenomenal women here and honour them for the contribution that they have made in my life. It's always such a privilege to be around such esteemed women.

I am a product of mentorship, and I continue to grow under the mentorship of strong and phenomenal women.

This morning I would like to honour and salute you for having made a great contribution to the woman that I am today. I honour you with humility, love and much respect. And good morning to my fellow panellists here.

I am a Makgalemele who married into the Kumalo family. I am a child of the 1970s; I come from a generation of young people who were termed the "lost generation" by the system of apartheid.

We were told that we would never amount to anything, so I guess the rebel in me dispelled that and I became a rebel with a cause and rebelled against the system of the past that called me a part of the lost generation.

And in essence this is who I am. I am an entrepreneur and a child of this beautiful country.

I am blessed to have been born on this continent, particularly in this country.

I was tasked to head up the Business Women's Association in South Africa. We are known as the largest women's organisation in the country and there are a number of things we do as an organisation to empower women: we serve as a voice for the women of South Africa; we challenge the *status quo*; we do a census project (a project that I'm passionate about) every month – what this census aims to achieve is to help us track the employability of women in corporate South Africa – we look at JSE-listed companies and

measure the representation of women in top positions.

The results were alarming to say the least. Women make up 51% of the total population and about 42% of the working population. We have 13 women CEOs in corporate South Africa [in the listed companies].

It's quite alarming when you look at executive management level: we are sitting with a representation of about 19%. Those statistics are seriously alarming.

On the government side, for the first time this year we included the government sector because it was important for us to gauge what government was doing with regard to women representation. Those findings have been quite encouraging.

Government should be applauded and commended for putting the empowerment of women on top of their agenda. Even the president made mention of this in his address to the nation on Women's Day. Women represent 49% of the cabinet and four out of nine premiers are women.

It's evident that South Africa is championing the empowerment of women politically, but, in terms of emancipating women economically, we still have a long way to go. That is the huge challenge that we face as women in this country and I think we have a collective responsibility to lift while we rise.

I love the work of Ntate Don Mattera, who once recited a poem and said: "When you are about to embark on a race, you say on your marks, get set and before you go you actually have to look back, see whose hand you are going to take and then go."

I think that's what we need to do as women of South Africa: we must continue to take a hand and charge forward so that we can create a better country, economy and life for the girl child and ultimately for this continent. Thank you very much.

Former Miss South Africa Basetsana Kumalo is the president of the Business Women's Association as well as Executive Chairperson, Tswelopele Productions and Director of Union Alliance Media.

a child of this
beautiful country

NALEDI KEKANA

Panellist

Iwould like to thank the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the National Youth Commission for inviting me to be a panellist here. It is such an honour to be among women who have inspired me all my life.

I am involved in a number of projects that deal with the lot of young women. I've participated extensively in the Young Women of South Africa Dialogue platforms.

The Young South African Women in Dialogue (YSAWID) is an offshoot of the inter-generational annual dialogue of South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID), a platform committed to improving the status of women in society. The YSAWID programme addresses the specific concerns of young women in personal development and economic participation.

It's been an empowering experience. You get to share each other's challenges and I think it gives you a better understanding, as a young person, of the challenges we face and lets you know that you are not alone with your own particular struggle.

I think South African women in general, in all facets of life, have made significant strides since 1994. However, with that said, I think we still have a lot of challenges.

I come here today not because I'm cynical, I come here because I have certain frustrations as a young person about our progress and frustrations about the

whole women's movement, and that is what I would like to speak to today.

I think the first issue is economic policies. South Africa has experienced economic growth, but that economic growth hasn't increased the skills and capacities of women and hasn't bridged the inequalities that we have.

The poorest of the poor still remain vulnerable, especially the women. I think it's primarily due to the lack of synergy between the economic and social policies that we have, though the macro-economic framework that is currently ruling our world also plays a significant role.

I believe that the current macro-economic framework is not really inclusive, and excludes a lot of people from the economic mainstream.

I think that in order for this country to advance, especially the women of this country, there needs to be a paradigm shift for a fairer world.

I believe the issue is not poverty *per se*, but the distribution of wealth. It's important for us to create efficient structures and provide the necessary funds and resources to resolve these problems.

I grew up in Tembisa township, and what is heartbreaking is that when I go back to the township I am very different compared to the friends I grew up with – not because of our individual personalities, but because of our experiences in life.

I am the only one who is at university and supposedly being empowered. A lot of them have struggled to make ends meet. You look at townships and rural areas and you realise that they are not conducive environments for the development of young women. I think that those are the places that we need to focus on to try and find economic policies to address the injustices within our own communities.

Another issue I am grappling with is that of women leadership.

Carol Spenard Larusso [author of *The Wisdom of Women*] has this long quote, but in essence what she is trying to say is that the world has been dominated by patriarchy and hierarchy. Now the world is beginning to transform.

She [Larusso] believes that women should be introduced to leadership positions, which she feels is going to bring about significant change in our society. She talks about how patriarchy has created unyielding principles of organisations and I believe that these so-called unyielding principles of organisations are not toppling at the desired rate in South Africa.

As much as we have made significant strides in increasing women's representation in public policy, in other areas and institutions in our society, I believe that a lot of women in these positions have become swallowed by the mechanisms that they are trying to change.

I think, besides creating equality within our leadership structures, as women we need to advocate for more women's participation in these structures in order for them to be transformed in the way they approach issues.

As women we have never been satisfied by the status of the world and the challenges that we face. All we wanted to bring to the table was a different type of leadership: bringing forth a more progressive agenda, and also the nurture and care that as women we bring to a reproductive role in society.

As sappy as that may sound I really feel that this is who we are as women, and it's something that we should really embrace. With this said I pose the question: have we seen this different type of approach from women leadership in our country? Or has it been the same approach with different faces? I am not trying to criticise anyone, but I am thinking that this is a challenge we need to face.

I was thinking about how sometimes you are in a meeting and you are made to feel bad when you say "let's not forget the women of this country".

At times, as women, we do get tired of fighting all the time and we get swallowed in the system and carry on with things and forget the fact that beyond trying to create equity and leadership we have to transform that particular institution.

The other issue that I think is such a challenge is the protection of women in our society. You can be the most empowered woman but you are not immune from getting a black eye or being raped.

In our society the protection of women is no longer the responsibility of the women in society as a whole, it has become the responsibility of the individual.

As a young woman I think twice about going to downtown Johannesburg to do shopping for whatever I need. Not because I fear being mugged but because I fear being held in a corner and raped or harassed or something like that. It's a reality in our society and we spend so much time trying to avoid these adversities because we know that if it happens sometimes the system doesn't provide justice.

We know that we have a really low conviction rate of rape in this country and my point here is that I found that among my circles, with a lot of young men that I relate with, they are very good at talking the talk about women's issues. However, behind closed doors and in practice they are not very good at walking the talk. This is a great challenge because the way in which our male counterparts view us plays a very important role in our development as women.

Men who treat women as equal partners, and respect us, make it so much easier to grow within our particular roles and it plays a significant role in the enhancement of a general women's movement.

I think what we have to look at is to create inter-gender dialogues and safe environments that will enable us to discuss these gender-related issues in the hope of reducing this and getting men on board



as women we have never been satisfied by the status of the world

as ambassadors of women empowerment. It's about men getting together and addressing issues; creating partnerships and having these dialogues which are really important.

The last issue is so important to me right now. It's the issue of bridging the gap in mentorship.

We speak of bridging the gap between the older and younger generation and I keep asking myself, what is this particular gap that we are bridging? I think that the gap between the older generation of women and the younger generation of women is the misconceptions that we have about each other. Older people have the perception that younger people are X, Y and Z. These misconceptions have created a hostile environment where fruitful and meaningful dialogues have not been able to happen. I'm not saying that inter-generational dialogues haven't been happening in our society; they have happened – I have been part of them. However, I believe they are not happening enough.

I am not talking only in institutions and organisations: it's in our homes, churches and all structures of society. As much as we are all similar and have similar challenges we are also very different – mainly because we come from different backgrounds. We believe in different things and sometimes we do things differently.

We need to embrace this difference and make a greater effort to get together and inform each other about our different worlds.

In this struggle of women empowerment and emancipation, we need each other. A women's organisation that doesn't involve young people in its structures and in its leadership will become irrelevant very quickly, and a young women's movement which doesn't involve older women within its structures will crumble because it doesn't have a backbone or a solid foundation.

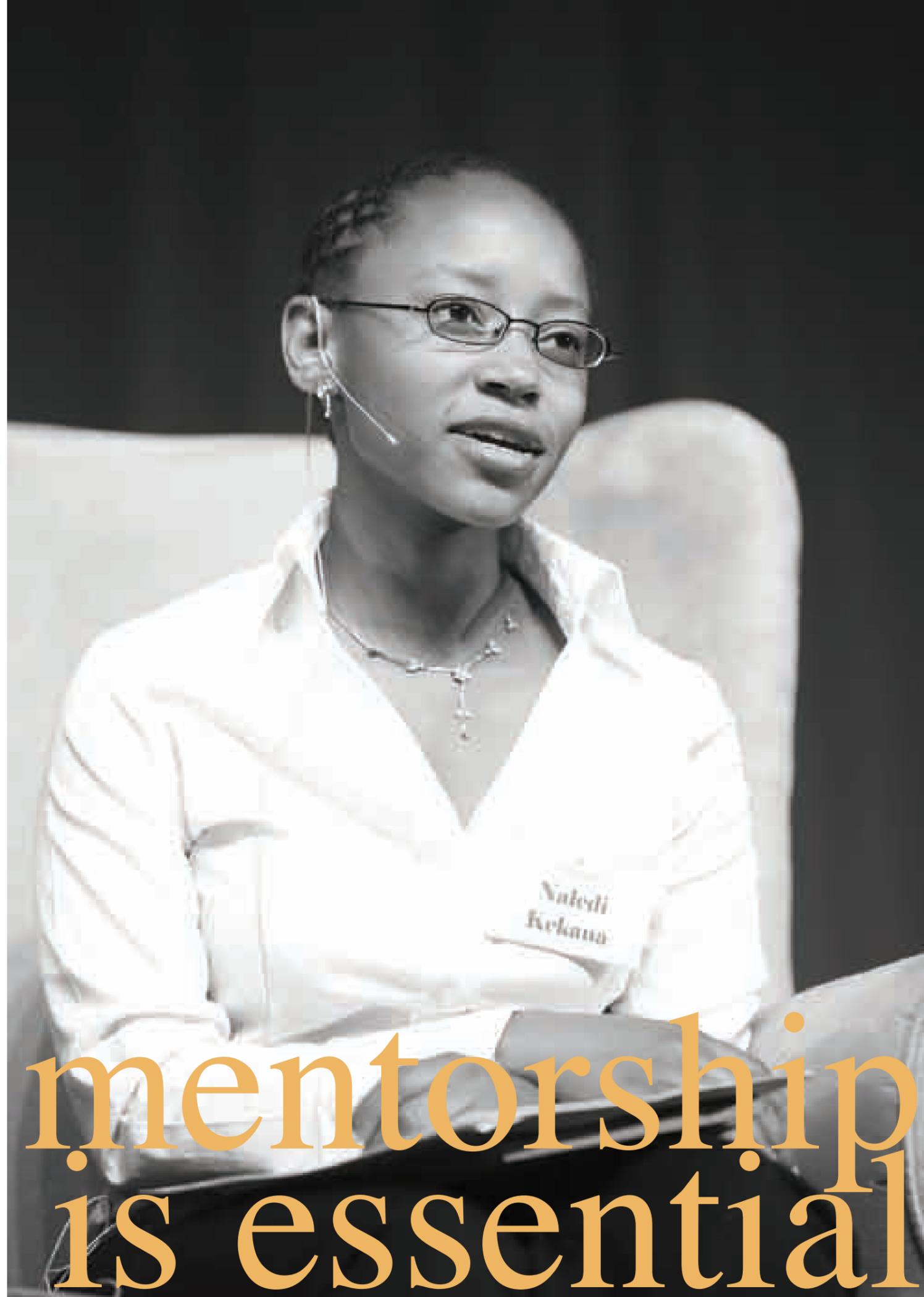
I think one of the strengths in trying to bridge the gap is that it creates a brilliant opportunity for mentorship. Mentorship is one thing I believe is not happening enough in this country and it's so important because it provides an opportunity for the elders to actively impart knowledge to our young.

I have been privileged enough to have had the opportunity to be mentored in different aspects by different women. It's very empowering because you have these women who will take you by the hand and tell you to attend events even though you tell them that you aren't strong enough.

They put you on the spot because they want to groom you and bring you up. I feel that as women we are each other's keepers and I think in mentorship it is about protecting and looking out for each other. Looking after each other and being able to grow together. From my own experience I think I have pillars around me and because of those pillars – women who played an active role in trying to mentor and support me – I somehow feel I have the world in my hands.

In closing, I think mentorship is really important and essential and there is no more reliable place to store and safeguard the lessons learnt of the women's movement and struggle than young women's minds, because at the end of the day they are custodians of this movement and we should mentor them. As they say, the future is not in the future, the future is now. Thank you.

Naledi Kekana, a trained dancer who is studying for a commerce degree, represented South Africa at the Goldman Sachs Global Leader Institute in 2007. She has participated in the Young Women's Knowledge and Leadership Institute in Dakar and is a member of the Young South African Women in Dialogue forum, as well as being a volunteer for various other organisations.



mentorship is essential

THANDI ORLEYN

Panellist

My name is Thandi Orleyn, and I never thought that I would be sitting here today talking about business. If you had asked me this question 20 years ago I would have said I can talk about anything other than business, but I'm proud to sit here and say that we as women are in a position to do just that – we can engage in a meaningful way about business.

I am with Peotona Group Holdings, a women's company that was set up about three years ago. I am proud to say that two of my partners are here and we are hoping that we are doing business unusual and hopefully we can share some of the experiences we have shared.

It's so important that the Youth Commission, the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the Department of Arts and Culture continue with these dialogues in order to remove the myths between the generations.

We are supposed to be dealing with it at home but it's different when you talk to your children at home than when you talk to young people in their own space and in their own sphere.

I reflected on business unusual and women empowerment, and I completely identify with the first one, which is business unusual.

I believe that my whole ethos and philosophy has always been, and will continue to be, business unusual.

Why do you have to subscribe to a certain approach or rules? We are born different, we are socialised differently, so why must we be expected to do things in the same way? But there comes a time when we are expected to do things in a similar way and I completely identify with that.

I come to the second part, which is women empowerment, and these terms "black empowerment", "women empowerment", are bandied around in our country and the question I have been asking myself is: who is empowering who? What is our expectation as women? Who do we expect to empower us? What is the context of that empowerment? What are we supposed to do as women as we are being empowered?

Women empowerment denotes being the recipient, whether good or bad, and it is so important for us to reflect on that issue. Having reflected on that I had to look at my experiences and put my experiences in the context of where we are in South Africa at this stage.

It's like a coin with heads and tails: we can argue convincingly that 14 years is a long or a short time so it's very important for us to look at the balance and realise that we are impatient, anxious and wanting to be there. We have got to remember that this is a journey.

It's a journey for the nation, for all of us individually, and like any other journey you get onto the train at different stations. For example, if you board a train from Johannesburg to Cape Town via Bloemfontein you'll have a different perspective to the person who catches the train from Cape Town or Bloemfontein.

