

Peace Afrika

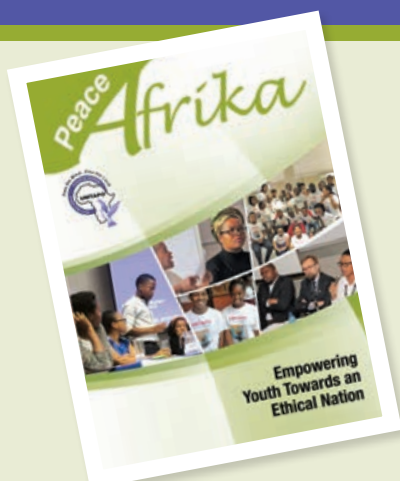
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**BUILDING AN
ETHICAL NATION:
ACTION AND REFLECTION**



Our Previous Issue



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Articles, information and comments are welcome, and should be submitted to:

The Director,

P O Box 37674, Overport 4067,
South Africa.

Email: info@umtapocentre.org.za

Twitter: @UMTAPO2014

www.umtapocentre.org.za

SPECIAL FOCUS

Our Youth Deserve Better

Chatting to a Cuban mathematics teacher several years ago, she casually observed that South Africans have a tendency to call large meetings and talk about issues that should just be attended to as a matter of course. She was seconded to our country by Cuba to help with the teaching of this gateway subject in South Africa.



In this edition of *Peace Afrika*, we include excerpts from two recent short articles written by Dr Mosibudi Mangena, former president of the BCM (A) in exile and of AZAPO.

The final article, Free Education and Anti-Corruption is produced in its entirety.

These articles provide a window to some of the fundamental issues confronting the country.

Dr Mangena also served as Deputy Minister of Education and Minister of Science and Technology. He was one of the first Black Consciousness leaders to be sentenced to Robben Island in 1973. After his release and subsequent banning and house arrest, he went into exile.

He should probably just have said that we tend to talk too much and do very little. Unlike the late great Muhammad Ali, our performance in the ring does not match our big lip.

On the 40th anniversary of the tragic June 16, the State will no doubt organise big events at various venues where the youth would be encouraged to dance to loud music and large streams of alcohol would flow down their gullets. In what way does this build the character of our young people and make them better citizens of our country?

Recently, a frustrated Grade R teacher showed me a video she had taken on her phone of her rowdy and totally uncontrollable and 'unteachable' class of 75 children. The class was so overcrowded that some of the kids sat on top of desks and on the floor, and there was simply no space for the teacher to move between the desks to reach the children. At that level, it is absolutely important that the teacher is able to reach the individual learners, and where necessary, hold their little hands to help them to write properly.

In that video, one saw children whose learning deficits were being piled up layer by layer. They are losing their educational foundation and most of them will probably never recover; they will form part of the more than half of black children who drop out of school before matriculation.

If they indeed pass their matric and proceed to tertiary education, they will be among those who are so underprepared that they struggle through their university or college studies. Either they will drop out or will finish well beyond the allocated years for their degree or diploma.

The Grade R teacher works in a No Fees school. Hers is not a unique story. These schools are supposed to cater for the educational needs of children in poor communities without the burden of paying school fees.

Talking to teachers in No Fees schools or visiting them, reveals shocking levels of neglect and under-service by the relevant authorities. They often have no books, chalk, paper and other such things that schools ought to have.

In its most recent Household Survey report, Stats SA revealed that the number of people relying on social grants increased from 12,7% of the population in 2003, to 31,1% in 2015. While it is commendable that we are lending a helping hand to the poor in our midst, the report also implies that poverty levels are increasing. These youth we are failing to educate today will most probably join the social grants queues in the near future.

We should not be reproducing poverty through our education system. Through the educational infrastructure, the teachers in the system and the legion of officials at different levels, we should be producing young people who would not queue for grants, but would earn salaries to support themselves; young people who would not queue for RDP houses, but would build or buy their own houses; young people with skills that would contribute towards the growth of the economy and the prosperity of our nation, and young people who would pay taxes that would enable the state to do even more for the development of the country and its citizens.

June 16 is supposed to be a sombre event that requires all of us to pause and ponder the immense sacrifices made by our people during that tragic episode in our history. We are the only society in the world that commemorates painful events in their history by getting drunk and dancing on the graves of their dead.

The Idiocy of Ethnicity

As young political activists in the South African Students' Organisation, the Black People's Convention and other Black Consciousness organisations in the late 60s and early 70s, we battled the poisonous phenomenon of ethnicity. The oppressive regime, through the Bantustan system, was aggressively fanning the fires of ethnic chauvinism among blacks as a strategy to blunt the struggle for emancipation.

We argued in the Black Consciousness Movement that we were not oppressed as Basotho, amaXhosa, baVenda, Indians, coloureds, etc., but as black people.

ugly head of ethnicity is emerging with unnerving frequency. This retrograde development comes twenty years after the attainment of democracy.

We were bemused when the '100% Zulu Boy' slogan appeared. Then there were other less prominent 100% somethings. We did not take these manifestations too seriously. We now realise that we ignored those manifestations of ethnic mobilisation at our peril.

The Vuwani debacle was heavily pregnant with ethnic undertones. People of one ethnic group did not want to be in the

born in a province other than Gauteng. How messed up is that?

Just like racism, ethnicity is irrational, idiotic and dangerous. It is illogical to like or dislike a person based simply on the language that he or she speaks at home or where he or she was born. You cannot judge the character of a person, or the skills and competence of a person using ethnicity as a criterion.

Even as young student activists in SASO, we made it clear that our struggle was for the creation of an open and democratic society where the colour of your skin or region of origin would not be a point of reference. That's why it is so jarring for some of us to see people mobilising one another on ethnic lines.

It is clear in Tshwane, Malamulele and Vuwani that the main instigators of the mayhem were people who wanted to protect or advance their corrupt economic activities.

Ethnicity is just as illogical as it is dangerous. We have already seen its bitter fruit in Malamulele, Vuwani and Tshwane. Property was destroyed and people lost their lives. We could reap even more pain if we allow it to fester.

We have seen genocide in Rwanda, wholesale killings of fellow citizens in South Sudan, the mass slaughter of people in former Yugoslavia and the breakup of the country into different ethnic-based republics.

Ethnicity is a mobilisation tool for those who are politically and morally bankrupt, those who are bereft of a proper political, social, moral or ideological argument to offer.

Therefore, we needed to band together as the oppressed to confront our common enemy. We fully understood that ethnic chauvinism was an enemy of black unity and solidarity. We dismissed the graded privileges accorded our Indian and coloured compatriots as the machinations of the oppressors to divide and rule us. Many of us thought that we had defeated the demon of ethnicity in our country.

To the dismay of many of us who were involved in the struggle for freedom, the

same municipality with citizens from another ethnic group. The same was the case with the mayhem we had earlier in Malamulele.

To push their unholy agenda, people burned schools, other public property, disrupted schooling in their areas, severely restricted transport and prevented workers from going work.

