

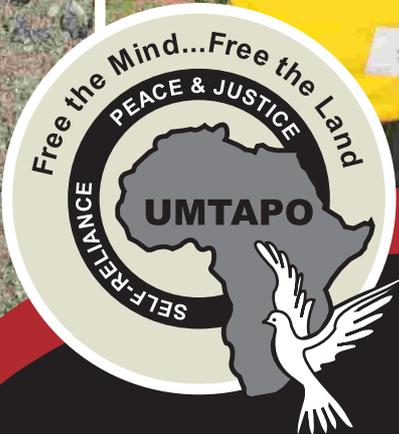
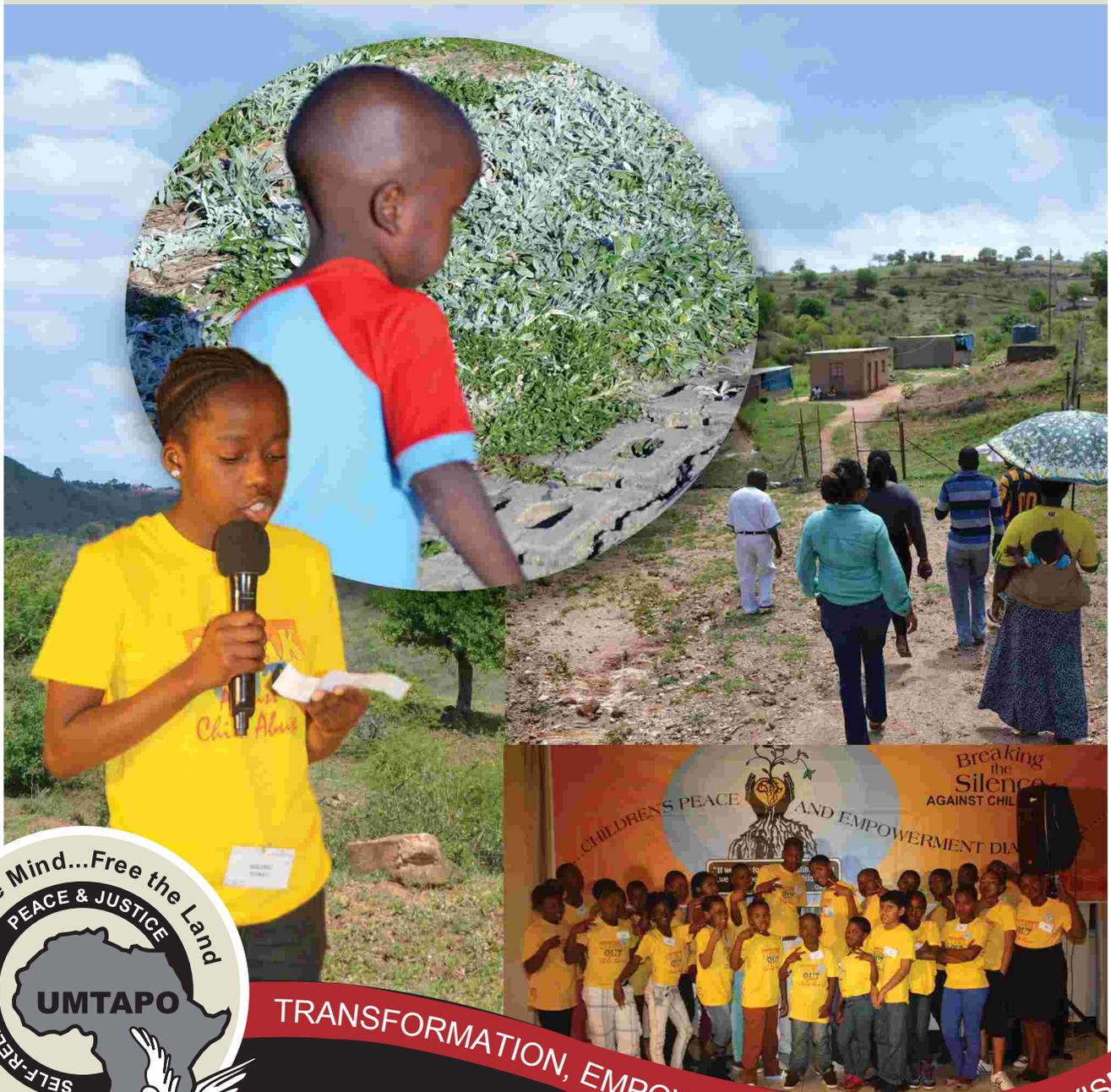
Peace Afrika

A Newsletter of the Umtapo Centre

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The Long Walk to Freedom Continues for the Children of Our Country



TRANSFORMATION, EMPOWERMENT & SOCIAL ACTIVISM

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1. UMTAPO'S PROGRAMMATIC WORK

UMTAPO BRANCH OFFICE OPENS



Left: Umtapo Director with staff members, Pumzile Yika, Nomiki Yekani-Mathonsi, and Lawrence Monyahi, at the entrance to the office

On 1st May 2013, the UMTAPO branch office situated in Makhado, in Limpopo Province, opened its doors. Since then, the office has become a hub of activity with both young people and the elderly, coming to the office for advice and also to seek assistance on how to be involved in community development issues as well as to be part of the youth activities of UMTAPO.

An official opening will take place in 2014 but, in the meanwhile, the office is operative from Monday to Friday.

Youth activism at the office

Director of the UMTAPO Branch Office, Ms Nomiki Yekani-Mathonsi, reports that young people in particular are already accessing the office for setting up of youth structures, for example:

- A meeting took place that brought young people from different schools from in and around Makhado on the 3rd July 2013. The meeting was initiated by learners who attended the PHARE training in 2011 at Adams Apple Hotel but could not be given space to establish peace clubs in their schools. The purpose of the meeting was to initiate a peace club for Makhado town that will be able to bring together learners from schools in Makhado so that they could also be able to be part of the Umtapo programs.
- On the 11th July 2013, young people from Tshiozwi village attended a PHARE workshop at the Umtapo office in Makhado. The workshop was organized after Ngatana Clement, a youth leader from

Tshiozwi village heard about the Umtapo office that had been opened in Makhado and said that they are interested in youth development and would like Umtapo to assist them.

Support

Nomiki has been actively engaging local support to furnish the office and in November, Dr Makatu, a medical practitioner in the town agreed to sponsor furniture for two of the offices.

Further donations are expected to ensure the self-sustainability of the office.



UMTAPO'S UBUNTU & CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATOR APPOINTED TO INTERNATIONAL BODY

The International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) was hosted in South Africa for the first time on African soil since its inception in 1895. This historic event was attended by cooperators, ministers and other agencies globally. The South African National Apex Cooperative (SANACO) and the DTI were the hosts of the event which took place from the 2nd – 6th November 2013 at the Cape Town International Convention Centre.

On 2nd November 2013, a youth general assembly was convened for the first time in the history of the ICA. This was after the ICA acknowledged a lack of participation by young people who are the future of cooperatives globally. The ICA Africa Youth Network was convened and elected UMTAPO's Lawrence Monyahi as its first President. Lawrence was also elected onto the global ICA Youth Network.

The core mandate of the ICA Africa Youth Network is to ensure that cooperative youth movements are established throughout the sub-regions of the African continent. The ICA Africa Youth Network will also profile youth cooperatives and cooperatives that mainstreamed young people in order to identify good practice models that can be replicated on the continent.



STEVE BIKO SEMINAR

20th September 2013

The Land Question and Agrarian Reform in South Africa was the theme for the September 2013 Umtapo-DUT STEVE BIKO seminar. In his motivation, UMTAPO board member, Prof Mbulelo Mzamane, said:

"June 19, 2013 marked the 100 years of the promulgation of the South African Native Land Act, a statute that legalised the process of dispossession of the African people of their land, livelihood and dignity. Land dispossession in South Africa goes back to the earliest European settlements (some would argue the process has always been with us). These are issues most Africans in leadership positions and their former European conquerors seem to conspire to sweep under the carpet. They are issues that will not simply go away however, as long the rightful owners of the Land continue to be a dispossessed class.