So it's very important to know that as we reflect on ourselves individually we reflect where people are and where the country is.

I have a 23-year-old, a 17-year-old and a 20-year-old and we always engage on how they feel and how I feel about the country.

I talk about our struggle and they remind me that they haven't struggled. So it's important to understand that my journey starts from the struggle and my daughters' journey starts from the release of Nelson Mandela, so it's important even in this context of economic empowerment to look at it.

I've always admired people like Sis' Angie because they have always been in business, they

who do we
expect to
empower us?



have struggled there and so when I came into business I had to say to myself “there are women who have struggled, some of them have succeeded and some of them haven’t”.

Hundreds of women you started with have passed away, some are back in the squatter camps, some are struggling with blue

eyes and they don’t want to say where they got them. So there’s a whole host of things that we have to reflect on. We can’t isolate the economy from the whole social fabric of our society.

One of the things that I have been reflecting on is that we have huge green fields and huge patches of brown fields in the economic plateau of South Africa. The important thing that we need to learn is how to navigate the green fields and let’s plough the brown fields and manage the brown fields.

We have a country with infrastructure that is an envy of the whole of Africa and the questions are: how do we exploit that infrastructure to our advantage? How do we make sure that generations to come will be able to harvest from that? Since 1994, how much have we done about the roads to anticipate the cars that we were going to have in 2008?

Coming back to the issue of the journey, if you are going to go to Durban on holiday, you plan. You plan what you have to take, how you are going to get there and what you need, but the moment people reach a level where they have got to take responsibility for themselves and their lives they then abdicate that responsibility to the state. I am finding that post-1994 we are increasingly abdicating our responsibilities to the state. We have to plan our destination.

I had a mentor who unfortunately left and went overseas, an African American who stayed in South Africa for 15 years and decided to go back. One of the things he said to me, which shocked me, was: “Thandi, have you planned your death?”

I was shocked, but I realised that planning is realistic. He said if you are able to pray to God now and tell him what you want to do with your life, what makes you think that God is not going to give you that time? So we have got to really reflect on those issues and reflect on our economic development and

say we want it now.

What do we have to do to get it now? Is it realistic for us to want it now? If we say we want it in five years, what are we going to do between now and year five in order to get it? For me that is more realistic planning than shouting on platforms saying we want to be empowered when we don’t say when we want to be empowered. What is the extent of the empowerment that we want and how do we want to do that?

The second point I want to raise is the issue of the human bank. These days we call it networking. We share cards and then when we get to the office we put the cards away and never contact that person. That isn’t networking. You’ve got to think of it as a human bank: if you put money in your bank you don’t sit and watch it. You either withdraw it, or you change something and manage it.

Manage your networks the same way that you would manage your bank. I started developing my human bank when I was in high school and I can tell you I have drawn so much from it.

When you look back, you will see who you can help and who can help you and that’s how you manage your debits and credits. So I find it very important to know when I network to what end I am networking and how that will help me and how I am going to help those people.

I see mentoring as a part of networking. As a result I have more younger friends than older friends, because I plan to be here for quite some time. So those are the people who are going to be my friends 20 years from now. That’s my human bank that I will use at that time.

Lastly it’s important to look at our strengths and weaknesses; let’s work on our strengths and not stress about our weaknesses.

If you are applying for a job, don’t tell them about your weaknesses, tell them what you can offer the company – what you do best.

Thank you.

Thandi Orleyn is a director of the women’s empowerment group Peotona Holdings and a non-executive director of five other JSE-listed companies. She also sits on the board of the South African Reserve Bank. She was previously a partner of Routledge Modise Moss Morris Attorneys, national director of the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa, regional director of the Legal Resources Centre and director of the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration.

BUSINESS UNUSUAL: SPEEDING UP ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT FOR WOMEN

TABLE OUTPUTS

At the end of the first session, participants at the Malibongwe Dialogue were asked to consider the following questions in their discussions surrounding the preceding panellists’ remarks:

1. What is my personal involvement and/or experience in the empowerment of women in South Africa, regionally and in the rest of the continent (given the recent SADC resolution)?
2. What are my views on institutional involvement in the empowering of women and improving collaboration in all current activities?
3. What is our role in facilitating/accelerating the empowerment of the women in the global environment?



Discussions at the tables around the topic of Business Unusual: Speeding up Economic Empowerment for Women, within the framework of the questions, can be grouped under common themes:

Taking responsibility

- There is an individual responsibility to create opportunities and also to create support structures, particularly as the current structures are not adequate. Women should be asking themselves: “what are we doing to help, to empower women?”
- We need to ask how in our own individual areas we are able to make a difference.

Women need to stop abdicating all responsibility to the state and assume a certain level of responsibility for the socio-economic injustices and problems women face in this country.

Mentorship

- For the current climate to change, in which women still struggle to be economically empowered, there needs to be a strong mentorship structure in both the political and economic spheres.
- Women in positions of power have a duty to help others rather than to lord it over those who are still struggling. It is easy to be in office but not in power.
- To ensure that mentoring is an efficient method of economically empowering women, there is a need to exchange mentoring best practice.
- Mentoring needs to start at a school level.
- Respecting one another is key to facilitating economic empowerment of women.

Working together

- The struggle to economically empower women in South Africa shouldn’t be seen as an isolated movement. The struggle should be seen as a global movement with organisations from all around the world working together.
- Women’s organisations must find a way of working together so that they can use their collective power to bring change.
- Gender is not just about women, it is also about men. The power relations between men and

women need to be addressed. The societal paradigm requires that women engage with men to gain empowerment for women.

- Men must acknowledge the importance of women's empowerment. Men need to learn and engage in an equal society.

Creating opportunities

- There need to be systematic programmes, with definable aims, goals and deadlines, to help us empower women in this country.
- There is a need to create opportunities for women and girls as early as possible.
- We need to redefine the environment in which women empowerment takes place. We need to focus on creating an environment in which this agenda is supported so that women empowerment is not dependent on the individual. Instead, every individual who walks into a role understands that it is part of her responsibility to promote women's empowerment.

Looking at the youth

- There is a need for strong female role models. Children nowadays have nothing to look up to.
- We need to ask how we are socialising our children in the home lest we are perpetuating a paradigm under which our boy children feel superior and our girl children inferior.

Media's role

- The media must be an integral part of the discussions on the empowerment of women: they must not just come to these discussions to write about the happenings of the day; instead they should play an integral role in the

empowerment of women.

- Use the media to ensure that women's development issues are taken seriously far beyond current status.

Planning the way forward

- Succession planning is important for political stability as well as economic development. In order to think of women's empowerment and stability there is also a need to think of succession. Challenges arise when there has been no succession planning. Current political challenges have arisen out of the fact that there was no succession planning. A key component for succession planning is to ensure that women currently in positions of power are comfortable reaching out to those who can take over from them – people are often threatened by the people they are supposed to be empowering.
- There is a need for platforms at a community level to help women become economically empowered.
- There needs to be a push towards individuality.
- Budgeting for women's programmes needs to be developed in a much more sustainable manner. Thus, empowerment can be done in a continuous and consistent manner.
- Policies are formulated but implementation is poor.

Celebrating individuality

- Young women should be at peace with who they are, and not feel they need to copy others.
- It's not about the beauty, the glamour or popularity: it's about inner beauty and authenticity.

THEME 2

HARVESTING

From Each Other

The Harvesting From Each Other session of the Malibongwe Dialogue looked at how women should learn to use each other as a knowledge resource as well as how the struggles of the past can inform the way forward.

CHERYL CAROLUS

Moderator

I'm going to start, and you are just going to have to put up with me, and sing *Malibongwe igama lamakhosikazi*. I'm happy to see that so many young women, the generation of now, the generation of the future, know the words.

I want to welcome you back and I trust you have had a good set of discussions at your tables. The theme of this closing part of our morning together is Harvesting From Each Other.

We are here today at this point in the history of our country because giants have walked before us and we are blessed to have some of them with us here this morning. Many people in this room and many people who are not in this room have paid the ultimate price to bring us here today.

Some have given their sons and some of them have seen the lives of those close to them being taken away. Their blood has watered the tree that has brought us here today to talk about harvesting. Some of us have lost children that we have given birth to and some of us have lost those we have been in the trenches with. What this session is really about is to say to those who have gone before

us – those who have prepared the soil, found the seeds and planted those seeds, nurtured them and cared for them with their blood, sweat and tears – today we are free, free to choose what the nature of the path is that we will walk.

We know the road is still long and hard. I think in our earlier session, people constantly referred to the challenges we are still grappling with and in some ways they are tougher than the ones we have overcome thus far. We know where we have come from and we know that we did it and sometimes we forget just where we come from. That's why it's important to remind ourselves, because it was a tough, hard place.

We managed to overcome those challenges, but that's why we can't afford to lose our way in our journey towards full freedom in this country: where will not have the indignity of poverty, rape, a mother who cannot feed her child, where people die of AIDS.

If we do not continue our journey with care and courage we will trample on the sacrifices of everyone who has gone before us, including ourselves, and we will trample on our victories.





own your power

Currently in South Africa people are going through a lot of trauma and people are panicking. We are confused and anxious – and often these anxieties include many body parts. There is weeping, wailing, gnashing of teeth, navel-gazing and all kinds of other things that we do.

My view is a different one, actually. As young people would say, “just breathe and chill”. So today we are going to breathe and chill and we are going to focus on how we will harvest the fruits of our labours and the labours of the giants who went before us. We will focus on how to continue to fertilise our soil, plant new seeds as an ongoing cycle, because the huge responsibility on our shoulders – for those of us who have lived to see freedom, to taste freedom and harvest from that freedom – is that there is no free lunch.

Our responsibility is to look at the challenges we face as we did with the challenges of the struggle: we need to look at not what we are against but at what we are for. It’s a different journey and we are a generation to have known the beast of discrimination. Some of us are old enough to carry a badge of honour. Scars on our backs are a badge of honour to say: “I walk with my head held high because I helped to kill the beast.”

We are also lucky because we are young enough to be part of building a different future and that’s what today is about.

We are not just people who will sow seeds and not know whether a bird will swoop to steal those seeds, we are a generation who are harvesting and we now need to harvest some of the seeds from the plants that we sowed: to rework our soil, re-fertilise it and grow new seeds.

So let us stop for a moment. For this session let’s look at where we come from, the challenges, how we harvest wisely and how we replant. Every one of us in this room has power, so let’s stop behaving like girls – we are women and we have power. We are often coy because we think power is a bad thing. And we are so not there.

Own your power, embrace it.

This session is about how we use our power wisely. Thank you.

Business woman Cheryl Carolus, founder and Executive Chair of Peotona Group Holdings, began her professional career as a secondary school teacher in 1979 before taking up a full-time post of Provincial Secretary of the UDF Western Cape. In 1994 she was elected as the Deputy Secretary General of the ANC before becoming the Acting Secretary General of the ANC in 1997. From 2001-2004, she served as the Chief Executive Officer of South African Tourism.

every
one of
us in this
room has
power



MBUYISELO BOTH A

Panellist

Thank you Cheryl, my fellow panellists, Graça Machel. My name is Mbuyiselo Botha and I come from the Men's Forum.

I think Dr Bongani Khumalo is here and I would like to honour him and say thank you so much. I am merely a foot soldier – here is a man who thought that we can't enjoy the fruits of our liberation when women aren't able to walk freely, when they constantly have to look over their shoulders. I would like to say to him I've been privileged for what he has done in my life and for the concept that has liberated me personally.

I want to reflect on what it is that the icon Tata Mandela has given us in this country:

for us to enjoy this freedom it's important to acknowledge the role that women have and continue to play in that freedom, but also to say that we are not able to say we are free when the majority of the people in this country are not free.

One of the ways that we should be harvesting from the past leadership is to break the back of the patriarchal mode of the ANC as the largest party in this country. It has always bothered me why it is that since 1912 the ANC (by the way, the ANC is the oldest liberation movement in the continent, I think I can safely say in the world as well) has never had women as leaders, women who would decide and

determine the ANC's destiny, and I wonder why.

Polokwane events gave the ANC the chance to say, as the last (ironically) organisation that has freed the African continent, that it is time to walk the talk and ensure that we have the first woman president in this country. But I worry that we have missed that opportunity. You find the various women's movements quarrelling about which man to support.

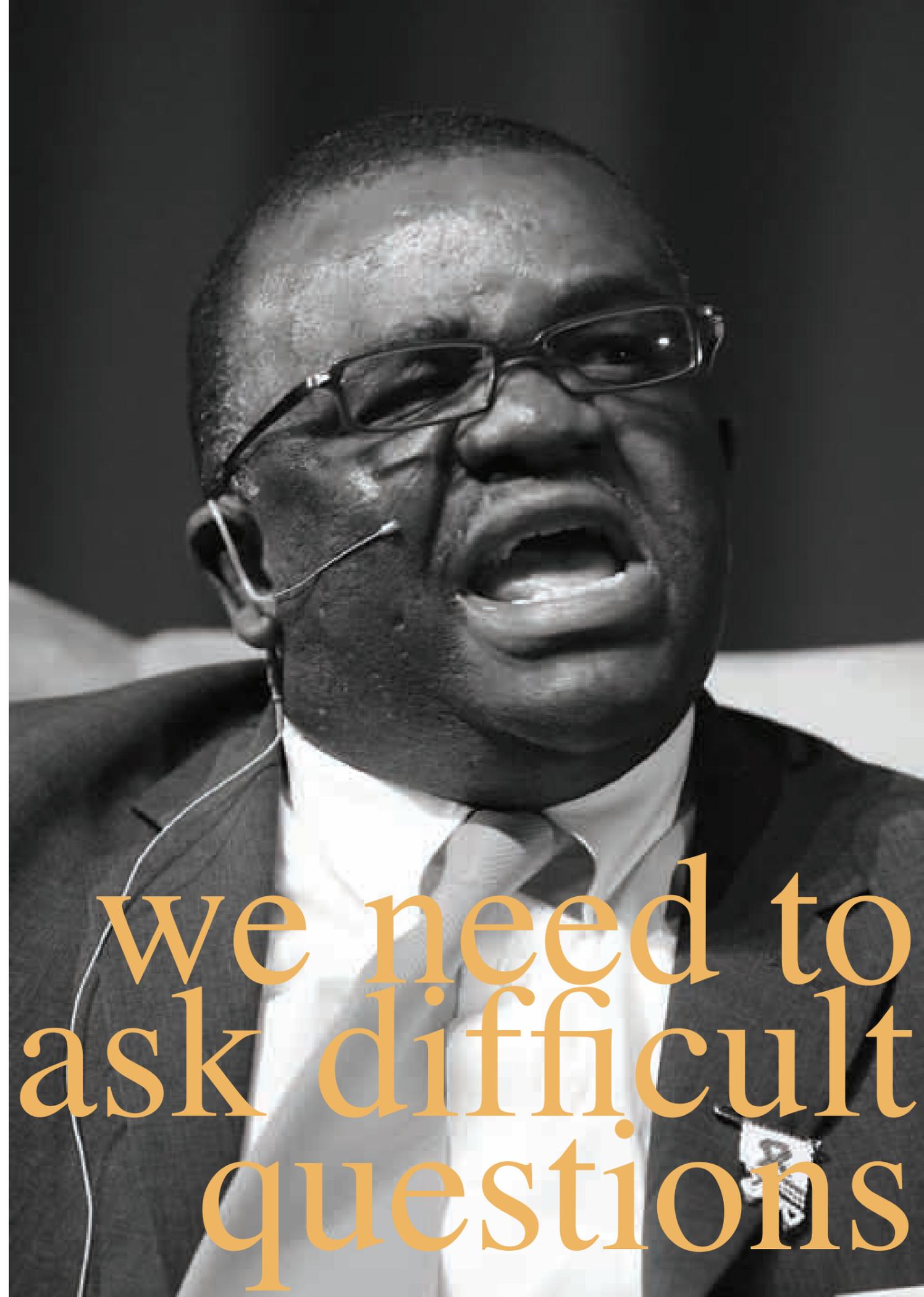
I think that as we begin to start this process of harvesting, we need to ask difficult questions, uncomfortable questions.