The latest madness was the murders, looting and burning of buses and clinics in Tshwane because a political party had nominated a mayoral candidate who was

"We are of the view that we should operate as one united whole toward attainment of an egalitarian society for the whole of Azania. Therefore entrenchment of tribalistic, racialistic or any form of sectional outlook is abhorred by us."

– Steve Biko –

Free Education and Anti-corruption

A few years ago, during my Fellowship at the Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study, I shared that space with a number of senior academics from many parts of the world, including one from Sweden. Due to the fact that he had an interest in the socio-economic setup in South Africa, the two of us had a few conversations about our respective countries.

It turned out that South Africa and Sweden are like chalk and cheese in many aspects of life. Unlike South Africa, the gap between the rich and the poor is very small in Sweden; their society is very compliant; education from kindergarten to university is free; healthcare is free; unemployment is low and crime and corruption are minimal. Like their Scandinavian counterparts, they are a rich country with a fairly sophisticated economy.

Swedes are heavily taxed, but my interlocutor indicated that they happily pay their taxes because they appreciate the benefits and there is no corruption to rile taxpayers.

In the previous article, I doubted whether free higher education could be sustained in South Africa under the current capitalist economy. The work of student activists at Wits, who researched and made proposals that demonstrated the affordability of free higher education in our country, persuaded me to sit up and think again. They didn't burn and destroy anything. Working together with Khaya Sithole, a chartered accountant, they

increased and a wealth tax be introduced. Their calculations indicate that these measures might take us over the line. These proposals provide a wonderful platform to engage with this painful problem facing our society. We might have to tweak these inputs in a number of ways.

First, considering the appalling levels of inequality in our society, we might want to leave sales tax where it is in order not to burden the poor any further. Sales tax is a blunt instrument that does not discriminate among the different levels of household incomes.

Second, it is morally difficult to campaign for free higher education when basic education is not free. Tertiary students are only 5% of our young in the education system. What are we saying about the 95%? Fees in some public schools are not far behind what some universities charge. It might be better to campaign for quality free education from kindergarten to tertiary education.

Third, we should reduce the size of government in order to save resources for education and health. Every cabinet post goes with buildings, services, bureaucracy, cars, etc., that cost an arm and a leg.

Fourth, we should have a state bursary scheme that would fully cover registration, tuition, accommodation and meals for qualifying students. Those who graduate and earn above a certain amount should pay back

We saw how the Swedes are quite happy to pay high taxes because they are confident that the grubby hands of crooked individuals and companies will not gobble their hard-earned money up. Higher taxes might be a hard sell to citizens if corruption rages on unabated.

It is corruption that is responsible for the debilitating and jaw-dropping shenanigans playing out at the SABC, Eskom, Post Office, SAA, Prasa and other State-owned entities. It is the deployment of incompetent lackeys at the entities for purposes of looting that brings us to this sordid mess. Those who cock a snook at parliament, the courts and the nation do this secure in the knowledge that they have the protection of powerful people in positions of authority.

It is the same story in municipalities, provincial government and national departments where massive pilfering of state resources is now legend.

We are not a nation of incompetents and thieves who cannot run this country properly and efficiently. We should just ensure that the right people are appointed to run our institutions.

We might then be able to use the potency of education to take our society out of poverty and create a more equal society. If we did that, we would be among a handful of capitalist countries in the world to have free education up to tertiary level. But then, aren't we the most unequal society on the planet?

The downsizing of government would give us hundreds of billions of Rands that could go towards education and health.

put on their thinking caps and produced some worthwhile ideas that deserve some serious consideration.

Basically, they suggest that the State increases its grants to universities up to 50% of their budgets; a graduate tax be imposed; corporate and sales taxes be

at a reasonable rate. This should leave the door open for those who choose to pay their tertiary fees.

Fifth, we should eradicate corruption in every sphere of our lives. It is a cancer that not only steals from society, but it breeds dependency and destroys societal morale.

A country with a population of only 55 million souls should not have 10 parliaments. We should either abolish provinces or at least scrap provincial parliaments and replace them with administrators. In a similar vein, we should reduce the size of the cabinet. Compared to countries with bigger economies such as the US, China and Germany, our cabinet is a mass meeting while theirs are sleek machines designed for purpose and efficiency.

UMTAPO'S PROGRAMMATIC WORK

The Umtapo Student Movement (USM) Spreads its Wings

University of Western Cape USM Continues to Shine

Creativity, self-reliance, and commitment have been the hallmarks of the USM at the University of Western Cape since the formation of the Tertiary Peace Forum. It has capitalised on exciting, outdoor, environmental-friendly activities to enhance its growth and strengthening. On 30 July 2016, they organised a hike on Table Mountain with all the provincial institutions to bond and recap on what each institution had been involved in, the challenges they faced, and possible solutions.

They creatively organised a camp at Cedarburg from 2-4 September. This was hosted by the Cape Leopard Trust, which had its own programme drawn up consisting of activities that they had to participate in while they were staying there. But, as the Umtapo Student Movement, they utilised the opportunity to use it as a team building camp that would bolster the unity of both old and new members. It was also supposed to strengthen the existing relationships between both executive members and general members.

The programme of the Cape Leopard Trust involved knowledge about recycling, experiencing rock explorations and climbing, cave crawling, information on the heritage of the San and Khoi people, hiking, and

discussions on climate change, as well as night explorations (educational, of course).

During free time and evenings, USM activities took place such as an introduction of the USM Executive of 2016 by the President, Ms Sisonke Dyonta, an overview of the background of the USM and what it does at UWC, and feedback from the training course since not all participants had attended.

At UWC, the USM members engage not only with students but communities and high school learners as well. Members reach out to students at different institutions and engage about the issues faced by students and the South African society. When going to communities, members of the USM hold

talks with community members to get their views on what democracy, anti-corruption and human rights are. They then engage with the community members to look for a way forward after having identified issues in their community.

The USM also assists matriculants in terms of career guidance and how to apply to higher educational institutions. For example, on 21 July, the USM went to Thembelihle High School and Garlandale High School to provide information to the matriculants and prepare them for making applications to the tertiary institutions. On 29 July, they assisted these matriculants with their application forms for UWC and CPUT.



“Overall, the camp was a great way for all of us to get to know each other on a more social level other than sitting in meetings on campus. We let each other into our personal spaces and learned about each other while also learning about the UMTAPO Student Movement. New relationships were formed and others were tightened and, all in all, USM-UWC is on its way to reaching new heights”.

– USM UWC President –

The 2016 executive consists of:

- Sisonke Dyonta President
- Sinoxolo Ndlumbini Deputy President
- Andiswa Nkamana Secretary
- Mzamo Thengani Deputy Secretary
- Khanyisa Sobuza Treasurer
- Athenkosi Siyazi Deputy Treasure
- Yonela Makishi Project Manager
- Cindy Madayi Events co-ordinator
- Mandilakhe Tshongoyi Additional Member
- Zusipe Zwelonke Additional Member

The camp was an educational experience in many ways. Some were of the opinion that it was good for everyone to bond with nature and others took the opportunity to get to know each other. Some discussions included the Khoi San lifestyle, which included engaging with nature, something that is hardly ever done in the modern world, which is bombarded with technology.