The year 2013 is also the golden jubilee of the creation of the Organisation of African Unity formed in 1963 principally to accomplish the decolonisation of Africa. In all liberation struggles, land reclamation and restitution occupied a central place. In settler colonies like Kenya, Algeria, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique the land issue became the central cause of the anti-colonial liberation struggles. Independence did not resolve the long-standing land and agrarian questions, as self-serving leaders became sight-tracked by the trappings of political office.

The land question mirrors the incomplete decolonisation processes in former-settler colonies. It is also a thing that features prominently in continuing African struggles especially from affected regions.

The Centennial and the 50th anniversary offer us an opportunity to reflect on land and other issues pertaining to agrarian questions haunting our continent, especially in former settler colonies.

The land question is not about land only. It invokes and speaks to various issues of poverty, property ownership, citizenship, culture, gender, belonging, power, self-determination, legitimacy, sovereignty, identity, dignity, nationalism, development, markets, territory, jurisdiction, and authority. Debates and struggles over land also embrace various aspects of subjugation, subjectivity, and exploitation as well as aspects of liberation, freedom and empowerment. Reflection on land in Africa necessarily includes thinking about the past, present and the future. Debates on land issues inevitably touch on power, wealth, being and meaning.

In contemporary African society, the question of who can acquire land, hold land, and transact land continues to speak also to postcolonial issues of citizenship, belonging, political status, political identity and subjectivity, within a broader terrain of narrowing nationalisms.

Women are the hardest hit by these unresolved land issues as they continue to be the core producers of food in Africa. No resolution to the problem can be meaningful, therefore, without addressing centrally the Woman Question alongside the Land Question.

There thus is a myriad of impacts on cultural practices, African economies and livelihoods. This Roundtable dialogue articulates well with the African Union's reflections on the past 50 years of independence and its invitation for African societies to think about the continent's agenda for the 21st century. It articulates just as well with the centennial reflections since the passage of the Land Act and South Africa's quest for a resolution to the Land Question".

“If we have a mere change of face of those in governing positions, what is likely to happen is that black people will continue to be poor, and you will see a few blacks filtering through into the so-called bourgeoisie...Our society will be run almost as of yesterday. So for meaningful change to appear, there needs to be an attempt at re-organising the whole economic pattern and economic policies within this particular country”

Biko

The four panellists who shared their insights on the theme were:

Ms Essy Letsoalo, an independent researcher on Land Reform and Local government and author of *Land Reform in South Africa: A Black Perspective* by Skotaville publishers in 1987. She is the former director of the Council for Black Education and Research at Funda Centre and chief director for the implementation of Land Reform in SA. Essy spoke about Gender, Land and Economic Justice.

Prof Lungisile Ntsebeza spoke on *An Agenda for Radical Land & Agrarian Reform*. Professor Ntsebeza is the holder of the AC Jordan Chair in African Studies at the University of Cape Town. He has conducted extensive published research on the land question in South Africa around themes such as land rights, democratisation, rural local government, traditional authorities and land, and agrarian movements. His book, *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of Land in South Africa* was published in 2005.

Prof Ntsebeza has also co-edited two other books. His current research interests, apart from land and agrarian questions, include an investigation of

African Studies at the University of Cape Town and a related project on the political and intellectual history of the late Archie Mafeje.

Ms Susan Nkomo titled her speech: *Looking for Maria, her sisters, daughters, and sons; gender and the 1913 Native Land Act*. Susan is leader of the UNISA research project: *South African Women in 2015: Towards 20 years of Freedom*. Currently an independent consultant, and gender expert, she has held the post of Chief Executive Officer: Office on the Status of Women in the presidency.

Mr Pandelani Nefolovodwe spoke about *Black Consciousness, Liberation, and Repossession of the Land*. He is the chairperson of *Isibaya Development Trust* and former Member of National Parliament and the Pan African Parliament.

The information and insights provided by the panellists brought out lively discussion from the audience and it was clearly an indication that there was a dearth of relevant fora for critical discourse and the annual BIKO seminars were filling some of this gap.



Some key quotes from the inputs of panellists are articulated below:

“What is the cost of the Land Act? The cost lies in its erosion of a peoples' livelihood and way of life; the death of many along the way; the introduction of landlessness, food insecurity, inequalities (including gender inequalities) as well as high levels of poverty. Can the state, which aggressively manufactured the conditions of poverty and inequality that still characterises South African society, continue to maintain these conditions, 18 years into democracy? The gaping wounds that are the legacy of the Land Act erupt occasionally before our eyes in the form of the events at Marikana, strikes by farm-workers in the Western Cape, increasing rates of gender-based violence, and the floods and fires that keep displacing many who live in informal settlements. The current land reform processes are silent on these issues, and will therefore fail to ensure that the crime of 1913 is redressed”.

Susan Nkomo



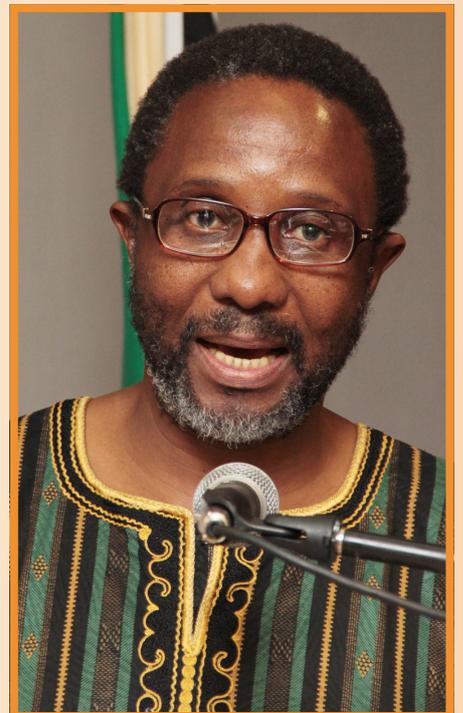
“The starting point must be an acknowledgement and recognition that, as already indicated, the former bantustans were established as part of a divide-and-rule strategy to control the indigenous majority and to advance a racialised form of capitalist development. It is hard to imagine an emancipatory project in South Africa that would not make the dismantlement of the former reserves/ bantustans its priority. Yet, available evidence shows that the ANC-led government is not committed to dismantling the former bantustans. On the contrary, there is a perpetuation of this system at both the level of land tenure and governance.

The resolution of the land question by means of radical land redistribution is a sine qua non for dismantling the former bantustans. The challenging question is how this can be done, particularly given the continued dominance of neo-liberal capitalism at a global level. At the country level, the property clause in the South African constitution imposes severe constraints to radical land reform.

... the starting point for radical land reform under current conditions should be expropriation of unproductive land that is either in debt, unused and under-utilised.

.... In essence, we are dealing with a colonial situation and nothing short of a thoroughgoing decolonisation will open up the possibilities for a durable solution.”

Prof Lungisile Ntsebeza





"The problem appears to be that government is scared of the word expropriation and it appears that government does not think that land repossession by those whose land was taken away is a matter of "public interest".

This may explain why it took 19 years for government to want to change the willing seller and willing buyer principle".

"...national identity cannot be achieved with whites owning the majority of land and blacks alienated from it.

For the BCM, in order to achieve 'One Azania - One Nation', it is important to resolve the land issue".

Pandelani Nefolovodwe



STEVE BIKO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AWARD



Veteran journalist and activist, Juby Mayet, received the 2013 Steve Biko International Peace Award from UMTAPO presented to her by Mrs Ntiski Biko, Board member of UMTAPO.

Juby Mayet was a founder member of the Union of Black Journalists which was banned together with the many other BC organisations in 1977. She worked as a reporter for the Golden City Post (DRUM Publications) and also Drum Magazine from 1962 up to 1970. Juby was journalist for The Voice newspaper from June 1977 until detained for 5 months under the Internal Security Act and then “banned” for 5 years in December 1978. As a result she was unable to continue working as a journalist because of her banning orders.