I listen to my two daughters when they ask me: why don't we have women leaders in substantive, important positions in this country? What do I say to my kids? Do I say it's not yet time? That women aren't good enough in the boardroom – they are only good in the bedroom?

I don't have answers, but I think that what this country needs is to vigorously begin a process of questioning ourselves, especially the men that are here. It is time to acknowledge that we have had lots and lots of time to be leaders, to acknowledge that there are women who are good, who have paid the ultimate price in this country. I think we must raise these difficult questions, so that we begin to see what we can learn.

What we should be doing as a country is to say the patriarchal mode has failed us because it has failed to send a clear message to the girl child out there to say these things are possible.

Mbuyiselo Botha was a founder member of the South African Men's Forum and is currently its secretary general. He is also a member of the national steering committee that plans the annual activities for the 16 Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women and Children campaign. Botha joined Sonke Gender Justice in July 2008 as a One Man Can Co-ordinator. He writes a weekly column called Man to Man Talk for the Sunday Sun.



**we need to
ask difficult
questions**

PREGS GOVENDER

Panellist

Iwrote a book last year called *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination*, which is a personal exploration of the power of hate, love, greed and fear, which I think is the dominant power that has caused wars. We need to examine how it has defined power and leadership.

I want to agree with you, Mbuyiselo, about what you have just said in relation to leadership. I want to raise the issue that I think is about the harvest and what the harvest is.

I think that every single one of us is a leader and leadership is not just about talking and having one's voice heard, it's about listening, and the act of listening is a very powerful act. When we listen to a child, a young man or a woman, we acknowledge and respect their power and what that means in terms of what it is that we do right now.

I think, like Cheryl, when she introduced this dialogue, that every one of us has influence within and outside the structures that we live and work in and it is time to use that power, both individually and collectively. I think that the collectives that we form are as strong as each of us individually.

I think that authoritarian systems of politics, religion and economics have affected us deeply.

We have each of us deeply internalised the values of those authoritarian systems, those principles.

I would like to share something which I quote in the book, and it's from a letter that Mr Mandela wrote while in prison at Robben Island. He said:

Never forget that a saint is a sinner who keeps on trying.

In his letter Madiba doesn't mention God or religion and it resonated with me because I have no belief in God and I have brought my children up outside any religion but with the deep belief in the power of love within ourselves and each other.

In his letter Mr Mandela shares a practice that he developed in prison to keep his heart and soul intact. He says he takes 10 to 20 minutes every day in which

he learns to know himself and the importance in personal growth of nurturing human qualities.

I believe that those qualities are the qualities of love. So that by facing oneself – being the mirror to oneself – one is able to powerfully connect deeply with everyone else.

Masechaba [Moshoeshoe] from Kaya FM, at a recent discussion about the book, said when she read it she felt that this was her story and that's what is very important right now: each one of us claiming our stories, sharing those stories, finding our own voices.

The power to use that collectively is as great as it was in the time of the first National Coalition, which Frene Ginwala was convener of. It is as powerful now as it was at the time of the trade union movement.

I think it's time to use that power again. I want to

The Traditional Courts Bill "aims to affirm the recognition of the traditional justice system and its values ... to provide for the structure and functioning of traditional courts in line with constitutional imperatives and values; [and] to enhance customary law and the customs of communities observing a system of customary law...". Department of Justice and Constitutional Development

give one specific example of how that power could be used. Right now in parliament there is a bill that will be passed called the Traditional Courts Bill and that bill is going to be devastating for the rural women of this country. I think it's time that women in this room find out how to mobilise and stand together against that bill.

I think there are many other issues that will be identified in the course of our discussion. Thank you.

Pregs Govender served as an activist, teacher and trade unionist and, later as an MP, she took responsibility for women's legislative priorities, reported on HIV/AIDS and registered opposition to the arms deal. She chairs the independent panel reviewing Parliament and is a member of the Panel of Eminent Persons tasked with developing a global human rights agenda by December 2008.

I think that every single one of us is a leader

ANTOINETTE SITHOLE

Panellist

I always look at the flowers and ask myself “why is it that we have different-coloured flowers on each table, why can’t we arrange one kind of flower?” But as you look at those flowers you realise that they are different for a purpose.

It’s the same with people: we may be white, pink, purple or black, but that doesn’t matter to me because when you combine those colours they become flowers, that’s what we are as human beings.

Harvesting from each other ... Most, if not all, inhabitants of this country have acquired diverse and important knowledge to be shared for the benefit of all and sundry.

Indigenous knowledge systems teach us to pass understanding on to the next generation, thus the younger generation are invited to harvest from their predecessors.

In my daily work at the museum, named after my brother, I meet and speak to many people from all walks of life. The conversations that I engage in have enhanced my understanding of issues far beyond the boundaries of our country.



For many years to come I will treasure the harvest. I have benefited from many people visiting the Hector Pieterse Museum.

At the museum we are immensely advantaged by the presence of the June 16, 1976 office, which is housed within the establishment. The foundation, of which I am also a member, was founded by the students who stood against bantu education. Being a June 16 Foundation member, harvesting from each other through either memories of those fateful days or reflecting on the present and the future of our democratic dispensation is a heartening experience.

According to the Foundation’s website, The June 16 1976 Foundation aims to deliver “purposeful and deliberate intervention to address the needs of the youth; [provide] a catalyst for the upliftment and development of individuals and their communities; [build] a widespread network of skills, capital and social (and business) support; and [ensure] sustainability of the Foundation’s work through partnerships with the beneficiaries of the Foundation’s work and other stakeholders”.

It’s our view that xenophobia is an abhorrent act of those who fail to appreciate that we should harvest from the experiences of our fellow African brothers. History will judge us harshly for our repulsive deeds and attitudes against the sons and daughters of this country. We have to defend the gains and ensure that there’s no oppression of man against man.

Motho ke motho ka batho. Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu (I am through other people). Thank you.

Antoinette Sithole is a board member of the June 16 1976 Foundation and a guide at the Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum and has given talks locally and internationally about the events of June 16, 1976, when her brother Hector Pieterse was shot and killed in the student protests.

harvesting
from each
other

ZANDILE MDHLADHLA

Panellist

Iwould first like to greet Graça Machel, Deputy Minister Ntombazana Botha (my boss), and all women leaders. When I was asked today to look at harvesting from each other at this time, for me it was very relevant. We are gathered to celebrate the birthday of Tata Nelson Mandela: a legacy of freedom, justice and development.

We thank him for the inspiration that he has been to us and for the examples he has set for us: love, compassion, forgiveness and selflessness among others. *Ngicela umtshela mama ukuthi* (please convey our message to him), we are saying that to him.

Our theme for the dialogue is Harvesting From Each Other and when I think of harvesting what comes to mind are people in the fields: relieved and happy to be reaping the benefits of their labour – what they have toiled for, cared for and nurtured for many days in the sweltering heat, in the rain and on those bitterly cold, windy days.

Harvesting from each other suggests taking the best from one another from our rich cultural, economic, educational and even ideological backgrounds, and harnessing our collective strength and power to forge a strong nation rich in diversity and, therefore, rich in experiences.

Our many languages are full of idioms and expressions that speak of our interdependence and reliance on one another to build stronger families, communities, societies and nations. “No man is an island”, “*motho ke motho ka batho*”, “*izandla ziyagezana*” (the hands wash each other) and “it takes a village to raise a child”: these are just a handful of examples that we should think about when we are harvesting.

After 1994, South Africa had to redefine itself and build a new and inclusive nation founded on shared values and common understanding of what it means to be a South African. I think this is a reflection of what it means to be a South African – that’s why we are all gathered here.

The building block of any nation is the family. What we learn at home we put into practice within

the community, which provides lessons on how to live among others who might be different from us.

The Moral Regeneration Movement owes its existence to former President Nelson Mandela who, upon taking the reins as the president of the new South Africa, called for the “RDP of the soul” to address the issue of moral regeneration. We are pleased that we have adopted the charter and we were able to present it to our former president this year on July 25, which was adopted by our honourable Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka.

That’s why I am inviting all of you as women to look at the values that put us together, for us to go forward. We have seen so many incidents in our communities and the question is, where are we? Are we in those communities? So I’m asking all of you to be ambassadors of these values.

I choose to uphold honesty, integrity and loyalty, show harmony in culture, belief and conscience. We are all aware of the exclusionary policies that resulted in the impoverishment of the majority of our people and in anger and mistrust.

Most of us will remember how marginalised and belittled we felt having our belief system deliberately trampled upon, undermined and misunderstood. We all know that when dishonesty and disloyalty abound mistrust is not far behind and chaos subsequently prevails. The mistakes of the past should not be repeated. Nobody should ever feel that they are left in the cold.

We are harvesting from Madiba’s legacy and let’s walk the talk. Thank you.

Zandile Mdladhlala is CEO of the Moral Regeneration Movement, which strives to build an ethical and moral community and promote positive values. She is also a director of several women’s investment companies and a board member of the Independent Development Trust.

harvesting from
Madiba’s legacy

NOMI NKONDLO

Panellist

Igama lam ndingu Nomi Nkondlo, ifani ndingu Mamqoco, ndiphuma pha e lokshini e Gugulethu. (My name is Nomi Nkondlo, I come from the Mqocwa clan, I grew up in the township of Gugulethu, Cape Town.)

Today we have a dialogue that has been put together for us women so that we can harvest from each other. One of the first things I did was to go out and find out what harvesting really means.

Harvesting is the act of removing a crop from its growing place and moving it to a secure place to process, store or consume it.

One of the most important things for me was that there is a social implication of harvesting and it's one of the most important times in the agricultural calendar, since it marks the fact that the crops have survived natural disasters and are ready to be gathered in.

So we harvest crops that have survived natural disasters; that's why we say *amava akagugelwa kubetheka* (one is never too old to learn).

When we harvest we must make sure that we harvest crops that have really gone through the process of growing so that we can reap the benefits quantitatively.

One of the most important moments is the social

impact of harvesting because when we harvest not only one person benefits, but a lot of people.

We still celebrate the harvest of the 1956 women. We still harvest from the women and the youth of 1976.

Now it's not only about those who were part of the happenings at that time, but it's for us to continue and celebrate those particular benefits. I am reminded of this and today it is time for us to celebrate those benefits.

When I heard about this theme I was reminded



amava
akagugelwa
kubetheka

harvesting is something that must happen for community benefit

of home. I come from the Western Cape and we all know that there are a lot of wine farms there. As a person who comes from Gugulethu I was always puzzled at the excitement of people from Mbekweni, Worcester and all those communities. When we are celebrating the festive season they are celebrating that there is harvesting and by virtue of that there will be jobs. They know that when January comes they will have some money, so that's what harvesting means to me.

So harvesting is something that must happen for community benefit.

It's something that must be able to live on beyond the moment and I think we are sitting here harvesting from women who, at a particular point in time, had someone invest in them, sow the seed. Today we are reaping the benefits.

An earlier harvest date may avoid damaging conditions but result in poor yield and quality. I think it's something we must also think about: delaying the harvest may result in a better harvest but increase the risk of weather problems, so timing is also a game that you must balance when you talk about harvesting.

When we sow the seeds, we must give them time. Sometimes we harvest early as we go into leadership; sometimes we think leadership is about acquiring positions – the status of the position – and so we rush (harvest early). We go there and take up these different positions forgetting that there's a responsibility, that these people must harvest from you.

If you harvest too early then you create problems for people. One of the things we are seeing today is that the urban population is becoming disconnected from the actual growing of crops. If we are disconnected from growing the crops, what are we going to harvest?

I think that it's important for the women here today to ask ourselves the question: we have reaped and harvested; are we, therefore, really growing the crops? Thank you.

Nomi Nkondlo is chairperson of the National Youth Commission and is involved in establishing a strong movement of young women through Young South African Women in Dialogue. She has been an activist and leader in youth formations since her primary school days.

HARVESTING FROM EACH OTHER TABLE OUTPUTS

At the end of the second session, participants at the Malibongwe Dialogue were asked to consider the following questions in their discussions surrounding the preceding panellists' remarks:

1. What is my personal involvement and/or experience in the lessons that the struggle provides for the next generation?
2. What are my views on how we can focus and revisit the values and lessons from the past for today's environment to strengthen families and society?

Discussions at the tables around the topic of Harvesting From Each Other can be harvested under the following themes:

Effective communication

- There is a need to understand people's thinking in this country in order to influence or empower women.
- The interpretation of struggle has been perverted, which has led to different problems and allows the segregation of women to continue.
- Women have to learn how to communicate with the self.
- It is important for information on empowerment to be easily accessible. This is particularly important within the workplace.

Women need to learn from each other, especially from elders, from older women and their experiences. We need nationwide conversations on topical issues



Finding ways forward

- The struggles of the past have created a society where women do not have confidence to empower themselves with freedom. In order to overcome these challenges, it's important to think creatively: encourage initiatives like Take a Girl Child to Work Day.
- Women need to create environments for women to spread their wings: centres of influence which have a strong focus on political mentorship: these centres have an obligation to advance the women's agenda.
- While having a mentor is extremely important, it is the values of that mentor that will be the most important aspect.
- There is a need to reach out to the women in the rural areas.
- There is a need to anticipate knowledge at a community level.
- We need to train teachers in teaching colleges to promote values in their leading. Dialogue also helps to learn and gain respect for cultural diversity.

Taking responsibility

- Women fail one another.
- Women need to use their passion and their strengths, and impart this knowledge to those less advantaged as a way of empowering them and the youth. This requires that everyone understand that they are working towards the same goal.



- There is a real responsibility to teach.
- There is a need to provide support to young women: to uplift one another and to reach out to those that are struggling to get up. How do we as women help the women who clean our houses (for example)?
- Women need to engage the youth in developing values that will enable the nation to thrive. It is important not to patronise the youth but rather to engage them so that they have ownership over the values they are taught.
- Imparting information and history to the youth begins at home. Parents must take responsibility for the values that are taught at home and responsibility for how children are raised.
- Women need to break the barriers that exist between women on the basis of class, generation or power so that they can harvest from each other.



We need to get rid of the notion that we are separate and better than or less than each other.

Learning from the past

- Women need to look into the past to inform the future.
- We need to introduce the history of liberation into the school curriculum and inform young people of the values embedded in the Constitution – including gender equality. A nation without a past is a nation without a future.
- South Africa functions on Western values and rules. This is out of alignment with the structure of society. South Africans need to go back so that we own our own values of *ubuntu* and believe in them.