New Kid on the Block: USM (UNIZUL)



The USM at the University of Zululand, one of the newest in the country, continues to grow and become visible on campus. They have a membership of over 100 and growing.

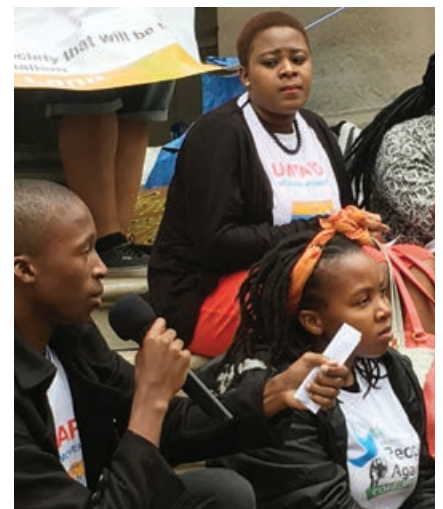
At a general meeting held on 15 August 2016, they agreed to appoint a sub-committee to work hand-in-hand with the executive committee. The sub-committee is an endeavour to bring in younger students who will continue with the USM when senior students complete and leave the university; it is a proactive effort to pass on the baton.

The meeting raised issues that were affecting students and the university as

a whole such as corruption, selling of exam papers and degrees, and the use of underqualified staff to lecture. The meeting also decided to hold a fundraising event in preparation for a silent protest that was held in September 2016.

A delegation of USM members made the journey to the Durban University of Technology on 5 August and 23 September 2016 to attend the UMTAPO/DUT Seminar on Racism and Corruption and the Annual Biko Seminar, respectively.

Already, the staff and students at UNIZUL have come to recognise the USM as an alternative body to resolve issues.



June 16 Commemoration held by the University of KwaZulu-Natal USM

Moving off campus, the USM at UKZN (Howard College) took to the steps of the Durban City Hall to make their voices heard on 16 June 2016.

Despite the venue clash with a union march, which delayed proceedings significantly, and the lengthy Zwelinzima Vavi address to the workers, which added to the frustration of the students, the event went off well, considering it was the first such event for the USM (UKZN). Students discussed current challenges on campus and in society.



KZN Umtapo Student Movement (USM) Seminar on Racism and Corruption



In collaboration with DUT, a gathering of the USM branches from KZN was possible on 5 August 2016 in which UNIZUL, UKZN (Howard College and Westville), and UNISA participated. Bishop Emeritus Rubin Phillip, former Anglican Bishop of KZN and a former vice-president of SASO and comrade of the late Steve Biko, was the keynote speaker.

Khulekani Shoji, Chairperson of USM (UKZN Howard College) and Nhlaka Ngubane, USM Head of Finance (UNIZUL), also provided input on racism and corruption. Thabile Mdluli of USM (UNIZUL) chaired the proceedings.

Even though the expected number of participants did not turn up, the seminar provided the opportunity for the USMs in KZN to reflect on the past and identify strategies and tactics to chart the way forward.

In his address on Re-awakening of Humanity, Nhlakanipho Ngubane (Umtapo

Student Movement-UNIZUL) stressed the need for ethical leadership. He said: “Many of our people are egocentric; they see life as a race for personal gain (self-interest) such as wealth and status in society. They feel the need to want to compete and gain more – some because of greed and some due to poverty and many other social ills that affect our community.”

“The problem in many universities is mismanagement of funds and a lack of ethical leadership, lack of internal controls for monitoring, evaluation and regulation. Students are not aware of information; they do not read and hence they do not know half the battles they are fighting for. Our understanding of our existence is thus questionable. If we do not understand our own existence, it is easier to accept racism and corruption.”

He went to say: “...it is up to us to act and make a difference. In order for us to

forge a way forward for the future, we have to look into history and understand what it means to be compassionate and to have ubuntu...”

“Leaders need to be honest with themselves, provide a service to the people and be committed. Leadership must change to leading in a manner that respects the rights and dignity of others as well as leading in a manner that demands respect from others.

“Education needs to be for social change, promoting collective consciousness among those in leadership roles and in society. We need effective implementation of our vision, and to promote ethical leadership so that people see that we are a progressive movement that promises to end corruption, racism, poverty and many other social, economic and political ills...”

“We should always strive for unity that is the true essence of ubuntu and tackle

Leadership must change to leading in a manner that respects the rights and dignity of others as well as leading in a manner that demands respect from others.

challenges of organising and mobilising our society against unjust sociopolitical and economic issues”.

In his opening remarks, Bishop Emeritus Rubin Phillip acknowledged the role that UMTAPO is playing in nation building. With local elections being the major activity during this period, he said that it was critical for young people to participate in elections to change the political landscape.

Addressing the issue of racism, Bishop Phillip cautioned about begging for acceptance. He said that there was no need “to ask people to love us if they don’t want to.” It was more important to “first love ourselves and become confident of who we are.” Racism, he said, also cannot be separated from economic freedom as well as gender and class inequality.



Annual Strini Moodley Memorial Lecture

This lecture came at a time when university student movements such as *#Fees Must Fall* and *#Rhodes Must Fall*, among others, had begun to question racism, inequality, and the relevance of the curricula at institutions of higher learning. The theme of the lecture was therefore of great importance to current debates and discourse in the country and provided an opportunity for students, academics, civil society, and government departments to engage constructively in addressing the challenges that higher education in South Africa faces.



Professor Jonathan Jansen | Vice - Chancellor of the University of the Free State.

The 10th Annual Strini Moodley Lecture was held on 20 May 2016 at the UKZN's (Westville) Senate Chamber.

Strini Moodley, together with the late Steve Biko, played a pivotal role in the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement. Strini was a founder member of Umtapo Centre, a playwright, political activist, and training facilitator.

The keynote speaker to mark this event was Professor Jonathan Jansen, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Free State, addressing the topic *"The Future of Higher Education in SA: Addressing Racism, Inequality, and Relevance"*.

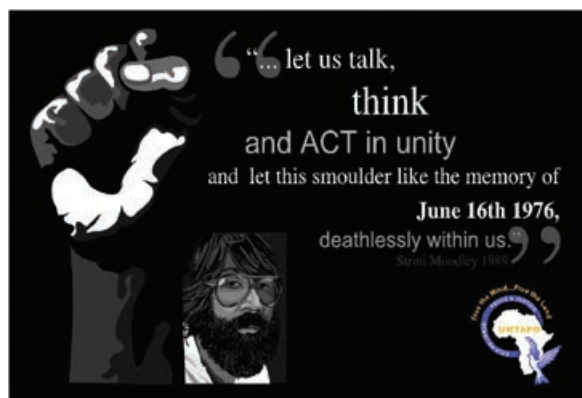
At the outset, Jansen said: "Let me start by acknowledging that the creative disruptions brought about by the demand for access (Fees) and the struggle against alienation (Rhodes) were not only necessary but long overdue. It was always clear that the steady decline in government funding and the steady incline in student tuition were, together, a recipe for disaster. University leaders were caught in that

pincer grip between the State and students, responsible for keeping their institutions afloat while at the same time ensuring that poor students could access and succeed in their university studies. It would soon become an impossible juggling act as more and more poor students rightly demanded access while less and less money was available to maintain operations."