Juby gave a moving acceptance speech:

“As I have previously intimated to Mr Deena Soliar, Director of Umtapo and to Ms Arun Naicker, Umtapo Special Projects Director, I was totally gobsmacked and overawed when I was first informed that I had been nominated by the Umtapo Board to receive the Steve Biko International Peace Award for 2013. To be honest, I had not even heard of Umtapo until Mr Soliar contacted me to relate this stupendous news. But when I read the letter I realised I had heard of some of the Board members and previous recipients of the Award and even know some of them personally, which made me feel a whole lot better about the whole business although I didn’t feel – and still don’t – that I belong in their league.

Which brings me to the point where I feel it necessary to say a few things that bug me and have been bugging me for some time. The late Steve Biko was murdered by the agents of the apartheid government in September 1977. To quote from a Time Magazine interview with the infamous Jimmy Kruger who earlier had said that Biko's death "left him cold", published in The Star of 13 October 1977: I think that police judgement may have been at fault... When he was asked if he thought that Steve Biko was a danger to the State, Kruger replied: "The man is dead. Does it really matter what I thought?"

Steve's death was not the first or only one that happened because of so-called faulty police judgement. There was Suliman Babla Saloojee, who apparently took a nose-dive in September 1964, out of the seventh floor of The Grays which was the forerunner of the dreaded John Vorster Square. Remember Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle who died by "suicide" in September 1963? Remember Imam Abdullah Haroon, who died in September 1969, after apparently slipping on a bar of soap? Remember Pakamile Mabitja whose further details I don't recall except he fell down the stairs of a copshop in Port Elizabeth? Remember Mapetla Mohapi, Steve's friend and colleague who was murdered even before Steve? Remember Ahmed Timol?

I mention the afore-going because once again the spectre of the dark days loom, with a euphemistic "Secrecy Bill" threatening to veil the dirty deeds being perpetrated by the upper echelons of our ruling classes. My fervent hope is that all sensible citizens of this mad and sunny land, including members of the Fourth Estate, realise what this Bill will do to our "democracy" and oppose it to the fullest extent.

To slightly change tack, I was asked by one Sir James Richard Abe Bailey in the mid-seventies why was I doing the things I was doing which got me into trouble with the Special Branch, especially when I had so many children to take care of – like my home being raided in the middle of the night, being hauled off to one copshop or another, getting weird telephone calls or unsolicited visits from the SB at home or the office. I told Jim Bailey that I was doing whatever it was I was doing for the sake of my children and for all the other children in our country, so that they would be free from the yoke of oppression under which I had lived for most of my life. Jim and I then had a war of words, after which I immediately resigned from DRUM magazine and thereafter went to join The Voice newspaper.

A good friend of mine has another take on the above - that I would be a troublemaker wherever I was. He added that even if I should by some miscalculation get to Heaven, I would pick a fight with Gabriel or whoever is in charge there...



Despite having spent varying amounts of time locked up in different police cells and five months in No.4 Women's Prison in Gauteng, I have always firmly believed that while your oppressors can put you behind prison bars they can never chain your mind. Your thoughts will be always and forever be free to soar away and take you wherever you want to be.

We are here to commemorate the death of Steve Biko, and to celebrate his life, his teachings and all that he stood for. We must never forget that without the influence of Steve Biko and others of his calibre, we might never have tasted the freedoms we enjoy today”.

The Steve Biko International Peace Award presentation was preceded by the keynote address delivered by Professor Gilingwe Mayende. Prof Mayende was former Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the Central University of Technology in the Free State and former Director-General of the Department of Land Affairs.

In a well researched and documented input he connected the land question to Biko's thinking. The paper is available on the websites of the Steve Biko Foundation and UMTAPO.



“..the positive changes to the lives of millions of rural inhabitants that are envisaged through land reform can and will only be brought about when the old system, bequeathed to our country by colonialism and apartheid, is not only comprehensively transformed, but is totally eradicated”.

Prof Gilingwe Mayende



STRINI MOODLEY ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE

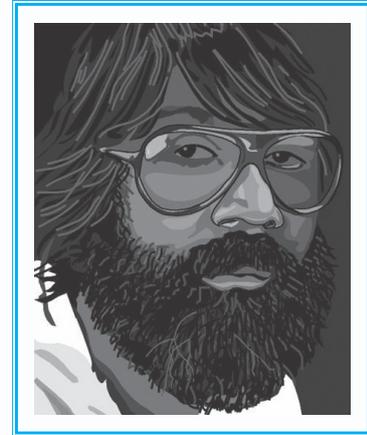
In recognition of Africa Day, UMTAPO in partnership with the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) held the Annual Strini Moodley Memorial Lecture and the Strini Moodley Peace Activists' Awards, at Westville Campus on May 24.

With the theme **One People, One Nation: Fufile Dream or Possible Reality**, a panel of Strini Moodley's co-accused in the 1976 SASO/BCP Trial who were sentenced together with him to Robben Island spoke on the same platform for the first time.

Panel members included National Chairperson of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Zithulele Cindi; Chairperson of Isibaya Development Trust, former Member of National Parliament and the Pan African Parliament, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe; and Dr Aubrey Mokoape, Chairperson of the Bat Centre.

In his welcome, Professor Nelson Ijumba of the UKZN said this is a nostalgic event as it celebrates all those that fought for South Africa. He acknowledged the presence of Strini Moodley's wife, mother and sister who were sitting among the audience. 'We are deeply honoured by your presence,' said Ijumba. Looking at whether "Black Consciousness (BC) has evolved since the time of the SASO/BPC Trial? How is it still relevant for creating a unified country where there will be peace and justice for all?" – Cindi said this is the time when the country needs the BC more than ever. He added that there is still inequality in our societies, calling RDP houses "glorified shacks". He added that people don't necessarily need the best constitution in the world but an improvement in the quality of life.

A former SRC president of the University of the North (now Limpopo), Nefolovhodwe's topic was titled, "South Africa/Azania! What's in a name? The Search for a national identity (One People One Nation)".



Pamela Adams (UKZN) with the three panelists

He said the idea of a rainbow nation does not deal with the fundamentals of nation building. He said a bird should not be praised for flying or a fish praised for swimming as service delivery is a responsibility of any government and must occur nonetheless. He added that instruments for job creation in South Africa are not there as even the employed remain poor. National consciousness, he said, was the prerequisite for a national identity and this was still far from being achieved.

Looking at “Ultra-individualism and self centredness in the era of neoliberal capitalism: What does the future hold?”- Mokoape said the majority of African people are still poor, jobless and destitute. He said young people are made to believe that joining a certain political party “is a way to success”.

The Umtapo Peace Activists Awards were given to Mr Rendani Manenzhe, an educator at Mushaathoni Secondary School in Limpopo who joined the Umtapo family in 2005, and to Ms Ntombekhaya Bungane also an educator at Nosizwe Secondary School in the Eastern Cape. Bungane is a Peace Club Liaison Educator at her school.

The awards are launched to acknowledge Strini Moodley’s influence on young people. These awards also honour the contributions made by different people involved in peace education.

Manenzhe said he was won over by Umtapo and their programmes today and forever. ‘It’s good to be part of this family,’ he added.

Bungane said that this was an unforgettable and valuable honour and she would like to give gratitude to the Umtapo and Moodley family. She promised to be the light that shines for her learners.



SCHOOLS AND TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

CHILDREN'S PEACE & EMPOWERMENT FORUMS (CPEFs) AT PRIMARY SCHOOLS

To date, the total number of CPEFs that have been established are 53:

15 in Kwazulu Natal

19 in the Eastern Cape

19 in Limpopo

Between May and July 2013, six cluster community workshops (several schools/communities in the area are combined into a cluster) were held in Kwazulu Natal as follows:

Inchanga (2)

KwaNyuswa

Chatsworth

Wentworth

Embo



KZN Provincial Workshop

In Limpopo, during this period, 10 community workshops and one leadership camp took place involving more than 300 participants.