Harnessing technology

- There is a need to use modern platforms to relay information and history to the youth.
- We need to use the media to further document the current socio-politico-economic situation in the country.
- Exposure is critical for people in impoverished communities to have hope. There is a need to play a role in giving others the exposure they need in order to see what is possible in the future.

Respecting yourself

- Empowerment begins with the individual. Only once you have been empowered can you consider empowering others.
- If women do not respect themselves, men will not respect them.



ELIZABETH THABETHE

Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry



The list of speakers I have to thank starts with acknowledging our Deputy Minister, my colleague, Sisi Ntombazana Botha.

Also to acknowledge Mrs Graça Machel, who is also one of the leaders we really cherish and who we hope will continue to support the struggles of women and children. Dr Frene Ginwala, former Speaker of the national parliament; we will forever cherish your leadership during that time as speaker of parliament.

Also thanks to Vesta Smith, for what she did for the women of this country and the struggle as a whole. [Thanks to] Rica Hodgson and Bongki Mkhabela –she is also one of the victims of the 1976 youth struggle. Sis' Angie Makwetla, who is the veteran of women in business and also a mother of transformation.

Another moderator, Cheryl Carolus: she was spearheading the United Democratic Front and you look at her today and say how has she survived and how is she able to balance family life and the struggle? Once High Commissioner and now in business and chair of the National Parks, she's one of the role models that the young women look to, to say it's possible.

Also to acknowledge the presence of Dr Bongani Khumalo, CE of Gidani, the lottery. Lastly, Andile Mbeki. He's graduated from being a youth but he's still a guru on youth economic empowerment.

Every year government also celebrates themes; this year the theme for Women's Month was Business Unusual: All Power to Women.

We hope that next year we'll come with report-backs. We want practical experience and reports out of this: how the mentoring and the networking is taking place. We believe that if you empower women economically, most of them will stay out of abusive relationships and be able to make a difference in many ways. Poverty has the face of a woman. Underdevelopment: the face of a woman. People in the second economy: women are in the majority.

I started this morning at Wits University. One of the students was doing PhD research on the contribution and mobilisation of the women in trade unions prior to 1994. The interviews happened around 2003/4. But to see what emerged out of that research and where those women are today: some of them are in government and some are in the private sector. But this is the history that South Africans don't know. They know the faces of the males who head trade unions and not the females.

The administration must make sure we have 50-50, because women fought for this on many fronts.

Mahatma Gandhi's quotation is good here: be the change that you want to see in the world. Thank you.

Elizabeth Thabethe is the Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry and a member of Parliament, former Deputy Chairperson of the African National Congress Womens' League, Gauteng Province and current member of the African National Congress National Parliamentary Caucus.



BUSISWA GQULU I AM A WOMAN

by Busiswa Gqulu



I am a woman and I'm proud to say it!

My body belongs to my family, which tells me where to go and when.
My body belongs to the troubles that led me into sin.
My body belongs to the God I serve, because I want to go to heaven.
Because someone told me Jesus died and for my sins was given.
A wise man said I should read my Bible now, take advice from my Saviour Christ, He was sacrificed to save our lives.

All I really want to do is live my life and let it mystify before I die.
Not spend my years asking why, but just go out there and try.
But because I belong to friends and relations,
Who even determine my determinations,
Who try to dictate my realisations,
Just to create their idealisations,
I cannot do that, I cannot grow like a free stem
Because I am not me, you see, my body belongs to them.

I want to make an impact, njengendlovukazi!
When I walk into a room, kuphele konk'ukwazi!
But I cannot do that if I have been deprived of my right to 'freedomation'.
I cannot rise to every challenging occasion,
I cannot truly help to develop this nation.

But what I can do is impart my strength to those whom I care to.
Those whom I gave birth to.
Those whom I gave myself to for better or for worse.
My sisters of better times, who now curse this woman behind her back!
They say I deservedly drown in deep troubles for what is life without them?
I understand them, the troubles, but I cannot stand under them.
They cannot break the spirit of this rock!

In fact, I am a rock and beyond.
Rocks get sanded by troubled waters in a moving pond.
I face my troubles and respond with unmovable firmness.
Rocks tend to tumble down hills,
Yet I climb up the steepest emotional mountains and overcome them.
Rocks crumble to pieces when the climate is harsh,
Yet in the harshest of times I become the strength of those around me.
And lastly, rocks can never endure the pains of childbirth...
Therefore I am more than a rock. I am a woman.

Chorus: I am a woman and I'm proud to say!

I am quite a young lady and in my short life I've seen
That life can be a ruthless predator.
It eats away at your joy and makes happiness a brief visitor.
But through all this I've also seen that one person remains standing always:
I call her woman.

I call her woman because she holds the keys to transformation.
You see, when you educate a woman, you educate a nation
And this education holds the key to transformation.
Transformation which is not merely about filling a man's position,
But about changing mindsets from their stagnant positions.

I call her woman because she heeds the call to action.
No matter where she is people feel her passion,
For it is reflected in her work.
I call her woman because she understands that actions speak louder than all the speeches we've heard, they tell a better story than a thousand words, so she keeps silent and lets her actions get heard.

I call her woman because she knows her worth,
As a caregiver, a nurturer.
I call her woman. Yes,
I call her W-O Man
I call her Well-Organised Man!
I call her "WHOA-MAN" because she is truly phenomenal.
I call her woman because she understands who and what she is
And she is proud to say...

Ngingumfazi,
Umuntu wabantu,
Umuntu ongumuntu ngabantu.
Umuntu ongabantu,
Onabantu ababheka yena uma bedinga uthando nempatho.
Umlando womfazi ukhombisa
Ukubanamandla, nesineke, nempumelelo.
Ekuthuthukiseni isizwe uye waba nogalelo.
Yebo, uyena ke owesifazane loyo.

Ngingumfazi,
Umfazi yena ufa azi
Ngingumama nonkosikazi.
Ngiyindoni yamanzi, nginogazi.
Ngingumfula wothando nolwazi.
Nabangaziyo bayazi ukuthi ngibona kabanzi.
Niyisibusiso sabaphansi,
Ekwathiwa "thathani, nasi!"
Esicwebezela singenabo ubukhazikhazi,
Kuphela ubuhle bangaphakathi.
Ukithi, Uyithi, Unathi.
Lo engikhuluma ngaye, ngumfazi.

I am a woman and I'm proud to say.



REFLECTIONS



We need to learn to participate as women. It's about time we changed the agenda of business, communication and so many things we do to fit in with who we are as women. The time is now!

- CRISELDA KANANDA, METRO FM



This dialogue was on another level. We have been challenged today. It's quite clear that the invites next year for the Malibongwe Dialogue will be based on bringing people back to report on what they've achieved.

- MOTHOMANG DIAHO, NELSON MANDELA FOUNDATION



It was wonderful. I'm leaving here today with the thought that there is no such thing as a fully empowered woman – every woman is at a level, but still has something to learn. Empowerment for women is a constant journey, it's not a destination.

- WANDA MKUTSHULWA, SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL PARKS



Next year these dialogues must be taken to all nine provinces so that women in the rural areas, who can't interact with these business women and members of parliament, can benefit, learn and share experiences.

- FUNGI RAKOENA, DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND CULTURE



If we continue with these dialogues we will be able to deal with challenges and in turn empower women. The audience was remarkable – there were different people from different spheres of life. The legacy of our living legend, Nelson Mandela, will forever guide us.

- ELIZABETH THABETHE, DEPUTY MINISTER, TRADE AND INDUSTRY



It was very empowering: I learnt a lot and the feedback that I got from the audience gave me goose bumps. The harvest theme was a very powerful one. We need to grow crops and give them time to mature before harvesting them so that we can reap a good harvest. I hope that young women were inspired so that we can pass the baton to them.

- NOMI NKONDLO, NATIONAL YOUTH COMMISSION



This dialogue was very inspiring, especially for me as a man. It encouraged me to look at ways to support women and to ensure that girl children find a way to business. It also means that we must close the generation gap by empowering the youth. I will not be happy with myself if I miss the next session of this nature.

- VINCENT KGOMO, NELSON MANDELA CHILDREN'S FUND



We need to afford women spaces for healing because they are abused, beaten and trampled on and they can't look for jobs if their self-esteem is low. We need to take care of the wellbeing of women.

- ANDILE GAELESIWE, TV PERSONALITY (OPEN DISCLOSURE)



The main theme [at my table] was that there are resources and structures to provide for the poor, but there is a lack of communication from government to the people. The other theme was that empowerment is a great-sounding word, but does it mean giving people money and things or rather "teaching a person how to fish"?

- JOAN JOFFE, BUSINESS WOMAN



A dialogue like this one is critical in inter-generational experience sharing. It is critical that the youth appreciate the value of our freedom, that they appreciate what had to be done to get here. We need to balance our own way of doing things with a modern Western influence. Something like this should carry on forever.

- MARGARET CANCA, 46664

Wathint` abafazi, Strijdom! Wathint` imbokodo uzo kufa!



MALIBONGWE 2007



CONTENTS

Foreword	Page 88
Introduction	Page 88
Welcome	Page 89
Brigalia Ntombemhlophe Bam	Page 90 - 93
Sophia Williams-De Bruyn	Page 94 - 101
Rica Hodgson	Page 102 - 107
Amina Cachalia	Page 108 - 111
Graça Machel	Page 112 - 115
Let's Dialogue	Page 117 - 123
Nelson Mandela	Page 124
Conclusion	Page 125 - 126
Reflections	Page 127



The text in this booklet is an edited version of the Malibongwe dialogue, which took place on May 30 2007 at the Nelson Mandela Foundation.

Special thanks to the Apartheid Museum, the curators of the Malibongwe Exhibition, featuring portraits of veteran women activists by Gisèle Wulfsohn.



FOREWORD

ACHMAT DANGOR

The Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF) seeks to contribute to a just society by promoting the vision and work of its Founder and convening dialogue around critical social issues.

Our Founder, Nelson Mandela, based his entire life on the principle of dialogue, the art of listening and speaking to others; it is also the art of getting others to listen and speak to each other. Drawing on the contribution that he, his colleagues and comrades made toward creating our fledgling democracy, the NMF's Centre of Memory and Dialogue encourages people to enter into dialogue – often about difficult subjects – in order to address the challenges we face today. The Centre provides the historic resources and a safe, non-partisan space, physically and intellectually, where open and frank discourse can take place.

The *Malibongwe* dialogue, with and about

stalwarts of the struggle for freedom, and the role that women played during those difficult, and often truly dark years, achieved a remarkable level of candour, unmindful of organisational or ideological loyalties. The critique of latter day South Africa, its achievements and failures, was characterised by robust debate, honest, yet without rancour.

The panellists shared their rich histories, the lessons they have learned over the years, their hopes for our country and regrets for the things not done, with an inter-generational audience, which responded with equal openness.

I trust you will find as much pleasure in reading this record of those exchanges as much as we in the Foundation have had in compiling it.



INTRODUCTION

MOTHOMANG DIAHO

The Nelson Mandela Foundation, in partnership with the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, hosted the *Malibongwe* dialogue to highlight the continuing struggle for gender equality and to act as a catalyst to encourage action on issues raised.

It was also an opportunity to salute all women who have struggled against inequality. We need to ensure that the struggles of the past were not waged in vain.

The organisers were spurred by a call by Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka on International Women's Day, March 8 2007. The dialogue featured some of the valiant women from the struggle alongside a new generation of women engaged in continuing the struggle for justice today.

Those brave efforts by South African women remain fresh in our memory, giving rationale to the Centre of Memory and Dialogue's proposition to host both an exhibition (initially displayed at the Apartheid Museum) depicting women's struggles, and to share these experiences and lessons with the generations after them.

This exhibition and dialogue established a connection between those past struggles and the efforts of women today, while not forgetting the role of men. It is hoped that the dialogue gave a renewed sense of urgency to various initiatives aimed at bringing the country closer to gender equality.



WELCOME

MALIBONGWE DIALOGUE

VERNE HARRIS

With the Centre of Memory and Dialogue steadily being put in place, we are aiming at two primary audiences: on the one hand a global audience, which has access to cutting-edge technologies, and on the other, systemically disadvantaged communities here in South Africa.

Some of you might have seen our comic series, which is aimed at young people. Our exhibitions are aimed at reaching people who don't have access to internet, transport to big centres and so on. We're hoping that all our exhibitions will then travel to centres which are accessible to people.

One of the big advantages of starting the life of an exhibition here is that it gives us an opportunity to consult with Madiba as we put it together and in the many consultations we've had with him, fundamental guidelines have emerged. On the one hand he's made it very clear that he doesn't want the Centre to focus on him as an individual, but that he was part of a collective leadership and that there are many, many voices which are not being recognised and given space. The Centre should seek to pay particular attention to finding those hidden voices and histories.

Another equally important guideline is that Madiba has said that he doesn't want us to sanitise history. In other words, it's warts and all and I think these two values are going to stand us in good stead moving forward. I hope you would agree with me that the *Malibongwe* exhibition exemplifies those two values.



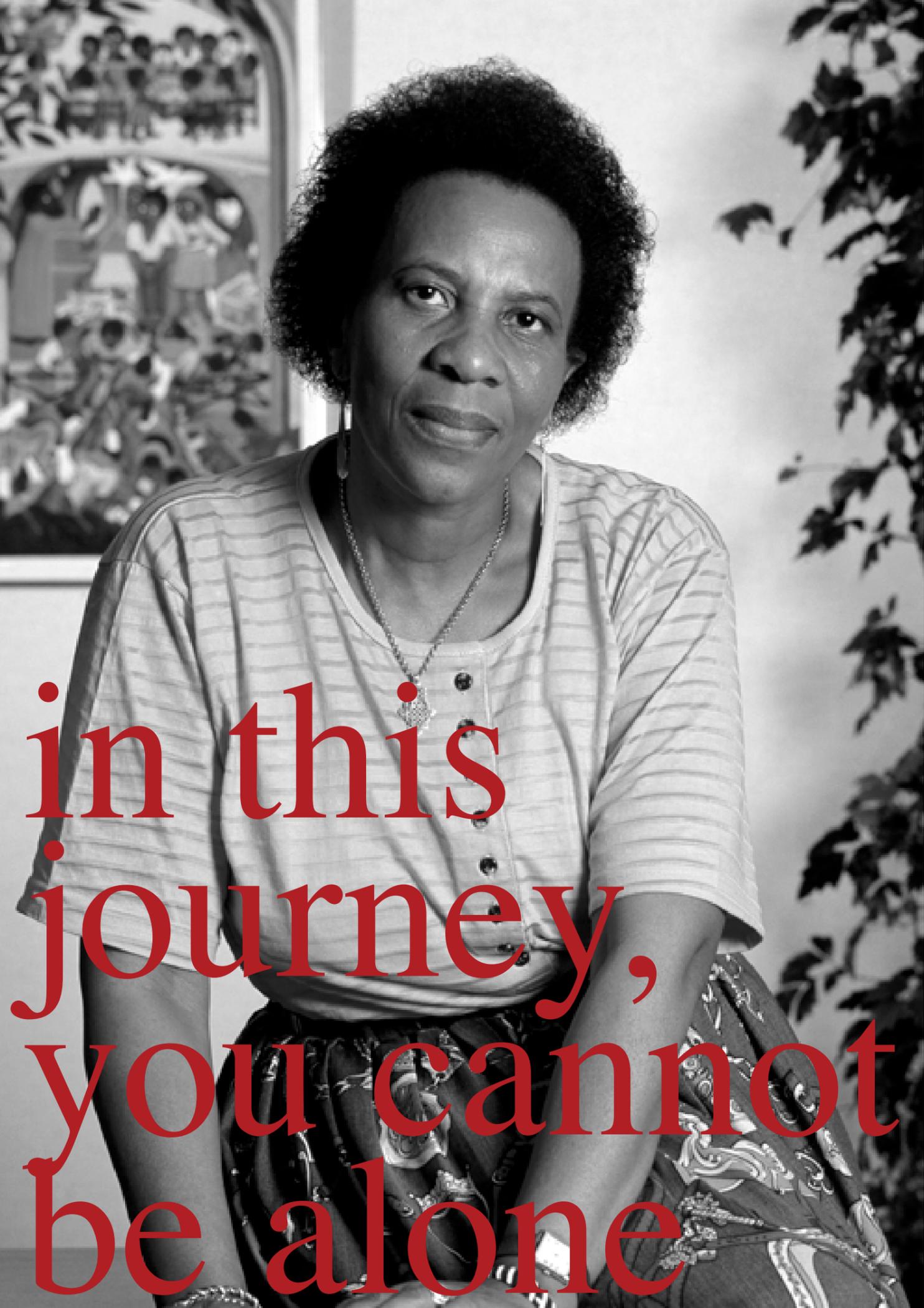
SIBONGILE MKHABELA

We saw the 1956 march by a staggering 20 000 women. Can you imagine that? It's hard for me to imagine that number of women marching, but we did, in 1956.