He acknowledged that, "Like most observers, I, therefore, applaud the student movement for its signal achievements in pushing the state and universities towards addressing systemic dilemmas facing higher education funding."

However, the bulk of his address focused on the costs of the student protest movement to the future viability of universities in South Africa: the social, financial, cultural, academic and sustainability costs.

Prof. Jansen concluded by saying: "Let us not forget, either, that at the heart of Strini's work was to reconcile differences between various political strains in the black community. His commitment was to asserting pride in black identity and the creative work of the black community. Strini believed in community mobilisation against the heavy odds of apartheid. And his legacy was to remain true to the founding ideals of the struggle for black liberation and the freedom of all South Africans from the tyranny of our past."



Annual Steve Biko Seminar

The Steve Biko National Seminar 2016, an UMTAPO/Durban University of Technology (DUT) Collaboration, took place on 23 September at DUT.

The theme: Conversation on Black Consciousness was led by two guest speakers: Simamkele Dlakavu – feminist, youth activist and Fallist, who spoke on Feminism, Fallism, Socialism: The Role of Black Consciousness in the struggle for a free Azania, and, Dr Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape, Black Consciousness stalwart and ex-Robben Islander, who addressed Black Consciousness in Perspective: Then & Now.

In his welcome note, Dr Martin Mandeo, Campus Director of the Pietermaritzburg Campuses of DUT, said that it is the role of students to push against the system like Biko and his comrades did. If the student body is docile, he argued, one needs to be concerned.

As far as Black Consciousness goes, he felt that the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) should not be contesting for power as a political party but should rather be a strong social movement that would transform society.

He said that he was inspired to see so many young people present and that it augurs well for the country.

UMTAPO Board member Asha Moodley also a stalwart of the BC movement, in

welcoming participants, reminded the youth, in particular, that BC was not only about developing critical thinking but also about translating that into action in communities in order to transform unequal power relations in the country and to ensure the best kind of life for the people. Simamkele Dlakavu said “In Fallism, we love Biko and describe ourselves as Black Conscious.” However, she bemoaned the absence or obscurity of the black feminist voice in the BCM. She quoted at length from a book by Mamphela Ramphele on the experience of black women within the BCM.

Simamkele noted that the separation of the struggles for a free, decolonised education and that of black feminists was crippling the Fees Must Fall (FMF) movement. She stressed that “for us to achieve this Azania that we love to be filled with black love, black solidarity, and equality in every sense... we need to take all forms of oppression seriously.”



Simamkele Dlakavu | Fallist and feminist student leader



Dr Martin Mandeo | Campus Director of the Pietermaritzburg Campuses of DUT.

“What Black Consciousness seeks to do is to produce real black people who do not regard themselves as appendages to white society. We do not need to apologise for this because it is true that the white systems have produced throughout the world a number of people who are not aware that they too are people.”

– Steve Biko

In her concluding remarks, she reiterated that students have definitely been inspired by the ideas of Biko and the BCM, which gave them an ideology about blackness, black resistance, black solidarity and black love. But she insisted that this was not enough because even within blackness, there were forms of oppression. BC needed to be expanded to take cognisance of this.

Her parting remark was that: “For the Azania that we want, it will need to be intersectional or it will be bullshit!”

Dr Aubrey Mokoape, as a one of the founders of the BC movement, unpacked Black Consciousness with an historical and conceptual overview of the ideology and the movement.

He urged participants to constantly engage in critical discourse. “Learning is a lifelong process,” he said. “We need to continue such discussions/conversations so that we learn from each other and enrich ourselves so that ultimately, we can reach that destination where there is a society free of oppression and exploitation and where human beings can reach their full potential and learn to love each other.”



“We need to constantly read and read in order to understand. Not read just to quote the writer.”

– Simamkele Dlakavu



Umtapo Student Movement (USM)

Ideological Framework

The ideological framework for the UMTAPO Student Movement (USM) can be said to be based on an ethical African Humanism. More simply put, it is a combination of ubuntu and ethical behaviour with the principles of socialism.

Preamble

What is generally needed is not only a framework that provides the theoretical backdrop for change but a framework that incorporates a philosophy that recognises the value of every person as a valuable member of the human race.

In Africa, in this regard, one has to go back to the efforts and ideas of visionaries such as Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Thomas Sankara, Robert Sobukwe, and Steve Biko. Fanon's first work *Black Skin, White Masks* was his first effort to articulate a radical anti-racist humanism that adhered neither to assimilation to a white-supremacist mainstream nor to reactionary philosophies of black superiority.

Fanon situated his diagnosis within an ethical commitment to the equal right of every human being to have his or her human dignity recognised by others. This assertion that everyone was entitled to moral consideration and that no one is dispensable was the principled core of his decolonisation theory.

Fanon also asserted that "everything" "so well explained by Marx" needed to be – out of historical, cultural, and geographical necessity – "thought out again." Fanon was, indeed, pro-socialist, but he was against Eurocentric conceptions of socialism being imposed or superimposed on Africa.

Revolutionary decolonisation was Fanon's solution to "the colonial problem" but he also foresaw the need for future generations of critical theorists to revise and re-theorise the concept of revolutionary decolonisation in the light of the issues of their specific life-worlds and life-struggles. Fanon famously wrote in *The Wretched of the Earth*: **"Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it."**

Biko put it very simply: "As people existing in a continuous struggle for truth, we have to examine and question old concepts, values, and systems... In this process, we have to evolve our own scheme, forms and strategies to suit the need and situation, always keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values."

So indeed, those in the throes of the current neoliberal paradigm, while learning from the

progressive and revolutionary ideologies and actions of the past, must re-theorise and create a new paradigm for the present. It may not simply be the case of being a capitalist, socialist or communist.

Many an example has shown that even the revolutionary socialist thinker and activist does not automatically transcend into an ethical leader when in power. **Ethical leadership implies leaders who not only act in the interests of the majority of the people but also deliberately act to entrench an ethically and morally sound value system in relation to a collective humanity.**

What is ethical African Humanism?

The quest for true humanity in today's world has to go beyond merely importing social and economic systems that are 'revolutionary'. The essence of humaneness and ethical behaviour has to be embedded into a new way of thinking and lifestyle from the cradle to the grave.

In 1844, Karl Marx wrote that "Communism....is humanism." Humanism still appealed to Steve Biko in the early 1970s. However, through much of western discourse over the years, humanism has come to be associated with liberal and reactionary ideas.





For Eskia Mphahlele, the notable African writer, there has to be an ethic built on a respect and acknowledgement of other human beings. For him, it is African humanism that is rooted in traditional values of mutual respect for one's being and a sense of position and place in the larger order of things. In fact, this is the essence of ubuntu that is often regarded as synonymous with African Humanism. Ubuntu is a concept that is generally regarded as forming the basis for an African worldview. Ubuntu is humanism with the emphasis on the humane.