Following the community workshops and training camps, provincial workshops were held for the following purposes:

- to evaluate and plan the way forward in the province
- to discuss the idea of a children's movement
- to elect 10 delegates (6 learners, 2 educators, 2 add. stakeholders) to attend the national evaluation



Province	Date	Venue
Limpopo	18th July 2013	Sekgopo Community Hall Sekgopo
Limpopo	26th July 2013	Makhado Library Makhado
Eastern Cape	27th July 2013	Ilitha Community Hall Ilitha
KwaZulu-Natal	27th July 2013	Durban East Primary School Durban

In August 2013, the national evaluation workshop in Durban brought together delegates of the CPEFs and local stakeholders from all three provinces. Some of the recommendations from the workshop were:

- Create a Men's Forum in the community to educate men on how to be fathers, brothers, friends and husbands
- Form Family Forums where every member of the family participates in Breaking the Silence against Child Abuse
- Regular school visits by Umtapo to the schools to monitor the program
- Continuation of the leadership camps for learners
- Training stakeholders so that they can have a deeper understanding of the CPEF
- The program should be included in the formal school program
- Involvement of department heads in the programs and other children's organisations
- The role of the Children's Movement should be translated in indigenous languages
- The principals and SGB's should be directly involved in the program
- A succession plan for the CPEF should be put in place as learners graduate to secondary schools
- Specific activities should be identified by the CPEF for implementation
- The CPEF should effectively utilize the opportunity presented by the Tribal Council and other stakeholders to advance the objectives of the children's movement.

The formal part of the workshop was followed by the closing dinner and gala dinner where a summary of the workshop was provided and the official announcement of the CPE Movement made.

The gala dinner was opened by Ms. Mpume Shangase of the eThekweni Municipality and chaired by Ayanda Mbasela (opposite page) of Protea Secondary School supported by Hanna Kim, Tertiary Peace Forum (UNISA). In a dramatic shift from normal practices and in keeping with the focus on Child Participation, UMTAPO allowed the children (mainly primary school learners) to conduct and facilitate the whole event.

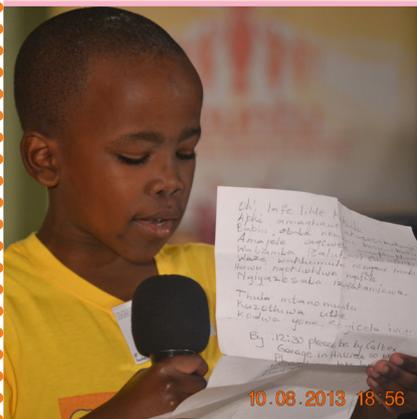


Ayanda Mbasela,
Protea Secondary School

Nishen Luckhun of Gitanjali Primary School did a summary of the day's workshop and announced the launch of the CPE (Children's Peace & Empowerment) Movement.



Poems in various styles and languages were read by:



Innocent Khwela,
Vusumusi Lower Primary School



Silindile Mvubu,
Gwadu-Zenix Primary School



Athi Biko,
Ilitha Primary School



Phaphama Mjaleni,
Nkululeko Primary School

The keynote address on The Role of Children in promoting Peace and Human Rights was given by Nobuhle Sibisi of Wentworth Primary School (right). She said:

"As children of South Africa we want to grow and live in a place that has peace where we fear no one and nothing.

As children of South Africa we wish to know a sustainable peace and this cannot be established without full co-operation from us children. We are happy that we can now be a part of a forum that promotes talks on peace, children's rights and human rights.

We are so privileged to be able to take part in peace – building activities and have a voice in human rights issues. I know that we are a step ahead of making South Africa a peaceful place for all children".



Before the end of the formal proceedings, Pastor Mashawu from the Makhado Municipality (below) and a member of the Ubuntu Community Forum, the stakeholder support group, provided a short input as a representative of the Ubuntu Community Forums - the link between the CPE Movement and the community stakeholders.



In Kwazulu Natal, as part of another PUMA for Peace soccer fixture, Fredville Primary of Inchanga played Rietvallei Combined School under the theme: Speak Out Against Child Abuse.

The match took place on 18th September at the KwaNdokweni local sports ground and after an entertaining match, both teams were awarded the PUMA soccer kits at the end of the game.



PEACE CLUBS AT SECONDARY SCHOOLS

With limited funding, two 5-day training courses took place for Peace Clubs in Limpopo and Eastern Cape, respectively.

PHARE COURSE FOR LEARNERS (Limpopo)

Peace, Human Rights and Anti-Racism Education Training Course held at Manavhela Ben Lavin in Makhado from the 9th - 13th July 2013.

The total number of schools which participated in this training was 9 (inclusive of 4 new schools namely: Mphephu Secondary School in the Vhembe District and three new secondary schools from Sekgopo Area – Mohumi Secondary School, Kgolakaleleme Secondary and Mameriri Secondary Schools (30 participants).

Mr. J Manendzhe from the Limpopo Department of Education - DCES: History, FET Schools Directorate was also present at the official opening of the course. In his words of support, he encouraged the learners to be involved in the learning processes that were to take place during the course and that they should realize how fortunate they were to be part of such a training and that the information that they will get should be used when they go back to school and their communities.

PHARE COURSE FOR LEARNERS (Eastern Cape)

Peace, Human Rights and Anti-Racism Education Training Course held at QONGQOTHA from 1st – 5th July 2013.

This 5-day training course was conducted with a limited budget with accommodation being provided by the local community. Nine (9) schools were involved in the course.

In the Eastern Cape, in collaboration with the Department of Education, PHARE presentation workshops were introduced in Elliotdale, Engcobo, and Mdantsane. These were attended by learners, educators and Department of Education officials. Attended by more than 300 people in total, the workshops resoundingly agreed that the Peace Clubs must be expanded and that more PHARE courses should be held.

In Kwazulu Natal, the extension of Peace Clubs to Children's Homes was consolidated with workshops at St Monica's, ABH, and St Theresa's Children's Homes.



St. Theresa's Children's Home

PEACE CLUB ACTIVITY

The PUMA Peace Soccer Kits were given to more schools: Rietvallie Combined School in Inchanga, Chatsworth Secondary School, and KwaNtebeni Secondary in Kwa Nyuswa.



TERTIARY PEACE FORUM (TPF)

While the TPF grew out of the PEACE CLUBS from secondary schools in disadvantaged areas, at tertiary institutions:

- The TPF will embrace all students at institutions of higher learning who identify with its founding charter and who are committed to the goals of promoting PEACE and reviving UBUNTU.
-
- The TPF will not be affiliated to any political party or organisation but instead will work with all student structures on issues of common interest.
-
- The TPF will remain committed to the creation of a more just and humane society and as such will support community and other outside campus initiatives that act in pursuance of this vision.
-
- The TPF will promote popular education as a means to engage with and to mobilise and conscientise the student population at the various institutions. Popular education locates itself within, not outside of, people's experiences and motivates people to action towards social change.
-
- The TPF will engage in activities on campus that actively promote dialogue, critical awareness-raising, unity and solidarity, and a sense of pride in being a part of the African continent.

Recognition of TPFs at Tertiary Institutions

Following the training courses provided by UMTAPO in 2011 and 2012, TPFs have now been officially recognised at a number of institutions around the country while several are awaiting the finalisation of registration.

The Future

Because of the nature of the TPF, it is expected that the TPF will become a registered body at all institutions of higher learning and that it will act as the body of critical thinking, reason, and mediation, in ensuring that tertiary institutions become the breeding ground for the future leadership of society rather than mere cannon fodder for any particular political or religious group or party.



In 2014, UMTAPO will conduct Leadership Training Camps for the TPFs in five provinces: Kwazulu Natal, Western Cape, Gauteng, Limpopo, and Eastern Cape.