It's important to also note that that march took place a mere eight years after the Nationalist Party took power. And a year before that, the ANC had declared the Freedom Charter. It is interesting that it was women who first took to the streets.

It's also important that we sit today and we reflect on that march; it shocked not only the apartheid regime, but also the ANC. Walter Sisulu, the highest person in the ANC, remarked, "How could they, how could they do that?" But we do not only want to look back and romanticise the past, we also want to take lessons and move forward. "*Malibongwe igama lamakhosikazi*" (praise be to women) is one way of acknowledging the role of women in a country where we know that there is almost a memory loss as far as women's struggles are concerned. When we talk about political prisoners, all of us talk about Robben Island. The fact of the matter is, not a single woman was ever in Robben Island. There is a memory loss there, about what women were doing, except supporting men in Robben Island. Women themselves were incarcerated in prisons all over the country and of course the stories of Kroonstad have never been told. We need to remember that the seed planted in 1956 grew, because otherwise we take away from what happened.

I want to introduce you to my esteemed panelists We have Brigalia Ntombemhlophe Bam or rather Sis' Hlophe, Rica Hodgson, Sophia Williams-De Bruyn and Amina Cachalia. I will ask them to share with us their own walk. And how would I not acknowledge Mama Vesta Smith, it's hard not to look you ma'am, you are the biggest terrorist in the room! And Ma Bertha Gxowa. And of course Mama Graça Machel, we've always looked up to you in just so many ways. Today we again hold up the banner "*malibongwe igama lamakhosikazi*". I declare this dialogue open.



in this
journey,
you cannot
be alone

BRIGALIA NTOMBEMHLOPE BAM

Thank you very much, thank you for getting us all together. I'd like to thank those who have made such a wonderful effort, we look great, I'm sure, in that exhibition. Some people have been lucky that they were able to retrieve their old photographs and that put them at a slight advantage.

Thank you also for giving us this chance to be together so that we can tell these stories. I thought this gathering was only for us, the wise people, all those who are over 70, and when I came in I was surprised to see the others who are a little, little less wise than we are. But I understand that one of the things that help us, those of us whose memories are beginning to fade, is to interact with the young people because the more of these stories we tell, the more we are able to remember.

Last week I attended a memorial service of a colleague of mine called Sophie Mazibuko, she was a social worker. And some of you will know an organisation that was very active during the 80s, the South African Council of Churches (SACC). At that time the SACC had to be active because a number of organisations were banned. So it was through the SACC that we were able to support families of political prisoners.

I suddenly realised that we had not recorded anything about what Sophie did. In this country, Sophie knew every family that was in Robben Island. She knew where they came from, we kept very accurate files (by the way we didn't have your sophistication), and these files were always hidden somewhere in Beyers Naude's office because the police could come any day to find them. Sophie knew every family of ex-political prisoners because we were giving them monthly grants, which we were very sad to stop by the way, I need to say that, these monthly grants, because most of these men could not get jobs.

I say this because I suddenly realise how important it is for us to record the history and the

activities of women. And I made a vow after that that we will write something on this contribution of this wonderful woman, who for years did that work, the many stories she had, which with more time I would tell you now.

When you get an invitation that says, "Come here it's great," I said "My goodness, I'm so glad I'm in their database!"

When I was overseas for many years, when people ask you, "Do you know Nelson Mandela?" I said, "Oh yes, oh yes, I know him very well." Of course, you know, they don't believe you. And they'd say to me, "Do you know Miss Ellen Khuzwayo?" "Oh yes, of course, we were colleagues." Nobody believed me. "Do you know Desmond Tutu?" And so I lived overseas, very miserable that people thought I was name-dropping.

Oh, thank goodness Madiba arrived in Geneva and I was asked to join him. I was already at home then with Winnie and I told everybody I was in school with Winnie at Jan Hofmeyer, but nobody believed me. So I just want you to know that, yes I knew Madiba also.

In case you also think I'm name-dropping, I met him in 1955 when we went to Oliver Tambo's office. And when I was asked to write something about Tambo I told these wonderful stories about how they used to buy us biscuits, you know the Lemon Creams, those were more expensive than Marie biscuits. Some of us could only afford Marie biscuits. So to go to this office was quite a privilege and then of course Madiba being so generous, he knew my background because we all come from what was then called the Transkei and my father was a member of what was then called the Bunga. Those of you who have read a bit of history, one of the responsibilities my father had was to give scholarships to the, quote unquote "chief's sons" so that they could go to school. So it was in this context that he knew my family.

But on a much more serious note, one of the greatest things about the past, was that because of the

thank you for giving us a chance to celebrate our lives



deprivation of information and knowledge, those of us who had been to school and were lucky, we did a lot of reading. And I want to encourage you, our daughters, that in spite of your busy schedules and email and everything else, to cultivate the discipline of reading, because that was the only possibility we had. There were many courses that Africans couldn't do and so you wouldn't sit around, there were many books that were related to political scientists, people who wrote, and we smuggled these books. This idea of information and knowledge is very, very powerful.

We took care of ourselves and one of the things we did, was that because we couldn't straighten our hair, we used stones. I'm glad you don't use stones. But it was important that in spite of the busy life, women had to learn to take care of themselves. It's a discipline because women take care of everybody else. People often ask, "What sustained the women of the past?" We were sustained by the fact that we were able to have common values that kept us together and gave us the basis for the spirituality.

Now I know that, when you are busy and you have to fight for BEE and for equity, you know, life gets to be a hassle. But people need to learn the discipline of self and building the self, and also taking that time. That's the past, that's what helped us to still be on our feet today, most of us that are able to work.

What also kept us together was to network and to know that in this journey you can't be alone.

I think capitalism has always introduced individualism, but because of the deprivation, we were able to learn to share.

People laugh sometimes, our nieces and nephews laugh about little things, like when people used to say they were coming to borrow something. And when I went to my niece recently, who has very nice clothes, and asked, "Can I borrow your nice hat?" she said "Hawu aunty, my clothes!" That's how we lived, sharing everything. We shared food, we shared everything and that's very important. Sharing helps you to grow.

Maybe we are living in a society now that is different but I want to say to you, we knew everybody, we cared for people, we had no choice. You had to know who is your next door neighbour, you had to know who is poor, you had to know who is where.

On the journey of life and in the struggle, you can't do it on your own, you need a group and others. And that's why people were able to organise things without email, without the cellular, we didn't even have phones. But what made it possible was to



keep the communication on personal levels and those were the stories that we want to pass on.

And one last story is that of *ubuntu*. Nobody talked about it as a concept, it was a way of life. And it was that concept of *ubuntu* that also kept us going. It was the values that we were able to retain from our parents, the values of family. There was hardly any rape those days, you know, maybe I exaggerate. I was a teacher for a year and I don't recall a pregnant child in my class ever, but I won't go into those things.

Certainly, values have changed, morality and ethics have changed and I'm not there to challenge that, but I do want to say we lived at a different time when people used to say to us, there are certain things that are not done – *zikhona izinto nje, ezingenziwayo* – you don't have

to reason, you don't have to debate, it's a way of life. And that's what we have tried to pass to you our daughters, today, is how to keep those values, so that there is a legacy you leave behind.

Thina ukuthi sinishiye ngelegacy yevalues nani ke ize nibenazo ezo-values. (Since we have left you this legacy of values, you too must practise these values.) I think today you are what you are because we had to sacrifice; we had to leave things behind for you. Thank you for giving us a chance to celebrate our lives, it's important to celebrate

with you, because we will not celebrate on our own.

So I hope we keep getting together to share our experience and wisdom because you will not find it in any textbook. We can only share with you because it's in us, and sharing is the only way we can pass it to you. *Enkosi* – thank you.

*We can only share
with you because it's
in us, and sharing is
the only the way we
can pass it to you.*



for us
there was
great unity

SOPHIA WILLIAMS-DE BRUYN

Malibongwe, thank you very much. I always look forward to being in the company of young women as well as those who are in my own age group, and I think we can help one another, we can share our experiences with one another.

My experiences went in stages. The early 50s and early 60s was the march, the Congress movement, the Congress of the People; the late 60s, 70s and 80s was exile and then coming home in the 90s, up to this time.

In the 50s, we were involved in organising the march with Bertha Gxowa, she used to be Bertha Mashaba, and my colleague here, my friend, my comrade, Amina Cachalia, and those who are not with us anymore, and a large scattering of women, wide and far, and who are still alive, but are very frail and old today. But they are still alive and they are all over.

Brigalia spoke about that unity amongst women. Indeed, for us there was great unity, in the Federation of South African Women, under which the march was organised, and which was the Women's League of that time. I think I was the youngest, Ma Bertha, you were a little bit older than Amina and me. You, Amina, and I, were the youngest. I was Ma Bertha's bridesmaid.

I used to visit Amina in her flat during the 50s, Amina, when you were lying at home, you couldn't move around. She was told by the doctors not to move too much because she was pregnant and there was a threat that she would lose her baby, so she had to go *hamba kahle* (go easy). So we come a long way with our comrades and friends and I'm glad and happy

We had strategised that if the police come to arrest us, all of the women will kneel down and pray. They didn't tell them that. Now when they kneel down and pray, who's going to wrench them to take them to jail?

and grateful that we are still together today, and we support one another in our own old age and in our frailty.

So the "Great March" was perhaps the highlight of my life. People always ask us, "How did you do it?" Because they know, and we know better, that there were no resources during that time. No money, no resources, we didn't even have telephones to communicate with one another, to pass on strategies to one another, and there was no money to do the things in a great massive organisation and mobilisation campaign. But we marched, 20 000 women.

Now 20 000 women is small in comparison to today's numbers. You know yourselves that when we have rallies nowadays, the people that turn up at the stadiums are over 80 000, or 40 000. But this 20 000 women for us was a great number, it was a huge number, it was a volume of women. But we know, Ma Bertha, you and I, and Amina, we know that there were more than 20 000, but the documented number was 20 000. Because there were those that were late, they were misdirected, they were turned back, they were slapped, some of them were locked up on the eve of the day and only released in the evening, just so that they couldn't be part of that march. So we know that it would have been more than 20 000. Women came from

Port Elizabeth, they came from the Free State, they came from Natal and so on and so forth, and from the Transvaal. We didn't have these nine provinces, we had the old provinces at that time. But this march culminated from the previous march where we only mustered 2000 women. It was a build-up, because women in the other provinces said that if the Transvaal women can

within the ANC leadership the women were not recognised

do it, why can't we all be part of the march? And so they rallied and organised and mobilised themselves in their different provinces.

The Eastern Cape women came from Port Elizabeth and hired two coaches which cost them £90 Sterling. Where did that £90 Sterling come from, who was the kind donor? It was nobody else but themselves. And how did they raise that £90 Sterling? They came to the branch meetings over a period of time and in the branch meetings, the comrades would make tea and they would have baked scones, the humble scone, and they would sell these things to one another in the meeting. And others would take their – in exile we used to say “local chicken” (“local chicken” means the chickens that grow up in your backyard) – they would take that chicken and make a curry or a stew out of it and cook their rice or their pap and sell it to one another. Others would crochet, others would knit, others would sell clothing, and so they raised funds to come to the Union Buildings. In various provinces they did various things but from what I know, in the Eastern Cape, this is how they did it.

We are also asked if we did not feel that these women would let us down, were you assured that these women were coming, how did you know that these 20 000 women would be there? And we say, yes, we felt assured, because as we were driving to Pretoria ourselves, women were waving out of the trains and singing in their green blouses, so we felt very happy to know that they were going to be there. And when we arrived at the Union Buildings, there was this multitude of women that had already arrived.

You know sometimes we reminisce and we look back at the times of then and the times of today. Brigalia said that the lifestyles are changing and values are changing. Yes, the women of that time had great values: respect, discipline, dignity and commitment.

I'm talking about the discipline because when we arrived at the Union Buildings, as they were standing in a great group, when they saw us and we chatted to them a little bit, they just opened up because we said, “Now it's time for us to start marching up to the Union Buildings.” They just opened up, nobody said, “Excuse, excuse me, let me pass,” they just opened up by themselves and the leaders walked up and the other women followed behind.

And they marched up those steps, dignified, gracious and very disciplined. Some had babies on their backs. They had, what we call today, their *scaftins* (lunchboxes), they depended on nobody for anything, they depended on themselves. They didn't

say, “Oh, are they going to provide us with lunch?” No, they depended on themselves. They were disciplined enough to know that they must pack something into a *scaftin* to eat up there. Somebody was asking, how did they come, to Ma Bertha and I outside. “Did they come over a period of days, how did they come, when did they arrive?” And we said to them, that no, some came during that day, they arrived at the moment.

We had our headquarters in Johannesburg in a basement office and we were kept, you know like a kept woman is kept by a man. The Coloured Congress and the African National Congress, we had very, very little money to run our organisations. I was an organiser. On the corner of Market Street and West, there is a building, and if you get inside the building, there are steps going down to the basement. And when you get into the basement, it's a huge hall, very huge hall, and the African National Congress (ANC) had a station, what we called a desk, and a portion of this hall, and the Coloured Congress had

They just opened up, nobody said, 'Excuse, excuse me, let me pass,' they just opened up by themselves and the leaders walked up and the other women followed behind.

another desk or portion in this hall. So the Transvaal Indian Congress was given this place to operate from and they had an office of their own inside. And everything that we did, we were helped by the Transvaal Indian Congress. Indian merchants of that time were willing to give in kind, but they didn't want to associate themselves with the African National Congress or the Congress movement.

In other words, they were willing to oblige with money, funds and perhaps this building and other things that they would do clandestinely. They didn't want it to be known that they were assisting this liberation movement or the African National Congress.