Humanism – any type of humanism – puts people at the centre of things. However, the western brand of humanism has tended to put the individual at the top of the evolutionary process. It is on this score that African Humanism (ubuntu) parts company with the western kinds of humanism. Ubuntu is fundamentally at variance with individualism, where the latter is understood to mean that self-interest is the proper goal of all human actions and consequently that the individual has the right to attain the highest degree of self-fulfilment and material welfare that one is capable of. In the ubuntu-type of humanism, a person can only be identified in relation to other human beings.

The exponents of **ethical African Humanism** cannot, for example, be racists. How can they be when racism, by definition, is exclusivist and devoid of the inclusive quality of humaneness?



The exponents of **ethical African Humanism** cannot be capitalists because capitalism thrives on enrichment of the few at the expense (exploitation) of the majority.

The exponents of **ethical African Humanism** cannot embrace greed and wealth accumulation beyond one's own needs. "Enough is as a

good as a feast" must be a rallying call as promoted by the late Dr Neville Alexander.

The exponents of **ethical African Humanism** must embody the collective, humane spirit that is contrary to division, disunity, oppression and violence.

The essence of humaneness and ethical behaviour has to be embedded into a new way of thinking and lifestyle from the cradle to the grave.

THE USM PLEDGE

As students of this generation engaged in the continuous search for truth and justice, in the words of Biko and Fanon, we have re-theorised and re-discovered our mission under the banner of the UMTAPO STUDENT MOVEMENT (USM), which will be to mobilise students at institutions of higher learning within an ideological framework that promotes ubuntu and ethical behaviour in combination with the principles of socialism or what may be called a philosophy of ethical African Humanism.

Sexual Violence in Schools in South Africa (SeVISSA)

SeVISSA (Eastern Cape)

The Nelson Mandela Children's Fund has partnered with Comic Relief and local organisations to coordinate a programme addressing Sexual Violence against Girls in Schools in South Africa (SeVISSA). The project will be executed over a period of five years.

The intention of the programme is to mitigate the impact of violence, bullying, abuse and exploitation of learners in schools and communities with a special focus on the effects these have on girls' education and their ability to reach their optimal potential in life.

The programme is implemented in four provinces:

- Eastern Cape (site Peddie)
- Western Cape
- Limpopo
- Gauteng

Each province has a consortium made up of a lead organisation and partner

organisations. The lead organisation will administer the funds for the consortium and be accountable for reporting to the donors.

In the Eastern Cape, UMTAPO is the lead organisation and the project is focused on 16 villages around Peddie that fall under the Ngqushwa Local Municipality and Amathole District Municipality.

These were some of the UMTAPO activities during the period: May – October 2016:

Launch of Peace Club and CPM

On 24 May 2016, Emfundweni High School Peace Club and the Qeto Primary School

Children's Peace Movement (CPM) had a collaborative launch where Akhona Dondashe was the guest speaker. Similarly, on 27 May 2016, Nathaniel Pamla High School and Ayliff Primary School launched their Peace Club and CPM collaboratively and Khumbulani Yekani was the guest speaker.

On 7 June 2016, Fezeka Primary School also held an awareness campaign on sexual violence where SGB members, SAPS and social workers were among the guests.

Women's Seminars

During the second-year roll-out of SeVISSA

Free the Mind... Free the Land
PEACE & JUSTICE
UMTAPO

Peace Clubs, Children's Peace Movement (CPM), Women's Coalition, and UBUNTU Community Forums

SPEAK OUT

AGAINST SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

Free the mind
Free the land

Supported by

Eastern Cape
Sevisisa Coalition

Nelson Mandela
CHILDREN'S FUND

VILLAGE	DATE	VENUE	KEYNOTE SPEAKERS
Tuku B	31 May 2016	Tuku B Methodist Church	Mrs Nobantu Kota UCF and Women's Coalition member at Cisira
Lujiko	25 May 2016	Community Hall	Mrs Gcobisa Mpande CPM educator at Fezeka Primary School
Qeto	9 June 2016	Community Hall	Ms Nombuyiselo Nkuzo Paralegal officer at Khula CDP

in the Eastern Cape, UMTAPO conducted three women's seminars in each of the villages that were targeted. The women's seminars had an unusual turn-out of men who have become part of the occasion in all three villages. The second year also saw local speakers being used at the seminars, coming from those who were within the SeVISSA programme in the first year. This reflects part of their leadership development within the programme.

Ubuntu Community Forum Leadership Camp

The Ubuntu Community Forum Leadership Camp took place on 24-26 June 2016 at Arendsnes Campsite near East London. The

camp was organised for 26 participants: six representatives from each of the Ubuntu Community Forums from the three communities in the current year and two from each of the previous years' communities.

The chief facilitator of the camp was Nomiki Yekani-Mathonsi.

Participants described the camp as a life-changing experience and they felt that they were ready to tackle issues of development in their respective communities and to take the programme forward. Others considered the two days too short and said they needed more skills on empowerment in local governance and economic justice.

Women's Coalition Evaluation & Consolidation Workshop

The Women's Coalition Evaluation and Consolidation Workshop took place on 28-29 June at Arendsnes Campsite, Chintsa East, East London.

There were 26 participants, representing the women's committees from seven villages targeted over two years. Some of the challenges that they faced in dealing with sexual violence in schools and in the community were:

- Lack of response from the police when reporting;
- Social workers not doing their work;
- Community members supporting culprits;
- Young people not attending community meetings;
- Drug abuse in schools; and
- Community members not reporting in fear of their lives.

In response to the question: How can the women's coalition play a bigger role in fighting sexual violence in schools and in the community?, they said:

- To speak out more;
- To be supportive not only to those who are victims but to the community as a whole;
- To be truthful to children and to raise them with honesty; and
- To be brave and to tackle the issues head on.





Peace Club & CPM Evaluation Workshop

The workshop took place on 15 June 2016 at the Darban Community Hall. It brought together 64 members from the Peace Clubs, Children's Peace Movement and their educators. The schools that were represented in the workshop were: Fezeka Primary School, Lujiko Primary School, Qeto Primary School, Emfundweni Secondary School, Ayliff Primary School, Nathaniel Pamla Secondary School, Umzuxolile Secondary School and Kaulela Secondary School.

The purpose of the workshop was:

- To bring together the structures that UMTAPO works with in schools to share experiences;
- To evaluate and assess the impact of the work done by the Peace Clubs and

- Children's Peace Movement; and
- To consolidate and plan the way forward.

UCF Evaluation Workshop

On 30 June 2016, 47 members of the Ubuntu Community Forums from seven villages attended the evaluation workshop at Darban Community Hall. The meeting provided an opportunity for village members to get to know each other, learn

from one another, assess the progress of the UCF in each village and what would be the logical way forward.

Participatory evaluation, as shown above, is a key component of the UMTAPO activity before continuing into the next phase.