The tertiary institutions that are being targeted for the establishment and consolidation of TPF's during 2014 – 2015 are:

Gauteng:

- University of Johannesburg
- Wits University
- UNISA (Johannesburg & Pretoria)
- Tshwane University of Technology

Kwazulu Natal:

- University of Kwazulu Natal (Howard, Westville, and Pmb)
- University of Zululand
- Durban University of Technology
- UNISA (Durban)

Western Cape

- University of Western Cape
- University of Cape Town
- Cape Peninsula University of Technology

Eastern Cape

- University of Fort Hare (Alice & Kingwilliamstown)
- Rhodes University
- Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

Limpopo

- University of Limpopo
- University of Venda

The Leadership Camps will enable 4-5 students from each campus in the province to participate in a course that covers:

- Peace Within the Individual and Society
- Understanding Race and Racism
- Citizenship and Democracy
- Practical Skills in Organisational Management and Student Mobilisation

Nthabalala Co-operative

The Nthabalala Cooperative which was initiated by the Peace Afrika Youth Forum of Nthabalala (an UMTAPO structure), recently received funding to the value of R144 000 from the Department of Trade and Industry's Cooperative Scheme (CIS).

The funding covered the expansion of the Nthabalala Cooperative from producing 400 chickens per batch to over 1500 per batch. The community is supporting the Cooperative by buying the chickens because they are affordable and fresh. An additional chicken shed that is fully equipped has been constructed through this new funding.

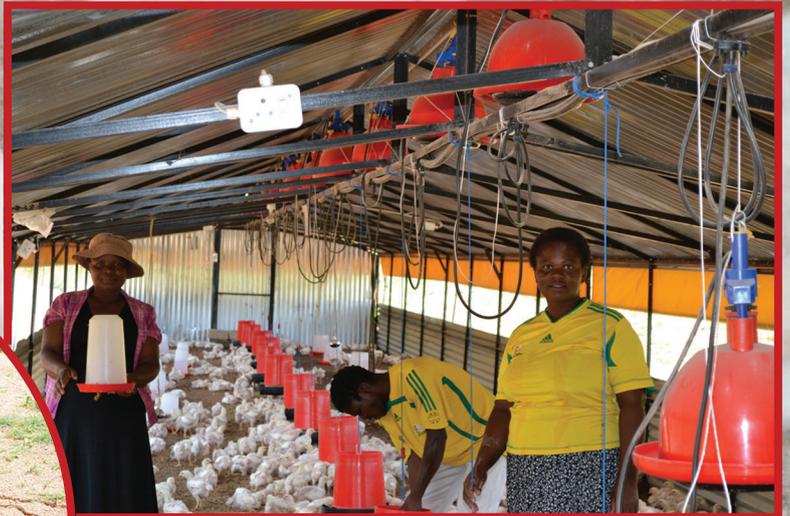
The Nthabalala Cooperative was selected as one of the finalists of the Eskom Business Expo since it has also become a pilot project in Limpopo for biogas technology. This project is implemented together with the University of Venda and University of Kwazulu Natal and funded by the Water Research Commission.

The biogas project is divided into three interlinked parts; firstly, the animal waste in the

form of cow-dung is fed into the digester, then the bacteria on the dung produces gas (used for cooking at the cooperative site), and finally, the slurry is used for irrigation of high protein animal feeds. Water harvesting is an integral part of this project.

The Cooperative uses the biogas for cooking and heating of water. The skills acquired by members through the biogas technology and production of animal feeds have provided an opportunity for expansion of the Cooperative. The University of Venda will also work with the Cooperative on animal husbandry focusing mainly on mass production of high protein animal feeds and currently there are three university students who are part of the project conducting research.

The goal for 2014 is to ensure that there is a cycle in the production of chickens so that they will be available at all times. The partnership with the University of Venda will assist in the sustainability of the cooperative.



PARTNERSHIPS AND COLLABORATION

NACCW (National Association of Child Care Workers) Regional Meeting

Members of the Tertiary Peace Forum did a presentation on the programmes of Umtapo with special emphasis on Peace Clubs at children's institutions at the KZN Regional Meeting of the NACCW.

The childcare workers and social workers who attended the programme were very interested in initiating Peace Clubs at their institutions.

NACCW 19th Biennial Conference

2 - 4 July 2013, at the University of Johannesburg

Vukani Mzobe, outgoing chairperson of the UKZN Tertiary Peace Forum - Howard College Campus and Arun Naicker facilitated a workshop at the National Association of Child Care Workers' 19th Biennial Conference. The theme of the conference was Social Service Innovations Towards Social Justice .The conference brought together delegates from the nine provinces and the continent.

"It was exciting to network with many delegates who have been participants in the PHARE course over the years from the nine provinces as well as Child Care workers who support the Peace Clubs at the children's homes" said Arun Naicker.

Vukani and Arun facilitated a session on the programmes of Umtapo. Their input also focused on the importance of addressing the root causes of injustice.

UMTAPO has worked with the NACCW at various levels for many years and many individuals and children's homes have participated in the UMTAPO programmes. Vukani Mzobe shared his experiences from being a peace club member at a children's home to currently being the chairperson of the UKZN Tertiary Peace Forum - Howard College Campus.

Durban Children's Home

Arun Naicker and Vukani Mzobe also presented the programmes of Umtapo at the AGM of the Durban Children's Home on Friday, 30th August 2013.

Peace Units Programme (KENYA)

On June 5, 2013, Umtapo's partner organisation at tertiary institutions in Kenya, P.U.P, held a Dean's Conference. Peace Units Programme (P.U.P) is an Interreligious, Interfaith and Intercultural platform founded in 1999 to promote action of students in active non-violence and peace building with tertiary level education institutions. The main objective at the time of formation was to create a forum for dialogue on matters relating to peace on campus and likewise training students on peace building, active nonviolence and conflict resolution.

To date, Peace Units Program Kenya is present in 12 institutions of higher learning in Kenya where it has contributed to the maintenance of peace and enhanced dialogue between the students and administrators.

In his session presentation on Cultivating a Culture of Peace in our Institutions, Professor Macharia focused on:

1. Differentiating the roles of peace, conflict and violence in human existence
2. Discussing how we could be instruments of peace at our institutions and the nation at large.

He defined peace and harmony as a basic human desire emphasizing that the Earth's character defines peace as the "wholeness" which can be expounded in words to mean the dynamic interconnectedness and interdependence) created by proper relationship with oneself, other persons, other cultures, other life, the Earth, and the larger whole of which all are a part. Without peace our potential as human beings which is generally limitless gets compromised and thus we are unable to produce either at work, school or in any other arena.

On the NEED FOR HOPE, Prof noted with concern that there is so much literature that portrays a picture of "utopian peace" and called on the members of the conference to be on the frontline to remind the citizens of the earth that peace is possible.

The P.U.P is Kenya's equivalent of UMTAPO's TPF (Tertiary Peace Forums) in South Africa.

Umtapo –Akanani Youth Training

On the 2nd – 7th December 2013, UMTAPO together with Akanani Rural Development Association conducted a five-day training course for young people on Ubuntu and Community Development (Self Reliance) at Ben Lavin Nature Reserve in Limpopo. The training brought together twenty six young people from different rural communities around Elim.

Women in dialogue

On the 21st September 2013, UMTAPO hosted a women's dialogue in Makhado as part of the peace week activities. The dialogue brought together 15 women from South Africa and Zimbabwe to talk about issues that can help empower women especially those that are coming from outside of South Africa.

Some of the issues that women raised were the need to put together programs and activities for continuous engagement amongst women, and the issue of abuse of women especially those that are coming from outside the borders of South Africa.

It was agreed that Umtapo should be a responsible for organising meetings and that different topics and facilitators should be invited including representatives from different government departments.

2. Feature Articles



THOMAS SANKARA

Why Africans Should Celebrate Thomas Sankara

Michael Mungai

Kenyan activist and co-founder, Harambee USA, Inc.