So we were in this building that we were sharing with the Indian Congress and I remember the machines, roneo machines. Mam' Bertha and I know about the roneo machines. Mam' Bertha was telling the other ladies that when we know we're going to give out pamphlets and maybe, say, we're going to inform five branches about something, then we will



have five pages and inter-layered in those, carbon paper. So in handwriting you write everything about the notification of whatever. The other way we used to do it, too, was the old roneo machine and what they called the squeegee. We used to wait for Dr Essop Jassit, who was a student at Wits University, and he was the sign-writer, he had wonderful handwriting. We are old now, but the late Babla Sallogie and Abdullah Jassit and Herbie Naidoo and so on, and sometimes Amina would come when she feels she is well enough to come.

So we would prepare everything so that when Dr Jassit comes from university, he would come straight there. The discipline that you spoke about, Brigalia. And we would all be waiting for him and he writes his beautiful sign-writing on this paper and takes the ink and puts it on and then rolls it, the letters, it will be rolled and after that we pull off the top layer of that transparent paper, and there's this beautiful pamphlet.

So from that we would roneo-duplicate all the leaflets that we need. And the young people, we as young people, those that were still at school like Essop Pahad, they would come from high school, some of my friends would come from the factory and we will all make all the leaflets. We put the pages on the table and we would collate them, passing on to one another, until the last one would staple it, then you have your leaflet. So, you know, people were committed, they were disciplined. We didn't know about the word deployment, but they know that after work, they would be deployed.

The great march took place; Strijdom ran away from us, the women were very successful and joyful. The ANC leadership ... the women were not recognised and the men, the hierarchy, kept a very low profile about this march. They didn't talk about it and we went on with our plans until the day before the march, when the leadership, Walter Sisulu and also the late Albert Luthuli, called Helen Joseph and Lillian Ngoyi to their offices.

They were anxious because things were beginning to appear in the press and they were asked, in a very angry spirit, "Now you women, do you know what you're doing?" And they said "Yes, we know what we are doing." And they asked, "And you are going ahead with what you know is a very dangerous thing that you are doing and you can be arrested?" And they said, "Yes, we know we can be arrested." And then they said, "What's going to happen if you're going to be arrested?" And Lillian said, "The women know what to do if they are arrested."

So Walter says, "Now what is this that you say

women had respect, respect for themselves and respect for their leaders



the women know? What is it that they know they will do?" And they said to him, "No, when we are arrested there will be other leaders that will take our place." And they seemed half-heartedly to be satisfied with that, but Helen says, "We didn't tell them the truth." And the truth was that we had strategised that if the police come to arrest us, all of the women will kneel down and pray. They didn't tell them that. Now when they kneel down and pray, who's going to wrench them to take them to jail?

And so the march took place. After the march women went home not trashing the Union Buildings' gardens. In their anger they could have trashed the Union yards. Those beautiful shrubs and those manicured lawns could have been a disaster but because they were disciplined, they didn't do that. Why didn't they do that? Because they had respect for themselves as women and they had respect for their leaders and they had dignity and they had pride and so they marched as they came, in a disciplined way, they marched back to the bus stops, to the train stations and to the taxis. What did they do instead, where did they channel that anger? Into that song, *Abafazi*, they channeled their anger into that song, "Strijdom you have struck a rock, you'll be killed." They sang and they sang; they didn't trash anything.

I'm just trying to say that when you look at that time and you look at today, we find that when these big marches take place in our cities, our people are beaten up, our cities are trashed, the hawkers' stalls are thrown around and even their goods are taken.

They won't think of channeling their anger, and you'll ask them, I've asked many times, "But why do you do this, why do you disrupt your own properties, because what is in the country is your own?" And so they will say, "No, no, we were angry because perhaps so-and-so minister or so-and-so premier didn't come to take the memorandum, it was given to some junior person or to a middle manager, and so we were angry and that's why we did it." But the women, too, were angry, they were also very, very angry, but instead they contained their anger and channeled it into something beautiful, the beautiful singing.

So those are some of the lessons that we should be handing to our younger people. Coming back home, being in exile, there we were under the umbrella of the ANC as a liberation movement. We felt as we were in exile, our children are growing up, they are going to these hi-falutin schools, where it's still British education, where beautiful English is still spoken, the syllabus is English syllabus, the queen's language and our children spoke beautifully,





what we called in Nyanja (Nyanja is a Zambian language), the word is “*apamwamba*” and there are these *apamwambas*, our children growing up as *apamwambas*. And so the mothers came together and said we should be doing something about our children not knowing our culture, not knowing our languages, not knowing our folk law and we came together and we talked about it.

There is a comrade which some of you may know, his name is Sindiso Mfenyana. Sindiso was the secretary of the parliament in Cape Town, his wife is a Russian lady, it was Rita, this Russian lady and one uncle, we used to just call him “Malume”. And we assigned them to teach our children our folk law, and there was another uncle that joined them, the three who should teach them our dances and cultural things of art. My daughters, Sonja and Danielle, can kick their legs very high. They know how to dance *ndlamu* (a traditional dance) and gumboot dancing and all the dances, they know it.

So I’m just saying that we thought that we should

steer our children in the right direction, so that they know their culture and so on. And coming home in the 90s ... I listened to Ronnie Kasrils last night on 702 and Ronnie was saying when they asked him, “How did you adjust when you came home from exile, was it difficult for you to adjust?” And he said, “No, it wasn’t difficult.” And I want to talk about how I adjusted coming back after being away. I left in 1966 to exile and we came back 1990, so the better part of my life was spent outside. I want to say to you that it was for me a bit difficult to adjust.

Because we had unlearned, when we got there, in exile, there were a lot of difficulties coming from a country like this, and so you had to start learning to adjust there. And then you started adjusting there and you lived that life and then I can tell you a whole lot of experiences that we made in this adjusting, but there isn’t time. I found it a little bit difficult to adjust as a grown up because I had led another type of life and I had got used to other things, so it wasn’t all together easy and things have changed in your

country now. We didn’t have highways when we left, we didn’t have these many suburbs when we left, and so on and so forth. And what got to me so much was when I go to the supermarkets or to the delis or I just pass and I get that smell of these fried foods and so on, it really got to me.

Because in Zambia things were rough and ready, we would go to buy the vegetables and we would find the truck just arriving with fresh vegetables, potatoes still have the earth on it, tomatoes have just been picked. You go to a butcher and you want to buy meat, you find that the people are just carrying in this whole ox and the blood is dripping, you know, fresh things. And so you go into the supermarkets here in South Africa, you find everything is pre-packed and everything looks so unhealthy and everything is so not fresh,

you know, it is fresh but it doesn’t look the fresh that we know, and so it took a bit. I couldn’t take it when I pass these delis that smell – I wasn’t used to the frying and all that kind of thing.

So after some time, we adjusted. And also I must say, it’s very difficult with your own families, your families that you left behind and here you come back, you don’t speak about the same things or you can’t interact with them in the same way that you would have interacted. So I’d just like to say to the

younger people here that it’s difficult nowadays and we can’t say to you that, “Look, live like this in the way that we lived.” Meaning that we had certain values that we adhered to, there are certain things that we didn’t do, it was just a no-no, and so you didn’t do them and you were disciplined enough to not do those things. Thank you.

*Others would crochet,
others would knit,
others would sell
clothing, and so they
raised funds to come to
the Union Buildings.*



RICA HODGSON

I'm glad you said you were short of time because my life is long, I mean in a month's time I'm going to be 87 years old. So I've been in the movement for almost 60 years, it's a hell of a long time. And so I've got a long story and I'm writing a book so one of these days, before I die, I hope, I'll finish it.

When I was phoned by Naomi Warren of the Nelson Mandela Foundation and asked to speak today, I said, "What am I to speak about?" She said, "Well, we want to give young people lessons to follow." I can't give any of you young people any lessons whatsoever. And the reason I can't is because you are all very well educated, you have degrees, you have ambition, you have good jobs, you've already made money or you're so ambitious that you just want money. And we didn't have any of those things, I mean I have matric, and that's as far as I ever went. I started nursing but unfortunately I had to give up before I finished and I went into politics. Actually, I didn't go into politics, I was thrown into the deep end.

My very first job in the movement and I say "movement" in broad terms because I had a lot of bosses – I don't know who they were. Yes, that's right, I never knew who was giving me a roof over my head or food on the table. Whether it was the Communist Party or African National Congress or Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), I was never sure who my bosses were. But nevertheless, I worked with some wonderful people. My very first job was with my late husband, Jack Hodgson, who was the national secretary of the then Springbok Legion. The Springbok Legion was the first ever anti-fascist organisation in this country, and the second next to the Communist Party then, that had no colour bar at all. And it did a wonderful job in the years that it lasted. It was for ex-servicemen and the idea was to bring into civilian lives the ideals for which the Second World War was fought against Hitler.

To do away with racism was the main thing, the

main thing that motivated me anyway, and the idea of freedom. So on my very first day, my husband offered me a job as a fundraiser, I wasn't married to him then. I said, "What's fundraising?" Then, I had no idea, I'd never done anything else. And he said, "Well, you go out there and you get money" because no organisation, as Sophie said, can work without money, and I became a fundraiser, comrades. I understood from Albie Sachs the other day, he was speaking to me privately, and said, "Rica you were the best fundraiser the movement ever had." Well I don't think that's true but it's what I mainly did. Anyway, I said, "What's fundraising?" And he said, "Well, you go out there and you find your salary, that's your first job. If you don't come back with money, you don't get a salary."

So from there the Springbok Legion threw its weight eventually behind the Congress of Democrats, which was the white wing of the Congress Alliance, ANC, Indian Congress and Coloured People's Congress. So then I became the



where were the bombs first made? in my kitchen, with an old pestle and mortar

fundraiser for that organisation. I was told what to do, I never asked. Some of the things I did briefly are what I'm going to now tell you. I did that job, then 156 people were arrested in the Treason Trial, including my husband. I became the fundraiser for the Treason Trial, and eventually also the secretary. Because you had to just take jobs, I mean, nobody else was there to do it. While you were fundraising you were told to take over the secretarial work, so I did it. I think Mr Mandela must have been one of my bosses at that time.

After the Treason Trial Fund, there were far more trials happening in the whole country and so the South African Defence and Aid Fund was formed and I then became the secretary-plus-fundraiser for that fund.

In 1954 I was banned, so I was never at the Women's March, I'm afraid, nor was I at the Congress of the People. But it didn't stop me and Amina's late husband, Yusuf Cachalia, from collecting all the food for the 3000 delegates at the Congress. If you remember, there were two famous banners. One said: "Soup with meat" and one said: "Soup without meat." It was the women who did the work there. Every morning they came, they had to wash and scrub out oil drums and make fires in the open to cook for their Congress and people. And they put up trestle tables and they cut food to make soup with and without meat all day. And there was bread, there were lots of things donated, we didn't pay a penny for any of that food, it was all donated from Yugoslav butchers who'd come over, from bakers who were sympathetic, from all kinds of people.

So from there, that was 1954, yes, I was banned in 1954. Now then, I'll skip now because in 1960 Sharpeville happened and then we were thrown into detention, thousands of people were thrown into detention, men and women. And what I remember about that detention was when we had to move from the fort (the Women's Fort, now part of Constitution Hill), we didn't know where we were to be moved to.

And this is where women came in. When we were told to move, we said, "We're not moving, we're just not moving, and that's it." And we lay down on the floor when we were supposed to go, we were supposed to pack, and then we, all women, lay on the floor and demonstrated, "We're not moving, do what you like but we aren't going. Our families are all here; we can't go anywhere else around the country." When the police vans arrived to pick us up and take us off, and they said to the matron, and in her favour the matron of the fort in those days was an amazing woman, I mean we had some hefty women there, you know, how were they going to carry us out?

She said to the wardresses, "You carry them out." Well you know, I mean, it was a problem, there were 21 of them. And so these men came in their vans and said, "We'll do it, we'll take them," and she said, "You don't put a finger on my women!" Now that, I never forgot. Solidarity from all queer places. So we were taken like sacks and carried out, I mean I really felt sorry for the wardresses, I mean poor things, they were having a hell of a time carrying us down and just threw us into the vans.

We were taken to Pretoria, which is a real hellhole of a jail, I mean the worst ever. After that, we women started a hunger strike in Pretoria, because nobody would tell us when we were going to leave, what was

happening to us and it was difficult for our families to get there. So we staged a hunger strike and we sent a message out in Helen Joseph's bun in her hair to Nelson Mandela in the Treason Trial because she was allowed out every day, she was one of the trialists, to tell them that the women had gone on a hunger strike. So then the men joined in, in their part of Pretoria, wherever they were. So anyway that was just an episode I thought you'd like to share with me.

Then we were taken to, well we went to other jails, but anyway we finally finished up at home back to what I had called "normal life" but it was never normal. So MK was formed, in 1961, and my husband became the first bomb-maker, he had certain skills. He'd been a miner, so he had some useful skills. He was one of the founder members of the MK.

Where were the bombs first made? In my kitchen, in my kitchen, with an old pestle and mortar. The pestle used to belong to my mother, one of these heavy, heavy brass things. Jack was never a well man, my husband, he was always sick from the day

I met him, always had problems but never stopped working, till the day he died and never lost his enthusiasm for freedom in South Africa, ever.

Anyway, there was my son at 14, grinding. One day one of his friends came and we were under house arrest then. And the friend said, "What are you doing?" Spencer said, "My father's just experimenting, you know, he's got time on his hands

under house arrest here." This kid was very good at science, he smelt this and he said, "My God you can make bombs out of this, do you know that?" And Spencer said "Don't be silly, I mean ..."

In comic number two of the life of Nelson Mandela, Nelson's talking in that comic about the first bomb. They went to experiment at the old brick fields near Bedfordview and at first the bomb didn't go off, and my husband jumped into the hole

to go adjust it because it was his bomb and then got out and then you just see this thing going and Nelson saying, "It's worked!" And they were all safe, they didn't lose any limbs or anything.

And now for my comrade over there, Achmat

*And then we,
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to do
away with
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thing that
motivated
me

Dangor, who can't use that word (comrade), I don't have an inhibition about it, I have used it for 60 years. At that time I got what then I'd call the Indian collections, and I wanted to say for your benefit and any other Indians who may be in the hall, for everybody to know that at a certain period in our history, a very important period, the Indians became the backbone of the struggle in the manner in which they gave money in this country.

It was never easy, it was always like drawing teeth, but they gave, and God forbid you should ever write a receipt for them. So everything came in cash and you wrote a receipt saying, "a friend" and "a very good friend", depending on how much money they gave.

Anyway, I wanted to say how eventually we were told we had to escape, Jack Hodgson had a special job to do in Botswana, then Bechuanaland, a British protectorate. Unfortunately we were in possession at that stage of British passports, my husband and me; our South African passports had been confiscated in 1954. So we escaped and we got there but now we had British passports and we were in a British protectorate. The Brits deported us from there to Britain. There was a kidnap attempt on us, another special branch, while we were there, but anyway we got through that.

So it's been a long and dangerous life, comrades, but I would do it all again.

I then got to England, now the Rivonia Trial had just started, and I had to work. I was all the time the main breadwinner, I mean I also sometimes didn't get paid at all, but that was in the lap of the gods, you know. My husband hardly ever got paid I think, but he worked, he carried on regardless, so somebody had to bring bread into the house. So I needed a job, and anyway, I still wanted to do a job that was worthwhile.