Commencement of the Third-Year of the SeViSSA Programme

On 16 August 2016, UMTAPO staff members,

“UMTAPO NGO is empowering us spiritually and mentally. It was a great opportunity that I was given to be part of the camp. I've learned a lot, now I intend to educate others.”
Learner, Peace Club camp



together with the director, visited Tyityaba Primary School and Ncedolwethu Secondary School from Crossroads village to meet with the principal/school management. The purpose was to introduce UMTAPO and the SeViSSA project to the school and to gauge their willingness to participate in the project. In Tyityaba Primary School, the principal, staff and some of the School Governing Body members were present and they spoke about the desperate plight of their school but welcomed the UMTAPO's intervention. On 17 August 2016, UMTAPO staff members also visited Daninge Primary School and Matomela Secondary School from Gcinisa Village to meet with the principal/school management. The purpose was again to introduce UMTAPO and the SeViSSA project to the new schools.

“The success of the training camps is judged by how much they have instilled confidence, leadership skills, self reliance and unity in our schools. The power of the unity is seen in how the senior secondary schools are now mothering or working hand-in-hand with neighbouring primary schools, for example, in Darban location where Nathaniel Pamla Secondary School hosted a self-confidence campaign at Ayliff Primary School, both schools which are involved in the UMTAPO programme...”

Due to the visibility of the CPMs, PCs and the community forums, a member of the community has donated school jerseys and ties to Sakhingomso Primary School. This good Samaritan is a new member of the UMTAPO Ubuntu Community Forum.”

– Athini Ngxumza, UMTAPO field worker in Peddie –



Tyityaba Primary School.



Matomela Secondary School.



UMTAPO staff with staff of Daninge Primary School.

SeVISSA (Limpopo)



In Limpopo, UMTAPO is engaged as a partner organisation in the consortium. Their activities included:

Leadership Camps

The four leadership camps for the second year of the SeVISSA implementation took place at Ben Lavin Nature Reserve in Limpopo. The camps involved learners and educators from primary and secondary Schools, a total number of 15 (seven secondary and eight primary schools).

The key issues that took centre stage during the camp was the lack of respect for children by educators in the school and by elders at home in the community, especially for girl children. Learners indicated that in some of their learning areas, they are taught about their rights but it is only on paper because they feel that their rights are violated every day either at school, home, or in the community. This leads to a situation where learners also start to

disrespect educators, parents and elders in the community. As a result, the learners recommended that as part of SeVISSA, there should be an awareness campaign on 'Reclaiming the rights of children, especially the girl child'.

The issue of bullying was also raised during the discussions on the lack of respect for others. Learners shared how incidences of bullying take place in the schools and how it impacts on learners, both on the victim and the perpetrator. All of the SeVISSA schools have Peace Clubs that have been established and that are active with an elected committee and liaison educator.

Ubuntu and Gender-based Violence (GBV) Training

As part of the community level prevention and response to sexual violence in communities, UMTAPO conducted a three-day ubuntu training course that brought together different stakeholders in the community, including the Tribal Authority, educators, parents, SGBs, youth from community structures, and members of the community Drop In Centres. The overall objective of the workshop was to set up a community advisory committee whose role would be to respond to the GBV issues in the community. Consequently, a structure was set up comprising 12 members (both men and women) from the two villages: Madodonga and Tshisaulu.

An interesting outcome of the training was the change in how men started to question their male dominance on women and girls, and how, in most cases, men will always use culture as a yard stick to perpetuate GBV against women and girls.

Participants in the training expressed the need to have ongoing community activism that will work towards reclaiming the long lost values of ubuntu. A start was made by setting up the Community Advisory Community.

By the end of the training, representatives from both communities put together a follow-up plan of action for community mobilisation to fight against GBV in schools and communities. To date, follow-up community meetings have taken place in the two villages to introduce the committee to the community and other structures like SAPS, social development, the churches, youth sporting clubs, and schools.

In one of the camps, a participant, who happened to be a bully, said he wanted to apologise to one of the girls whom he used to bully at school and said he didn't know what he was doing. For him, it was a joke and he never realised how she felt when he was acting mean towards her.



Campaign Against Gender-based Violence Towards Women and Children

An awareness campaign in schools and communities in the two SeVISSA villages of Madodonga and Tshisaulu took place with the theme **‘Mavhadzi asavhonali – Kharishumisane rothe’ meaning the invisible scars of women and children – let’s work together to fight GBV against women and children’**. The campaign seeks to make communities aware of the deep and invisible scars that those affected by GBV continue to endure and how those communities need to stand and work together to fight against GBV. It was a campaign in partnership with the Makhado Municipality Special Programmes Unit within the office of the Mayor. The campaign was held at Makhado Showgrounds. The campaign helped to raise awareness on issues of GBV in communities but as it was also clear that there is a lot that still needs to be done. Speakers raised concerns about the alarming rate of cases of GBV in communities, especially in Madodonga and Tshisaulu and surrounding areas.

It is also exciting to note that the banner that was used for the campaign was created by learners from ‘SeVISSA schools’ and that they were proud to identify their artwork when the banner was raised.

Community Workshops

Ongoing community workshops have taken place in Madodonga and surrounding villages and in Tshisaulu. The highlights of the workshops were the empowerment of community members to start speaking out on issues of abuse and the establishment of the Men’s Forum that will create space for young men to come together and look at how they can be agents of change and be involved in the fight against sexual violence in schools and communities. One of the young men in the workshop commented that, **“It’s high time that men really take the issue of rape seriously because women and girls do not rape themselves.”**

Community Engagement

Ongoing engagement has seen a recognition of Umtapo by members of the community and the existing structures in those communities. As a result, cases of human rights violations in communities and in schools have been brought to the organisation’s attention.

For example, when learners’ reports were withheld by school management because they did not return books and were unable to proceed to the next grade. UMTAPO contacted the schools and managed to resolve the cases.

There is a case of a vulnerable child who is HIV-positive in Grade 6, but who has to take care of her elderly grandmother and her biological mother, who is also HIV-positive and mentally ill and violent. The office made contact with the school and the family together with the local social workers. Since the social workers have not visited the family, citing a lack of transport to do family visits, this particular case is still with UMTAPO, who is trying to engage other stakeholders so that consensus can be reached on how to guarantee the safety of the young girl.

Director of UMTAPO’s Limpopo Branch office, Nomiki Yekani-Siphoro, says: “The



A current case that the organisation is dealing with is of a six-year-old girl who was raped in her house by someone whom she knows – living in the same street. The suspect was arrested and counselling was organised for the young girl. The case was brought to UMTAPO’s attention by a member of the Community Advisory Committee and while the family was still waiting to hear from the case investigating officer about the court date, the perpetrator was released. UMTAPO is organising meetings with the local chiefs and other follow up processes to ensure that justice will be served for the little girl. Since this is not the first time that a rape case is handled in this fashion without any explanation to the victim, UMTAPO is organising a community imbizo for people whose cases of rape have disappeared without any justice.

second year of the Limpopo SeVISSA activity was an exciting and fulfilling one but, at times, quite a traumatising experience to be part of families who have experienced the worst forms of violation and dehumanisation. At the same time, when communities come to UMTAPO for advice and support, it gives the organisation a sense of duty and courage to fight for justice. As Prof. Macharia says “If not us, who will?”