True heroes of Africa often lie in unmarked graves. Their achievements are only celebrated by a minority of dissidents who are sparsely located around the continent and throughout its diaspora. Stifled by the fabricated feats of the African neo-colonialist aristocracy, the legacy left by our unsung heroes is more endangered than the mountain gorilla.

The African press expediently exhumes their contributions during national holidays, only to bury them again once the celebrations are over. The global media is fixated on despots and warlords. The recent sensation about Joseph Kony should be a lesson to all Africans that if we don't select the narratives that we would like to universalize, someone else will. And we won't like it.

Thomas Sankara may not be a household name, yet to many Africans, he was a leader almost of equal stature to Nelson Mandela and Kwame Nkrumah. Born in 1949 in a country formerly known as Upper Volta, Sankara embarked on a military career, quickly rising in the ranks. Sankara became his country's head of state in 1983 after leading a coup d'état against the then current government. He renamed his country Burkina Faso, meaning "Land of Upright People."

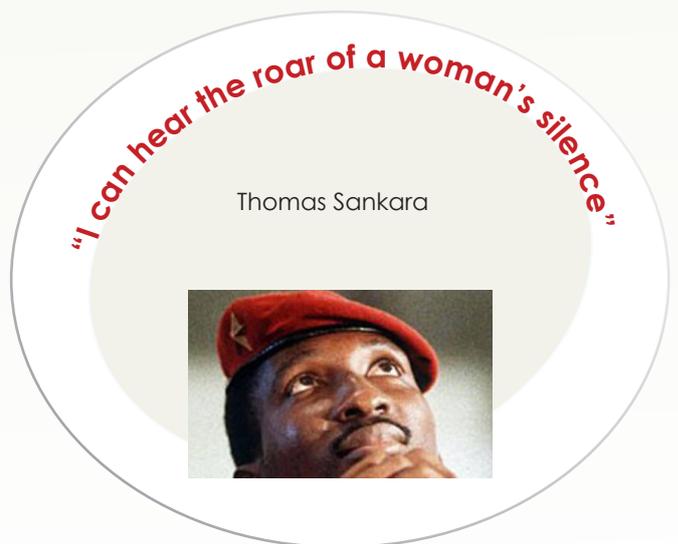
For a man referred to as "The African Che Guevara," it is no surprise that he is still widely unknown in the West. Profoundly influenced by the work of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, he committed his presidency to eradicating poverty and to uplifting the common man. As a Pan-Africanist, he sought to end the political ventriloquism practiced by former African colonial rulers as well as the continent's dependency on foreign aid. "He who feeds you, controls you", he argued.

A leader ahead of his time, Sankara was also dedicated to seeing the status of women in his country improve. Under his government, female genital mutilation, polygamy, forced marriages, and other practices that undermine the dignity of women were discouraged and banned. He became the first African head of state to elevate women to multiple top government positions, as well as recruiting them in the army.

A frugal man, Sankara sold off the government's fleet of Mercedes vehicles, making the Renault 5, the cheapest car available in the country at the time, the official vehicle for his ministers. He reduced his own salary to \$450 a month plus his personal possessions. He also banned the use of government chauffeurs and first class airline tickets by his government officials. He encouraged the Burkinabe to purchase garments produced by their fellow countrymen. Sankara also refused air conditioning in his office, arguing that most of his fellow countrymen lived without such luxuries.

His other achievements include policies to fight corruption, environmental protection and reforestation of the Sahel, promotion of education and health, agricultural sustainability, and land redistribution. A charismatic Marxist revolutionary who was a thorn in the flesh of former colonial powers, it was Sankara's outspoken anti-imperialism that got him killed in 1987. He left office the way he came, through a coup d'état masterminded by his former close ally, Blaise Compaoré, who was backed by the French. He died during the coup, at the age of 38. Sankara's fate is not unusual in Africa. Patrice Lumumba, another revolutionary politician from the Democratic Republic of Congo, was also executed in 1961 by the agents of imperialism in his country. Feared to be a communist due to his pan-Africanism as well as his association with the Soviet Union, the Belgian and American governments allegedly played a key role in his assassination. Sankara and Lumumba join the long list of martyrs and heroes of African post-colonial struggle for independence. As Africans, we reward their sacrifices with indifference and disregard to maintaining these narratives. Yet we are always quick to cry foul at the slightest hint of misrepresentation.

With leaders of such calibre, why should Africans allow their heritage to remain unacknowledged when the continent is afflicted by corrupt and self-serving leaders? Why should we allow ourselves to be defined by the worst amongst us? Should we continue to stand in apathy while Africans like Sankara and Lumumba are dismissed and assassinated as communists by the imperial powers which gave us tyrants like Mobutu Sese Seko as the capitalist alternatives? "Until lions have their historians, tales of the hunt shall always glorify the hunters," says a West African proverb. We need to start telling our own story. Sankara and Lumumba are the type of Africans we should make famous, lest machete-wielding rebels and child kidnappers take their place.



OBAMA VISITS ROBBEN ISLAND AND SPEAKS AT MADIBA'S FUNERAL SERVICE, BUT WON'T FREE HIS OWN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Obama sees no irony in making a pilgrimage to Nelson Mandela's place of political imprisonment (and speaking at his funeral service), while holding 80,000 human beings in solitary confinement. President Barack Obama, a man of infinite cynicism, made a great show of going on pilgrimage to Nelson Mandela's old prison cell on Robben Island, where the future first Black president of South Africa spent 18 of his 27 years of incarceration. With his wife and daughters in tow, Obama said he was "humbled to stand where men of such courage faced down injustice and refused to yield.... No shackles or cells can match the strength of the human spirit," said the chief executive of the unchallenged



superpower of mass incarceration, a nation whose population comprises only 5 percent of humanity, but is home to fully one-quarter of the Earth's prison inmates. Former Black Panther Herman Wallace is thought to be the longest-serving prisoner in solitary confinement in the United States, having spent 40 years alone in a cell in Louisiana's notorious Angola Prison. Obama could free him at any time, but of course, he won't (He was released in October 2013 and died three days later).

He could emancipate Black Panther captive Russell Maroon Shoatz, who has spent nearly 30 years in solitary, or Republic of New Africa political prisoner Mutulu Shakur or any and all of the scores of other aging political prisoners – people whose dedication to human freedom is no less than Mandela's, yet have been subjected to far worse treatment at American hands. Instead, Obama has doubled the bounty on Shakur's comrade and sister, Assata, in exile in Cuba. She might even be on Obama's Kill List – which is the real and authentic legacy of this country's First Black President.

Glen Ford

Executive Editor of Black Agenda Report



A TRUE REVOLUTIONARY OR WANTED TERRORIST

Who is Assata Shakur?

The FBI's recent addition to its Most Wanted Terrorists list has reopened long-dormant wounds from America's racial past. Assata Shakur's (formerly Joanne Chesimard) distinction of being the first woman on the FBI's Most Wanted Terrorists List evokes the triumphant and tragic legacy of the black power movement.

It was during an era whose high point, between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, witnessed the exhilarating highs of Stokely Carmichael's defiant declaration of "black power" and the street-swaggering bravado of the leather-jacketed Black Panthers, as well as the low points of fratricidal violence among militants. That violence was aided and abetted by illegal surveillance of law-enforcement agencies, most notably the FBI's notorious Counterintelligence Program, or COINTELPRO.

For almost 30 years, Shakur has resided in an undisclosed location in Cuba. She is recognized by its government as a revolutionary fugitive in exile, even as US authorities have sought to extradite her as a cold-blooded cop killer. Shakur's life in Cuba has been marked by a tenuous duality: She is at once venerated by supporters -- including the Cuban government, which contributes to her living expenses -- and increasingly vilified by US officials, who have placed a \$2 million bounty on her head.