So I went to see Canon John Collins of St Paul's Cathedral, me the atheist, and I had to prove myself first. I did by organising a function before I started work and it was successful. We got Robert Resha and Ronald Segal to speak and it went well and people gave us money in England; it was my first ever attempt at getting money.

I forgot to mention, comrades, I was also the secretary of the *King Kong* committee. I got the job, by the way, as fundraiser for the British Fund and secretary, dual work. So then I think I worked there 17 years, because thousands and thousands and thousands of people were then being thrown into jail in South Africa. There were less and less breadwinners around, the children were starving, the

wives were starving. So something had to be done.

Now the fund was banned in South Africa, and so we couldn't just send money in under our name, we had to devise something and we did. I devised a very easy plan, but agents that came over from Gordon Winter to Williamson never, ever discovered who we were. We paid for all the trials, including the Rivonia Trial.

We saved all those lives that might otherwise have been hanged, those people. We sent millions and millions of pounds, in cash comrades; I used to go with a shopping bag to the bank to get the money, every two months, to pay the families in South Africa. And we got people from all over the world, not only England, but Ireland and Holland and Norway and Sweden and Denmark and all over, to write letters to the families individually and send money and that's how they survived, that's how the children managed to go to school, comrades. As I said, I have no lessons, I never had a skill, I never,

ever, ever applied for a job. Thank God, I mean, I would not have been able to say what I was capable of doing. I didn't have anything. I never learnt to touch type, when I came back to South Africa I

worked for Walter Sisulu as his PA but again I wasn't asked for anything. Now what I'm trying to say is, why, what drove us? That's what I'm asked, what drove us? That's why I'm writing a book, so that I could pass on, maybe, some lessons to young people.

You're not going to get anywhere in this country until you've got proper freedom. And proper freedom means freedom from poverty for everybody and for all people and literacy for

everybody. So there's something out there besides just money, comrades, and besides just yourselves, that should drive you. As Vuyo Mbuli in the mornings (on SAfm) says, "Go out there and make a difference." Do that comrades, that's all I've got to tell you.

The Indians became the backbone of the struggle in the manner in which they gave money in this country ... everything came in cash and you wrote a receipt saying, 'a friend' and 'a very good friend', depending on how much money they gave.





AMINA CACHALIA

The important thing for me to say is that, we in this country, in 1994, we pledged “a better life for all”, and we haven’t reached that yet. When I look at people all around South Africa and I look at the rate of poverty and the growing unemployment, we haven’t really done all that much that we are praising ourselves for in the last 14 years.



We’ve come a long way, there is so much to do and the quicker we begin to do it, the quicker we can achieve a better life for all our people.

I lived a very wonderful existence all my life. I got politically active at a very young age because I came from a political home. My dad was already involved with Gandhi in the very old years of struggling in South Africa. So it was natural for me to realise that something is dreadfully wrong in this country and that I’ve got to let it come right.

I found myself joining organisations like the Indian Youth Congress so many years ago and putting up posters, dishing out leaflets and organising meetings and just doing basic activist work all my life, in the hope that some day, we’ll have a different South Africa.

We were always divided and ruled by a regime that we would have liked to bring to their knees many decades ago. We struggled tremendously for that day to happen. It finally happened, many decades later.

But the important thing for me was, all those

many years ago, the deprivation of women in our society. When we were organising even for the 20000 people that were going to go to Pretoria for that occasion, we found it extremely difficult because we had to do our organising at night. And visiting factories in the day was easier because we used to go to a factory and talk to a shop steward, talk to the women about the march and about everything else. But it was the Indian women, coloured women, because we were so divided and ruled, that we had to go to at night mostly.

We got a group of women together in Fordsburg and the old Vrededorp, and Doornfontein and various places like that, and women used to come. The Indian Youth Congress were the people that picked up these women for us and they would come at night to my flat and from there we would set out on foot to

When I went to prison in 1952 for the Defiance Campaign, that was a highlight for me, because it put me in the same cell with other people and I learnt to realise so early on that my aspirations and my hopes and my desires, they’re not only mine, they were throughout the length and breadth of South Africa.

in 1994, we pledged ‘a better life for all’, and we haven’t reached that yet

organise for the 20 000 women that were supposed to come to the Union Buildings. It was a tremendous organisational period for us. We went from door to door to organise and we had to do that because we had to get the permission of the fathers, of the brothers, of the husbands, if their women could come to the August the 9th march to Pretoria.

And as we went from house to house, the men would have come back from work or their businesses or whatever they were doing, and the women, those that worked from home, were home. We had to talk to them about the march and about all the necessary information, getting there and giving them a pledge that it would be peaceful, that they would not get hurt, if the police came, that we would take care of that. And in many cases the husbands said, “Well, you can take my wife along or my sister or my whatever but you’ve got to be absolutely sure that nothing will happen to them, they will not get arrested.” Well that we couldn’t pledge because we couldn’t tell them that they would be 100% safe on that day, but we told them that it’s going to be peaceful and that’s what we pledged.

And they could all gather at the one spot, at the old Red Square, or at my flat, or any flat where they chose to go, we would find transport for them or we would take them to the station and take them off to Pretoria. It was such an experience that organising, and for many years later it stood us in very good stead, because we knew exactly how to go about organising our people in various areas.

But the most important thing for me is not that actual march, really, that was a highlight for many, many of us. But when I went to prison in 1952 for the Defiance Campaign, that was a highlight for me, because it put me in the same cell with other people and I learnt to realise so early on that my aspirations and my hopes and my desires, they’re not only mine, they were throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. We were shoved together in one cell; two cells really, one big one and one small one. And we were 29 women who went voluntarily to prison in 1952, 26 August – the first batch of women that went to prison. That was so important for me, personally, because here I spent, for the first time in my life, time with women, other activists in prison – slept with them, ate with them, cleaned the toilet with them, cleaned the courtyard with them, which was absolutely spectacular, it was clean already. Boksburg Prison was one of the cleanest prisons those years, but nevertheless we had to get up in the morning and do that.

Here I spent time with all types of women,



coloured women, ordinary women and Indian women, we had one prison for coloured women and African women. And we ate the same food, cleaned the same courtyard and we sang the same songs. We absolutely identified with the new South Africa that was going to come many decades later. It was so important for us to live together because there was always, in every group in South Africa, the divide and the rule that the racist government had achieved.

We never knew that. When I say we, it means a lot of the Indian women, not me personally, because I was privileged, because I had friends and I had other activists that I worked with. There were so many other people that just had a sort of employer/employee relationship all along with people. And there was never an idea of getting any dignity and any freedom across from that perspective, in our homes, in our areas where we worked and everywhere. Because there was continuously this employer/employee situation, where people just treated other people as workers and bosses and it never came to anything else. In our organisations, it was different. I think to a certain extent that situation still exists in South Africa, in spite of the

fact that we are free now.

We are not equal yet. Our great slogan when we came into being was “A Better Life for All” and that has not quite taken off yet. We still find unemployment to such an extent. Goodness me, we’ve got to come to terms with South Africa and see that that slogan takes off.

When I saw a clip on television not so long ago, on Women’s Day, I’d just come out of hospital, and there was this lady walking in Soweto and she was asked what better life has she had? She was doing her own thing, she was walking to work or going to sell whatever she had and being poor and being disadvantaged and I thought to myself, “Yes, we have failed in the last 14 years of freedom.” We have gained a great deal and we’ve made wonderful progress, which we keep telling ourselves, but we also have become such a greedy country in a sense and such a personally greedy country, where we just want to amass money for ourselves continuously. And we seem to have forgotten this wonderful slogan, “A Better Life for All”. We haven’t really come to terms with that, not yet. There’s still such a long way to go.





we are the pillars of our families

GRAÇA MACHEL

I'd like to thank the Centre of Memory and Dialogue for putting together this gathering for us. I am very humbled by some of the things I learnt, and others I was reminded of, and they've made me very reflective this morning.

What I would like to suggest is that this kind of dialogue should continue. Our generation, the old guard, have been failing to tell the stories. You can write a book but there is nothing that can replace direct contact, conversation. I must confess that if there is one way the Nelson Mandela Foundation has failed, it is that we have allowed people like Walter Sisulu to go without having an opportunity to talk to young people, just young people. Just to talk, to chat. People like Govan Mbeki are gone, and what is part of the history of this country, which is gone with them, will never be recaptured, never. It's gone! And because we still have these leaders of ours, we

should continue to have this kind of conversation.

We need to listen to them. We need to connect the two or three generations, which are in between and say yes, this is how it was, but how is it today, what are the challenges young people are facing even with the deep will of recapturing the chain? Because I would like to think it's a chain, a chain of life, a chain of values, which was passed from those days until today. How does it work, how does it renew itself, reinvigorate and be able to face the challenges of today? Because it is true, we sometimes are puzzled about how to talk to our children. My family, the small family which I came from before I joined the big family of the Mandelas, in both my two families, I have three or four generations. It's the easiest to talk to the older generation. When it comes to the younger ones, it's extremely difficult, I'm not so sure whether I'm being the role model I should be to them. So we do also have problems we need to



I would like to think it's a chain, a chain of life, a chain of values, which was passed from those days until today



another human being, and at the end just to take a cellphone. It is done to the elderly, it is done to women, it is done to children and we are the women. We are the women, those pillars; the pillars of our families. I'm not taking away the responsibility of men, but I'm saying we, the mothers, the grandmothers or the great-grandmothers, there is something we need to sit down and talk about. What is happening, how is it from my womb I end up with this kind of child who looks to his sister, to his niece and does the kinds of things which are happening?

So I'm saying we have issues with the political continuity, but I think we have fundamental, very fundamental things which have to do with that small-style family that we come from. Maybe Brigalia I come to you, with all the many hats that you have, help us to talk about family. The family

listen to. We need to try to understand and we need to connect the chain of life so that we reinvigorate it and make it practical and useful for whatever the needs and challenges of today are.

Having said this, one of the things which puzzles me is how we came to a situation where we face such levels of violence, not only violence, I think for me the issue is the sophistication of violence. It's the way that violence is being committed against women, against children, against the elderly. You know if it's violence because I need a cellphone, ok, you can take the cellphone and go. You don't need to rape and re-rape, I mean to humiliate completely

has given us the foundations of the values we are talking about, it started in families, isn't it? With mother and father, my brother, my uncle, it started with the family.

I don't think we'll overcome the issue of violence against women, violence against children, without going back and saying, "What is the family, what is the structure of the South African family, what is going wrong with that structure of family, how it is to become again the nurturing space, the loving and caring space where every single human being in this country has reference to?" And I think we have fundamental problems there. You know we can talk, but the judiciary system has to punish and punish very severely. It has to keep those monsters out of society; but it is true that many other monsters will spring up if we do not go back to the source of the problem. I'm saying we need to continue this kind of debate.

When we talk of a political commitment, of the social connectivity which you have to connect to your community, they have to be connected and fundamentally linked to the family.

Many of our young people complain in their 40s, in their 30s, in their 20s, that they never had

the family I'm talking about. It was broken, it was broken by someone and because some of them are becoming parents without having it themselves, they can't transmit to others. Have you noticed how many families are being broken?

There are many marriages today, but many are being broken. You go to the schools and ask how many per area, how many of the kids come from broken families, and then you realise that teachers can't cope, absolutely, they can't cope! The true, fundamental social constructions which give a sense of belonging and a sense of structure are family and school. School cannot do it alone without family and family cannot do it alone without school. The challenge we have is exactly that: how do we regain this, that anchor, which is our family, and the values that will lead people to church?

I just want to say it has been such a privilege for me, really, to sit and listen. I know all of you, but it was a humbling experience to sit and listen to you today, and that is what I think that we need to continue to do, and eventually having here two of the stalwarts and two of the young people, and shaking the two, you know, so that they lead somewhere. Thank you for coming.

I just want to say it has been such a privilege for me, really, to sit and listen.





The Malibongwe Exhibition, curated by the Apartheid Museum, was displayed in the foyer of Mandela House from March to June 2007.

LET'S DIALOGUE PANEL DISCUSSION

Sibongile Mkhabela facilitated the question-and-answer session.

I'd like to expand the panel, in terms of responses, Mama Bertha Gxowa is here, Mama Vesta Smith is here. So as questions come, I'd like to turn this into what Sis' Hlophe was talking about, an inter-generational conversation.

We have several generations here. We have two or three, maybe four. And we're going to have a good inter-generational conversation, having been started by the ladies up here, and having Ma Bertha and Ma Vesta here to also be respondents on some of the questions. Ma Graça Machel, I think you come after, I think you're another generation. We've got about four, five generations here, and that should be a very vibrant conversation.

We could possibly be starting with a statement: we're nowhere next to being properly free. And I think I would add, freedom is not given, you can't have freedom on a plate.

No-one is ever going to deliver freedom to you and I suppose one of the mistakes we've made is to talk as if someone is going to stand at your door and deliver empowerment. There are things you can't deliver because people must claim them and freedom is just one of those things that you have to claim, it's never going to be delivered.

So where are we right now, today, at a point where "A Better Life for All" is being, or becoming, a distant dream for most people, especially women and children? What are the questions that the other generations might have, questions, comments and ways forward in fact?

Freedom is not given, you can't have freedom on a plate.



NOKUKHANYA JELE

I've heard you speak of things that are different now from when you were all striving to give me the opportunities I have, thanks to your sacrifices, but I want to talk about things that are still the same. The reality of it, is that we're still here and as was heard in the room here today: "Let's deal with the racial inequalities first, then we'll deal with these women's issues later."

Today we have the resources, we have the human resources, we have the monetary resources, and yet there's a sense of complacency and a difficulty in getting individuals to simply sacrifice a Saturday afternoon. As a lawyer, what we do is we try to get them to do that, one Saturday afternoon a month to give free legal advice.

You have no idea how hard it is to get lawyers to do that. They will commit to 20 hours a year of *pro bono* work, nothing more. Twenty hours a year is nothing compared to the amount of work that is needed to make sure that we continue the work that all of you so arduously worked at for such a long time. Today, how do we achieve that commitment?



BERTHA GXOWA

Thank you very much. I just want to say in adding to my colleagues' memories, that one other thing which was very important with us was planning.

People ask us why did we choose a Thursday? Women were very strategic, my colleague, my friend here, Hlophe, spoke about the church, and Sophie just explained what we were going to say once the police came, we'd all kneel down.

And in fact, that's why we actually preferred women to put on their church uniforms, because at the time when the police come we are going to turn it into a church rally, not a political rally.

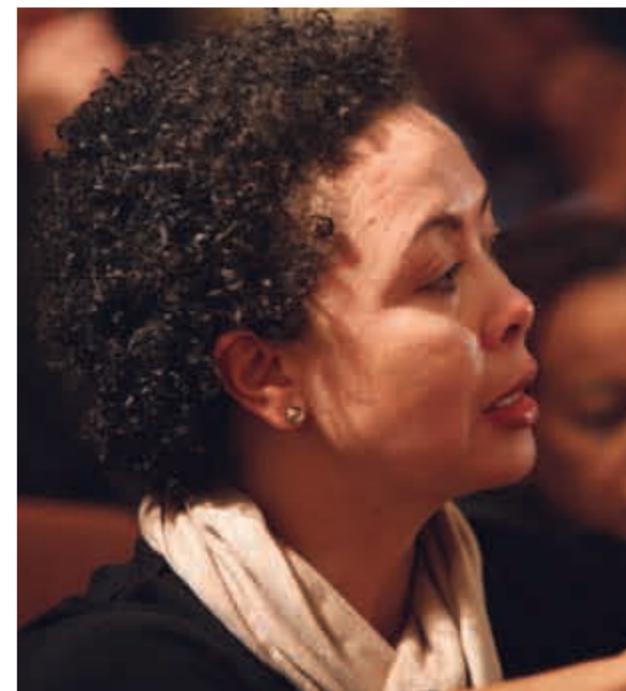
And we chose Thursday specifically because Thursday is a *manyanos* day (a day women have chosen to get together at church without the men, and wearing their uniforms) for women in the whole country and those days, Thursdays, we used to call "Sheila's Day-Off", the domestic workers were off, that's why.