To understand Joanne Chesimard's evolution from a doe-eyed black teenager living in Queens, N.Y., to the black revolutionary named Assata Shakur, accused of murder, requires going back more than 45 years to an era of national civil unrest marked by anti-war protests, campus strikes and deteriorating relations between blacks and whites that had liberals and conservatives openly discussing the possibility of a race war. (Assata was part of the New York City Panthers, some of whom took the surname "Shakur." The group's members included Afeni Shakur, mother of rapper Tupac. Assata is also Tupac's stepaunt).



"Nobody in the world, nobody in history, has ever gotten their freedom by appealing to the moral sense of the people who were oppressing them"

Assata Shakur

By the time of Martin Luther King Jr.'s April 4, 1968, assassination, race relations in America had reached bottom, highlighted by waves of urban riots that militants characterized as "rebellions" and government bureaucrats called "civil disorders." The Black Panther Party emerged from the burning embers of urban unrest at the vanguard of a revolution that would, paradoxically, be fought with guns and butter. The organization patrolled the streets of Oakland, Calif., brandishing legal weapons, and simultaneously establishing free breakfast programs, health clinics and anti-poverty measures that made it perhaps the era's most pragmatic revolutionary group.

The Panthers wrestled with this dual identity, with advocates of armed revolution breaking off into the Black Liberation Army, an entity inspired by the early writings of Panther leaders Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver as well as successful guerrilla revolts in the developing world, most notably Cuba.

It's within this historical context that Chesimard (Assata) became a black power activist, member of the underground BLA and convicted felon after being accused of killing a New Jersey state trooper in 1973. Ironically, Newton, the Black Panthers' minister of defense, had been similarly accused of murdering a police officer six years earlier. The subsequent "Free Huey" movement galvanized the New Left radicals and black power activists, eventually leading to Newton's release in 1970.

Shakur's daring escape from jail in 1979 and the publication of her gripping autobiography, *Assata*, in 1987 turned her into an icon, elevating her to the status of revolutionary cult figures such as former Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal. Their supporters remain as convinced of their innocence as their detractors are of their guilt.



My name is Assata ("one who struggles") Shakur ("the thankful one), and I am a 20th Century escaped slave.

Because of government persecution, I was left with no other choice than to flee from political repression, racism, and violence that dominate the US government's policy towards people of colour.

I am an ex-political prisoner, and I have been living in exile in Cuba since 1984. I have been a political activist most of my life, and although the US government has done everything in its power to criminalize me, I am not a criminal, nor have I ever been one.

RACE & RACISM in SA TODAY?

“Humanity was born in Africa. All people are children - or great, great grandchildren - of the earliest Africans”.

Professor Phillip Tobias

The late Professor Tobias, probably South Africa's greatest paleontologist and anthropologist, went on to say in an article that appeared in the Sunday Times in 2000:

The Earth has been spinning in space for about 4.6-billion years, in a universe that is about 14-billion years old. The earliest forms of life appeared about 3.8-billion years ago, long, long before the first modern humans emerged in Africa, only about 200,000 years ago.

“ Although Africa and its people were once so reviled, and for many still are, one of the greatest revolutions in knowledge during the 20th century was the revelation that it was Africa that gave birth to the first members of the human family millions of years ago.

In 1923, Professor Raymond Dart of the University of Witwatersrand came across the skull of a fossil child near Taung in South Africa. It had a mixture of ape-like and human features. He named it *Australopithecus africanus*.

The world remained unconvinced. Apart from the racist South African authorities, the world was not yet prepared to accept Africa as the cradle of humankind. Such an idea would debunk all theories of race and prejudice.

After Dart's discovery in South Africa which was rejected by the world of science, Dr Robert Broom, who became one of the world's greatest palaeontologists, discovered a number of adults of essentially the same kind as the “Taung Child” at Sterkfontein caves near Krugersdorp between 1936 and 1939.

From the 40s, fossils which were over 3 million years old were being discovered in northern Kenya and Ethiopia, especially by the Leakey family. In spite of the non-acceptance by European and North American scientists, it was becoming more and more apparent that Africa was the cradle of humankind. An attempt to show that a skull found in Sussex, England had a modern human size brain was proven (30 years later) to be fraudulent.

One of the latest discoveries (1997) has been “Little Foot” at the Sterkfontein caves by the Wits University team of Dr Ronald Clarke, Stephen Motsumi and Nkwane Molefe. It is dated 3.3 million years and not only is it the oldest nearly complete skeleton ever discovered, it is the most ancient sign of a hominid in South Africa.

Only 77 years since the “Taung Child”, researchers in Africa have provided proof that humans have evolved and that immediate or transitional forms existed on the planet, their bodily

structure bridging the gap between apes and humans. The researchers found evidence of five million years of evolutionary change from the time of the early hominids. They have shown that we were human in our pelvis and our legs, and in our way of walking on two legs long before we became human in our brain size and quality.

Research has revealed that it was only about two million years ago, or a little less, that the first exodus of humanity from Africa took place. This means that if the hominids emerged on the planet six million years ago, for two-thirds of their time on earth they were confined to the African continent. ””

So how is it that a country that has probably spawned the birth of the human race and has a world heritage site proclaiming to be the cradle of humankind is yet so ignorant and naïve about the concept of racism?

Until the South African society understands the concept of race and the root causes of racism, the search for a national identity and culture based on one people, one nation will be as elusive as world peace.



Of course, what played an important role was the 300 years of racism and oppression and over 65 years of a legalized racial policy that divided people and socialized generations into a way of divisive thinking that has become a way of life.

However, considering the many years of struggle against apartheid and the subsequent taking over of the reins of political power by "freedom fighters", it seems ironical that race-based thinking continues and has in fact become more normalised.

Journalist and motivational speaker, Ryland Fisher, in his article *In search of a National Identity*, stated:

"I believe that we need to move to a situation where racial categories no longer apply in South Africa and all of us just become South Africans".

Most would agree with this but that's easier said than done. Merely removing labels will not change attitudes and behavior. We cannot just wish away racism and racial categories unless

and until we understand the history and concept of race and racism and make concerted efforts to change our mindsets. This is the fundamental problem! Those who occupy the public space which plays a part in influencing the hearts and minds of the masses of people, such as government representatives, academics, and the media, do not tackle the problem from this perspective. Most, in fact, do so naively because they themselves have still to decolonise their minds and shed the vestiges of their colonial and racist past whether as victim or perpetrator. For the “non-racial” advocates, non-racialism was merely a relevant slogan which hardly translated into genuine feeling, thinking and action except under forced circumstances.

Anti-racism does not merely mean being allowed to use the same beaches, the same toilets, to attend the same schools, or to occupy the same levels of corporate power as whites. In order to see another person, no matter how different, just as a human being requires one to first know oneself, know the root causes of why people are different and why people have behaved and continue to behave in racist ways. To embrace diversity and not merely tolerate it, is predicated upon understanding the root of the problem which will result in a conscious shift in thinking. This will eventually result in natural behavior towards others as equal members of the human race.

The current SA government has removed race classification from the statute books but continues to utilize the apartheid race classification in most government documentation and spaces. Whatever the justification for this may be, it is clearly more the case that those who uphold the law still harbour ethnic and tribal mindsets in spite of the fact that the country is the site of the origins

of the human race. Is it any wonder therefore that the majority of people continue to use the idea of race or identify people by racial labels in their everyday language?

Traditionally, a race has been defined as a group of people with common ancestry who differ from other groups in terms of physical features such as skin colour or eye shape or hair texture, etc. In the past, the western world generally identified four races as: Mongoloid, Negroid, Caucasoid, and the anti-semitic tribes (to find a place for the middle eastern groups). Many have adapted this to suit their own power dynamics. Americans, for a long while had continued to use Caucasian and Negro to define white and black people. The apartheid government, of course, used it as a basis for its own four-race theory of the people living in South Africa, that is: Africans (or bantu or natives or black), Indians, Coloureds, and Whites.



Others also confuse the idea of race with nationality, language or ethnicity. Thus the belief that races exist as biologically distinct human populations is widespread and still strongly held in many parts of the world.

If the human race originated from one source and much to the despair of the western world, from an African source, how can we talk of different races. The notion of RACE is therefore socially constructed to suit the ideology and interests of a particular group or groups.

Modern scientific study has shown that what we refer to as races has no biologically meaningful existence. DNA experiments have in fact shown that there is more genetic variation within so-called races than between them.

The obvious question of why people from different parts of the world have different coloured skin arises? Why do people from the tropics generally have darker skin color than those who live in colder climates? Variations in human skin colour correlate closely with geography and the sun's ultraviolet (UV) radiation.

As early humans moved into hot, open environments in search of food and water, one big challenge was keeping cool. Since strong sun exposure damages the body, the solution was to evolve skin that was permanently dark so as to protect against the sun's more damaging rays.

Melanin, the skin's brown pigment, protects tropical peoples from the many harmful effects of ultraviolet (UV) rays. UV rays can, for example, strip away folic acid, a nutrient essential to the development of healthy fetuses. Yet when a certain amount of UV rays penetrates the skin, it helps the human body use vitamin D to absorb the calcium necessary for strong bones. This delicate balancing act explains why the peoples that

migrated to colder geographic zones with less sunlight developed lighter skin color.

When we say races are 'socially constructed', it means that they are created by a particular society and then learnt through socialisation by subsequent generations, who then 'take them for granted' believing them to be "real" divisions in society. This is what ideology does. Over time, ideology normalises or naturalises meanings

so we are unaware of their historical and social construction. They become taken-for-granted and assumed to be permanent and universal.

The root of racism and racial thinking

accompanied the spread of European power and colonisation of the globe including the transatlantic slave trade. Even today most ethnic conflicts are best understood in terms of conflict over resources, and the capacity to benefit from their exploitation.

Understanding the root causes of race classification is vital to eradicating racism and breaking the cycle of oppression, subjugation, and division amongst peoples.

Racism, therefore, is complex, widely dispersed and often socially acceptable. Central to racism are beliefs that humans can be grouped into different categories or races, and that these categories mark the superiority or inferiority of one over the other/s.

The media plays a crucial role in the perpetuation of race-based thinking, for example, in the

"Racism has to be consciously combated and not discreetly tolerated"

Nelson Mandela



Courtesy of Sterkfontein Caves

promotion of racial stereotyping through advertising, and in the need to publish sensationalized stories that promote perceived group animosities and stereotyped group behaviour. This is based on the commercial nature of most media which is controlled by the dominant ideology, and a limited or false understanding of race and racism by the the media personnel.

While it is important to note that even though there is no scientific basis for the concept of race, racism continues to exist and must be addressed. In most cases, only superficial and naïve efforts have been made to address racism and its effects. In South Africa, for example, affirmative action and the recurring B's are examples of government efforts to redress the racial inequities of the past.

In some countries and even in the liberal circles in South Africa, multicultural education is promoted as a response to apartheid and racist education. This focuses on 'culture as opposed to race' which is merely a politically correct way of continuing with the old since, in most cases, it reflects a white view of black cultures. It is preoccupied with exotic aspects of cultural differences and ignores the root causes of racism. After all, just to learn about other people's cultures is not to learn about the deep seated racism of one's own.

It is for this reason that UMTAPO is actively engaged in Peace and Anti-Racism Education in South Africa, the only civil society organization that has such a national programme in schools and marginalized communities. UMTAPO's programmes lays the foundation for an anti-racist and a more humane society by beginning with the root causes of racism and peacelessness, particularly in Africa. It enables people to recognize who they are and where they come from before engaging with the struggle for an anti-racist, anti-sexist, peaceful and just world.

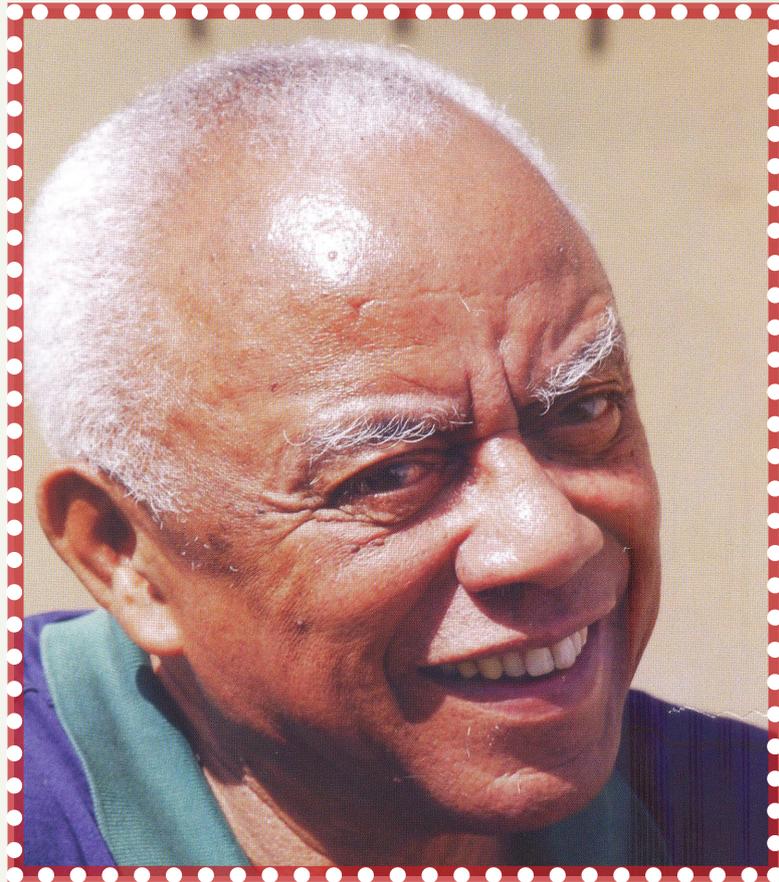


UMTAPO urges government departments and all other stakeholders to take the matter seriously if we are to create the environment for our children and youth to become proud to be a part of one people and one nation in a united country. Mindset change is entrenched when accompanied by relevant symbolic and cultural change, for example, a country named Azania will unite people more than a geographically descriptive one created by those of a discredited past.



"We all have to take pride in where we come from because that is the basis for our identity. We are a diverse society, but there must be a common consciousness. South Africans are not just Tswanas, Xhosas, Afrikaners or Greeks. All of us together make South Africa and it is the South African consciousness we want to create. Not a Tswana nation, a Zulu nation or a Xhosa nation."

Judge Yvonne Mokgoro (social cohesion advocate)

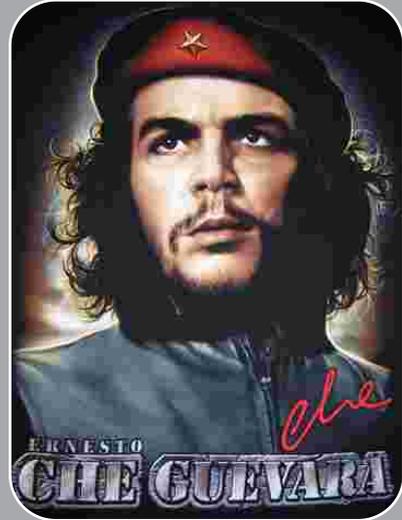


“By compelling us to declare whether we belong to this or that so-called “race”, the state forces us into a racial mould, whether we like it or not. Eventually, a racial habitus takes hold of us so that we take it for granted that we belong to this or that so-called “race” and we assume the relevant racial identity. This is what happened during the colonial-apartheid era and this is, preposterously, what continues to happen in post-apartheid South Africa, allegedly in order to benefit the oppressed and exploited majority”

Dr Neville Alexander

Cruel leaders are replaced only to have new leaders turn cruel.

Che' Guevara



One must beware of ministers who can do nothing without money, and those who want to do everything with money.

Indira Gandhi

A leader is best when people barely know he exists, when his work is done, his aim fulfilled, they will say: we did it ourselves

Lao Tzu