So there was that element of planning and it was very strategic, women were very strategic. Well there's not enough time really to tell you the real things about that day today. But I want to come to this, when will you come and form one, united women's movement like we did? You see, with us, the Federation of Women got together, the workers, professionals, the church, everybody was affiliated to the federation.

Today my problem is that when we celebrate these days, for instance, August 9th, now government appealed and said August 9th is a national women's day for everybody, we are too fragmented.



This one celebrates in that corner, a little thing here and that one in another small *stokvel* that side and another one that, we never come back together. I think if we can begin now, when we celebrate these days, I know we can't bring the whole country together, but at least we can share these experiences and bring everybody on board. Everybody must understand what was happening with us, I think that will assist us. Thank you.



MICHELLE REUTERS

You've spoken about 20 000 women coming together through amazing organisation without any modern technology.

How do we get a women's movement started in South Africa again that ignores race and class? Not ignores in the sense that we don't address those issues, but ignores it in terms of bringing us together as women. How do we get gender to be the most important issue that brings women together, because today, still, women are second-class citizens in this country? We've struggled since 1994 to start up a women's movement in South Africa. How do we go about doing it, is it necessary?



I just want to say, and this is very dear to my heart, the Federation of South African Women has never been disbanded, so if anybody wants to know how to bring women together, get in touch with women who were in the Federation of South African Women.
— Sophia Williams-De Bruyn

BRIGALIA NTOMBEMHLOPHE BAM

I think that we are struggling with this idea that, if we form a women's movement, then we are going to solve all our problems. I think let's also be realistic, I think the reason that women got together, and it was a little easier, was that there was a common enemy and there was a common vision. Generally, there were things that we all wanted as women and I think that we had that common call.

We have now 82 registered political parties and it just makes me more miserable because it means it's getting to be impossible for women who feel that their first loyalty is to the political party. Maybe the second loyalty then is to the movement, that's our first crisis of today, which didn't exist those days. The second problem for us, many of us are related to the church,

I come from that tradition and many others. There was a time when in South Africa there was something like 50 denominations, today there are over 350, and so the loyalty is to your church rather than to the movement. So there are new crisis areas that we have to look at, but in spite of that I think we should try, I know because I'm here to sell this idea, now give me a chance just to do that.

Zanele Mbeki inspired many of us when we tried to work with the women from the Democratic Republic of Congo, where we were working very hard for two years.

We in South Africa found ourselves forming, not in a conscious manner, the South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID), because we realised that after 1994, we are more divided than we will ever think. It was almost impossible for us to meet. Even those who belong to the same political party, even those who belong to the same church, those who belong to the same *stokvel*, and we were more divided on all grounds – class, religion, call it anything, we are just nowhere. So this is shameful, there



must be something that we do. So this SAWID idea is that, let's call it a dialogue, because if we call it a movement we get into trouble. Somebody will say

Theoretically, I think the government has done everything in the Constitution. So those of you who want to do some things and give volunteer time, please come to us, SAWID.

who's right, whose mandate do you have to form a movement?

I tried it when I was overseas, it didn't work because there was no mandate from somewhere.

So now we have and I'm selling this. What's going to help us to deal with these problems is to have a common theme, a common cause that is a reality, and that is poverty. So then we sent two groups, one to

Tunisia, one to Chile, to see how, as women, they are dealing with this issue of poverty, because they have less resources than us.

So now we are on this project and we would like to invite as many of you as possible. You don't have to belong to any party, please come. You don't have to be any class, please come. And we are trying to see how we can work with our various departments.

So I'm just saying, here is a movement, a movement that dialogues. We talk to one another; we try to dialogue because in our experience, all of us and the world over, you can't deal with racism only through the law. The more you legislate as they've seen in United States, the more the people resist. It's an old thing, we find that in Brazil they are worse off than us, United States is worse off than us.

Theoretically, I think the government has done everything in the Constitution. So those of you who want to do some things and give volunteer time, please come to us, SAWID. We will welcome your skills, we'll welcome your time. If you have a little time once a month to take one girl, please, you are welcome.

There's another movement, started by Stella Sigcau, I'm encouraging amongst women. We call it "Plough-Back" (The National Plough-Back Trust) because we discovered that many of us, especially my types who were not born here, have our origins in rural communities. We left our rural communities and when we go back we find that they are very much poorer than us, because we have been able to live in Johannesburg, in Pretoria, to get good jobs, to get BEE and all those nice things.

But when we go back home we discover that the school, there is no nursery school. So these are new things we need to think of, our new way of freedom. Adopt one family.

When I was working in Geneva for instance, the Swiss families adopted 65 families in South Africa, that's all. And then yearly, I collected money from each and every of those 65 families. Once you do that, then there's a future for them because with education ...

And so these are some of the things, maybe, we need to begin to think of, and not assume that Naledi Pandor (the Minister of Education) is going to find money for every child in South Africa. Your R300, your R500, honestly, it's amazing in school fees what it can do.

So those are some of the things that we can begin – all of us – to do, not big-scale things, but small, because if you do it with one family, with one girl, with one boy, it's amazing the things we can do.

STANLEY MANZINI

I'd like to say first of all I'm overwhelmed with this meeting and I feel that you guys have done a lot for the freedom that we have today. I believe that the biggest thank you that you'd expect from us is if we take off from where you left off; even though you are still going on, if we continue to live the legacy for our children.

Well I'm from an engineering background and we don't have a lot of women there. One of the things Ma Hlophe mentioned, is that women, they studied, they went to school. Now most of us, we don't want to go to school. Someone once said if you want to hide something from a black man, put it inside a book. Now those who have studied, we don't share these skills with the others. For example, if you have gone and done engineering, you as a lady take off some of your time and go to those rural areas and educate some kids. But most of us we expect to be paid to do this.

With my wife we have gone to the rural areas where you say, "I don't expect someone to give me the money but I will use what I have to get what I don't have." They didn't have money, but they had talent and they used that talent to get what they didn't have. And I would just like to encourage each and every one here that, if you can learn and strive for perfection and strive for doing good, money will just follow. Use what you have to get what you don't have. Thank you.



SINAH GWEBU

Thank you very much, I am representing Disabled Women of South Africa. When I grew up, there was a thing called *letšema*, whereby the community will go and help the people next door or even, you know, the community would help each other.

But today it's another environment where you're looking at yourself only, you don't care to help your neighbour or even one disabled woman, who you can just lift to work or even help to raise the children.

We must start helping each other. I can see now that when you want to plough back into your community, you have to love your community, and to start seeing people on the ground. If you are up there, not even going to your people down there, you are missing a lot.

Last year there was a movement launched in Bloemfontein, whereby different women gathered. From Bloemfontein they went to Pretoria and the movement is still going on, whereby provinces are launching branches that are part of this movement.



So we appeal to all the women, all races, to come and join that movement.

I ask women to support disabled women as well, because we are an aggressive movement now. We need support; we are not going to say we are going to wait for a plate to be brought to these women, but we are just going to go on and on and on fighting for that plate.

THANDI MANZINI

The few things that I've picked up from the speakers is that, whatever they did, they did it out of nothing. As women, sometimes we wait for someone to do something for us.

I know sometimes that we can blame our background and say "It's how I grew up", because sometimes as girls, we are brought up being this little princess who's waiting for Prince Charming to do things for you. And what I've learnt through life is that it doesn't work like that. We need to take the initiative, nobody is going to ask you to do things, but you have to stand up and go after what you believe that you want. As women, we have a pull him/her down syndrome. With them, they were supporting each other.

And again, I believe that they say that it takes one woman to bring a child into this world but it takes the whole village to bring that child up, charity starts at home. When I grew up, even though I had



neighbours, I looked at them as my mothers and my fathers. I had to answer to them about what I'm doing and today that is not how we are.

Charity does not begin at home with us anymore because even our siblings today, you don't know what they are doing, you don't know where they are. If you're not making an impact in your own home, how can you make an impact on the community and the country and the world?

SHIRLEY MABUSELA

I feel very honoured to have just been here this morning. First of all looking at the exhibition and listening to the stalwarts who are addressing us here today, to remind us we are not so young anymore, and to remind us about the responsibility that we all have as women.

We all have some kind of gift or potential ability which I believe is important to be shared. When we talk about sharing, this is what we are doing. I also think that we all come from somewhere, we are based somewhere, you know, in your locality, in your township, you belong to churches as Brigalia is saying, we belong to *stokvels*, we belong in various little groups. And I believe that, if we go out of this dialogue today and make a difference in the groupings that we work with or we belong to in our own communities, those small groups, we will have achieved something.

Because it's true that we still don't have a good life for all. We need to look at what it is that we can do in those small groups in our own areas, to



impact positively. We are in families, we've got daughters that we are raising, how are we raising them? We've got sons, let me emphasise that, whom we are raising, whose behaviour is impacting, either positively or very negatively, on women's ability to become who they are and to make a contribution in society. I plead with all of us, that we go back and be the best we can be where we are because that is where the people are. Thank you.

DELPHINE SERUMAGA

I'm the director of POWA (People Opposing Women Abuse). I want to say that I envy all of you, I'm jealous of what you've all done.

Because today, as an organisation, we feel that we're being activists but we have an issue of activism becoming a bad word or feminism becoming a bad word, to a point where when I'm asked what my occupation is on a form I write "activist" because I'd like to promote that.

I think activism is the spirit of what would bring it all together. I agree that it's not just about creating just one movement and I think women are not homogeneous, therefore there are many different things that we can do as individuals. I'm so proud to be in your presence and I'm not sure that we can do what you've done. All we need to say is that we'll try and carry on the work that you have done. We'll push ourselves and we'll remain activists because I believe you were true activists. You embody the word of activism and we will try and follow through with that.



NELSON MANDELA

Founder of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, Nelson Mandela, makes a special appearance to greet the stalwarts.



NELSON MANDELA: How are you?

BRIGALIA BAM: I'm fine thanks, how are you?

MANDELA: Aha, what are the men doing there?

BAM: You mean, what are you doing here?

MANDELA: Oh, I recognise many faces here, many faces. Some of them were youngsters, you know, when I was active, but now they are planners of the future of the country. You see how things have changed? I'm very happy to be here. Thank you very much. We were together in the struggle and you did very well.

VESTA SMITH: And so did you.

MANDELA: I'm happy to hear that, thank you very much.

I hope you know about these ladies. They played a very important role in the struggle. Some of us, we can't measure up to the sacrifices they made.



CONCLUSION SIBONGILE MKHABELA

Our esteemed panelists have raised a number of issues today, including the importance of the spiritual being, which is a very important element in our lives today.

They have also talked about the importance of knowing the people you're with, as well as the values that drive them. And I think it is in the values where we're probably going to find the answers that we're looking for. It's not so much in the technicalities, in the strategies and so on, but it's the underlying values, which were also emphasised today.

When you talk about women's unity, you also talk about organising our own resources. I work for a donor agency, but I know that when people have thoughts about how they want to change their communities, they immediately go to an outsider to say, "Give us money to change our lives." It baffles

me – if I can't put my own money into it, I do not believe in it enough. We've been hearing that if you want to pursue your own dreams, they cannot be pursued, frankly, by other people. They can support you, they can help you, but certainly they cannot determine your future. That's why our agenda for

development is so driven from outside, because we don't set it, it's set by others.

Thank you very much, thanks to all the participants and my esteemed, very powerful panel. This has been the one platform that has introduced the old words that most of us had forgotten: family values, activism, volunteerism, conversations, sharing – all those things

that we'd forgotten. And maybe just in each of those words, lie values that we might want to interrogate and bring out and ask, "What does it mean for our work?" And maybe, finally, to say there's a flow of information that probably doesn't happen at the rate at which it ought to happen, flow of information

We need to remember that the seed planted in 1956 grew.



that's why our agenda for development is so driven from outside, because we don't set it, it's set by others

from professional organisations, to communities, to government.

So those who sit in professional organisations will rattle off the statistics, they'll tell you how many children were raped, how many children were doing this. But that information is academic, if it does not move to the ground to mobilise communities, because we will not find common threats if we don't understand what the threats are in our communities. And those threats, which often lie and sit with professional organisations like the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund where I work, will tell you what's going on in your villages.

But that information, of course, going on in the village, is really of no use to anyone if the women of Gamathabatha and the men and the churches don't get the feedback from those organisations that are operational in those communities. So I suppose we need to be crossing lines and ensuring that the Bongi who goes to the Children's Fund is the same one who goes to the church so I can say to the church, "This is what is going on in your communities. I know because I've been there and what are you doing about it?"

So I think we need to be having many conversations and Sis Hlophe, thanks for that platform that you introduced, South African Women in Dialogue, because there's a lot of things that we need to be dialoguing about.



REFLECTIONS WHAT PEOPLE THOUGHT



This was very informative, very inspiring. It created a platform for us to draw strength from activists. I'll be able to share this – I'm thinking about ways to introduce this type of programme into the presidency

– **MBANGI DZIVHANI, THE PRESIDENCY**



I think this is a good thing. Maybe next time, something like this, let's take it to the women in the township, in the grassroots and not just for two hours, but for five hours.

– **BERTHA GXOWA, STALWART ACTIVIST**



This dialogue was a good idea and it contributes to moral regeneration. It'll also enable us to write our own stories, because women's stories are not told. We hope the new generation will learn from such endeavours, which will enable them to protect our democracy.

– **SINAH GWEBU, DISABLED PEOPLE SOUTH AFRICA**



Today was quite special; it's hopefully the beginning of younger people coming together. In the past, we knew our enemy. Today, they don't know who the enemy is. We must get young men and women together, but not put more pressure on them because they have a lot of pressure. We need to show them the way.

– **AMINA CACHALIA, STALWART ACTIVIST**



It's always an honour to meet these women we know too little about, to be reminded of just how much they endured.

– **NOKUKHANYA JELE, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ADVOCACY PROJECT**



This was an emotional experience for me. I felt like going up to the ladies and saying, 'You're hot, you're so beautiful!'

– **MMATSHILO MOTSEI, AUTHOR**



I thought it was great, I enjoyed every minute of it. I agree that this kind of dialogue must be carried on. What appalls me is that when you speak to young people they don't know of the Treason Trial or of the People's Congress. We need to record our stories for our history, and not for ourselves.

– **RICA HODGSON, STALWART ACTIVIST**

“The challenge now, for government, for women, and for men is to seize the opportunities ... so that women can indeed play their rightful role in transforming our society, in generating sustained economic growth, in reconstruction and development.”

— Nelson Mandela,
Women’s Day, 1996



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