Democracy, Human Rights and Anti-Corruption

Strengthening Civil Society Towards an Ethical Nation

After five training courses on democracy, human rights and anti-corruption for university students from 14 campuses, a consolidation of the definitions of corruption and democracy, defined by students in each of the five courses, was done. This was then circulated to all participants around the country for feedback. The final synthesised version reads as follows:

The USM Definition of Corruption and Democracy

Corruption is the intentional, illegal and unethical conduct that benefits one or more persons at the expense of others, compromising personal and community morals, depriving people of their resources and opportunities, and ultimately threatening democracy and the stability of the state.

Democracy is a representation of a collective and ethical process/system where there is proper accountability, transparency, proper use of public resources, and socio-economic justice.

Ongoing interschool debates have also taken place in the different schools in Madodonga and Tshisaulu in Limpopo with learners and some educators. One educator commented that by conducting these activities, UMTAPO was not only assisting learners but educators themselves.

In KwaZulu-Natal, KwaMnamatha Primary School in KwaNyuswa hosted a debate on 13 May 2016 between KwaMnamatha Primary School and Umzamo Primary School. The topic was “Is the society responsible for corruption in the country”.

Learners called corruption a disease

that is spreading in government. They said that people had lost faith because politicians were filling their pockets and didn't care about the people. It was amazing to see and hear young children address this crucial issue in such a mature way. “Let's stand together and fight corruption. Let the spirit of ubuntu live,” they concluded.

It was the first time that both schools had become involved in the same activity together as the Children's Peace Movement. “They were so excited, especially Mnamatha Primary School, as it was their first time to engage in a debate,” said Pumzile Yika. An Anti-Corruption Community Workshop for the KwaNyuswa community was hosted on 23 June 2016 in the local community hall. Twenty-one community representatives from different sections within KwaNyuswa attended the workshop. They said that they were tired of corruption in the community that is being perpetuated by their local councillor. They have made contact with political organisations and even the municipality, with no success.

The escalation of this unique project, whose funding ended in June 2016, is vital for the future of the country and while resistance is expected from those who would not want to change the status quo, the overwhelming response from young people at schools and universities was exciting. In spite of the disruptions at universities during 2015 and 2016, which resulted in continuous shifting of training dates for courses, those students that attended found the courses challenging and refreshing under the current climate of intolerance, violence, and corruption. The result has been the founding of the Umtapo Student Movement (USM), a unique development, in itself, that cuts across party political student bodies and promises

a new type of ethical leadership that is clearly identified as a need in the country. Even postgraduate students at masters level were keen on attending the courses in all provinces. In almost all five provinces, students had to be turned away because of large number of applications.

The response from schools has been positive and the learners have taken to the project and the debates. They have vowed to continue these debates even beyond the funding of the project. They have been of a high standard and the piloting of it in primary schools as well proved very successful.

The consequences of the public symposium have been greater co-operation between the organisations such as Corruption Watch, the Social Justice Initiative, the provincial Public Service Commission and the Public Protector's office. It highlighted the need for an ongoing space for such forums to bring together concerned people to discuss the scourge of corruption and unethical behaviour. The overall lesson has been that there is a dire need for such an initiative to be maintained in order to strengthen civil society in playing a role in the building of an ethical nation. Civil society from primary school learners to youth leaders at universities and the public at large is seeking an organisation that can drive the process towards this end.

In the communities, the establishment of the Anti-Corruption Forums are a vehicle to ensure sustainability in spite of resistance from certain quarters. For example, in Vleifontein in Limpopo, the Anti-corruption Forum, popularly known as ‘People Against Corruption’, has been active in raising issues of corruption by local politicians and as a result, some of the young men who are active in the forum have been victimised.

Partnerships and Collaboration

Abu Asvat Institute for Nation-Building

The Abu Asvat Institute for Nation-Building hosted a PHARE weekend training camp from 23-24 January 2016. The camp was held to empower learners with knowledge and skills to take informed decisions in their lives and to fight social injustice.

The success of the camp led to the setting up of Peace Clubs in six schools: Fred Norman Secondary School, Lenasia Secondary School, Morris Isaacson Secondary School, Nirvana Secondary School, Trinity High School and Thlatlogang Secondary.

A dedicated team of volunteers who are members of the Institute supported the follow-up activities of the Peace Clubs since their inception.

On 30 September to 2 October 2016, the Institute hosted a PHARE facilitators training course facilitated by UMTAPO trainer Arun Naicker and Shabeer Randera of the Institute. This was a unique opportunity for 10 volunteers to come together to share their thoughts and participate in a training course that empowered them with tools to facilitate training camps.

Anti-Racism Network of South Africa (ARNSA)

The Anti-Racism Network of South Africa (ARNSA) is an alliance of organisations working to respond to racism in South Africa. The Nelson Mandela Foundation and the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation facilitated the formation of ARNSA and currently serve as the secretariat.

UMTAPO is a member of ARNSA, having been involved in Peace & Anti-Racism Education since 1998, at a time when 'Rainbowism' was the order of the day and very few, if any, realised the importance of anti-racism education.

At the ARNSA national conference between 25-27 October 2016 in Gauteng, Pumzile Yika represented UMTAPO as part of the KZN steering committee of ARNSA.

Dr Abu Baker Asvat was a Black Consciousness adherent, heading the AZAPO National Health Secretariat. He was murdered at his Soweto clinic on 27 January 1989. He died trying to fight off the hired guns. At the time, rumours abounded that Dr Asvat had come into dangerous knowledge about murderers parading as freedom fighters.

He was the recipient of The Star newspaper's community award and, in 1988, the anti-apartheid newspaper, The Indicator, honoured him with the Human Rights Award. At the ceremony, he urged for closer links between Soweto and Lenasia and he spoke movingly about homeless people living in limbo. Hence, a major legacy project has been the naming of the road linking Lenasia to Soweto after Abu Asvat, a fitting tribute to him.

The Abu Asvat Institute For Nation Building is a non-profit NGO that was founded in 2004 by friends of the late activist Dr Abu Baker 'Hurley' Asvat. The Institute is dedicated to the promotion of nation building on the basis of a set of values that embody the thinking and practice of the late Dr Asvat.

Can Do Empowerment for Social Change

UMTAPO has withdrawn from the partnership with various European organisations in this project. The withdrawal letter by the Umtapo Director cited UMTAPO's reasons in detail. It concluded as follows:

"We find it untenable to work in a situation where there is mistrust, a lack of integrity and dishonesty ironically when we are supposedly professing to engage in issues of empowerment, social change, and ubuntu."

SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER

A Steve Biko Transformative Education Project

IN MEMORY OF

**Mbulelo Mzamane, Neville Alexander, Oshadi Mangena,
and Strini Moodley**

This will take the form of leadership camps/formation schools, political and transformative education workshops/lectures at different universities and communities for specifically targeted audiences. It will also include an online publication specifically on political education with contributions from various comrades and activists. The online publication will be published four times a year, each in memory of the four UMTAPO stalwarts mentioned above.

This project is especially vital at this moment in the history of South Africa because of the growing restlessness of youth and the unrest at universities. Without transformative political education, young people can easily be led astray by political opportunism and competing agendas that embroil them in unintended negative consequences. UMTAPO has begun the journey towards the creation of a new ethical leadership among tertiary students through its anti-corruption and democracy programme and its formation of the UMTAPO Student Movement. This constitutes another step in that journey.

UMTAPO will work in co-operation with relevant departments at institutions and with its UMTAPO Student Movement (USM) branches.



AZANIA

Land of the People in the South

Following many requests to publish information on the name Azania, which is used by some liberation movements and is currently being popularised by the #FeesMustFall movement, including the renaming of a building at UCT, Azania House, and the Azania protest song produced by the EFF, UMTAPO has decided to publish a synthesised summary of the papers written by the late George Wauchope, BC stalwart and a founding member of AZAPO, and the late Jos Derks of the Azania Komitee in the Netherlands.

The paper by George Wauchope was printed in its entirety in the Frank Talk Vol. 1 No 5. and, that by Jos Derks in the Umtapo Focus, Vol. 5 No.1.

At its conference in 1964, the PAC suggested the name Azania. The name was later adopted by the Black Consciousness Movement and it became so popular among the youth that the regime in Pretoria at one time even considered adopting it as well to diffuse it politically.

The ANC has always been dismissive towards the Azanian tendency within the liberation movement, says Derks. Under the heading “Time for an end to the myth” the ANC published an article in its journal *Sechaba*, taking a stand that it has never relinquished since:

“If there is ever to be a new name for our country – or for any part of southern Africa – it should definitely not be Azania, because (a) it is linked with connotations of cultural oppression towards blacks, going back to ancient times, and of imperialism, colonialism and slavery, and (b) it was the name used for a different part of Africa altogether.”

Part of the ANC’s argument is based on their belief that the root word from which ‘Azania’ is derived is the Persian word *Zanj*, which could be understood to be slaves and hence Azania as land of the slaves. According to Jos Derks, who conducted a thorough research of the name Azania, the assertion in *Sechaba* is not corroborated by any of the sources he consulted.

Reverend George Wauchope, founding

member of AZAPO who was hounded into exile where he died in 2011, says: “There often exists an undeclared state of war among people involved in the struggle for liberation as between those who support and those who are against the use of the name Azania as an alternative name for a liberated South Africa. This is because the debate concerns much more than a name: It involves everything that we are fighting for; it concerns the very nature of the society we seek to build.”

He continued to say that, “‘the land of the slaves’ is a contradiction in terms, for slaves are by definition people who are owned; they can hardly own a thing, let alone land. In any event, this tenuous logic would oppose the use of the word ‘proletariat’ because it derives from the parasite of Ancient Greece who lived at the expense of a slave society. It would also oppose the name ‘Cuba’, which referred to a slave society.”

Ancient Roots

The name Azania originated long before the Christian era. Evidence for this was first found between 50 and 110 AD. In various contexts, from the Ausanitic coast of ancient civilisation to Zanzibar, Greece, Egypt, Yemen, Madagascar, India and various ancient kingdoms, the derivatives of the name Azania can be traced. It is certain though, says Derks, that centuries

before the birth of Christ, the name Azania had been used for the east African coast. Derks quotes Peter Dreyer, who suspects the name to originate from the Afro-Asiatic languages of north-east Africa in which the San and its phonetic synonyms have the meaning of ‘brother’. Derks goes on to say that it is certain that at the end of the Stone Age, the San occupied a large part of the continent and that they had also settled along the east-African coast. This coast, therefore, also became the Land of the San. Thus, the African Azania can be etymologically related to the San, the indigenous peoples of southern Africa.

Etymologically, also, the common heritage of Swahili clearly emerges. In Zulu, *zansi* means down or south. When one looks at countries where the phoneme ‘za’ or ‘z’ emerges, one discovers that such countries are situated in the southern hemisphere, e.g. Zanzibar, Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire and perhaps Zimbabwe. In Swahili, *nia* refers to the innermost part of man, heart, mind, conscience or disposition. Therefore, Azania could very well mean land of the people in the south.

Relevance for Today

It is for these reasons, Wauchope maintains, that Black Consciousness refers to our beloved country as Azania and is calling upon the Black people’s conscience, hearts and minds to rise up, to recreate and relive

the life that was created by the Azanian civilisation. It calls on Black people to realise their importance in this continent, to see their value and to recognise the contribution they have made to the world in general.

Azania is a name with a rich and varied history.

In the final analysis, says Wauchope, and he is supported by Derks, it is the historical action of the masses of people that decides questions such as the name of a country. The activities of the Black Consciousness Movement during the 70s and especially during the 1976 Soweto Uprising (and now the Fees Must Fall movement) have put the final seal on this question in our country. Azania has come to stand for a political programme that is accepted by all the oppressed people of this land. It embraces no less

than the aspirations of the people for an undivided, anti-racist, socialist country. To accept the name Azania simply means that one identifies with the aspirations of the oppressed people for liberation. We cannot play silly games with new 'names' for our country. Azania has been baptised on the bloodstained streets and banners of Soweto, Gugulethu, New Brighton and even

in the remotest corners of the land.

Wauchope concludes by proudly pronouncing:

"We are all beneficiaries of that magnificent, superb and inimitable Azanian civilisation. Let us all then rise up, one in deed united in action, steadfast in our goal and fight for our inalienable rights as ONE PEOPLE in ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION".

"Without a name that represents a liberated country, South Africa will continue to be a house divided and confused, searching for a unified culture and a national identity."

New UMTAPO Staff Member

Ms Athini Ngxumza joined UMTAPO as a staff member on 1 September to replace Akhona Dondashe, who has now been employed as a lecturer at Lovedale College in King Williams Town.

Akhona (AK) has been associated with UMTAPO since he was 13 years old when he joined the Peace Club at Hector Peterson Secondary School in the Eastern Cape. He was the youngest at the time to have undergone the UMTAPO Peace and Anti-Education Training Course and he remained an integral part of UMTAPO since that period having represented UMTAPO at various forums and joining the staff in June 2014 during which time he was completing his Bachelor of Commerce degree at the University of Fort Hare and worked as UMTAPO's SeVISSA project officer in Peddie.



Athini will currently function as the SeVISSA (EC) field worker for the third phase of the project. She entered the UMTAPO programme through a previous Ubuntu Community Forum Leadership Camp, which was part of the SeVISSA programme. She is from Darban location in the Peddie area.

During her study at Eastcape Midlands College where she did a Marketing and Communications course, she was SRC president for three consecutive years and was among those who drafted the constitution of a SAFETSA (South African FET Student Association), which was launched in 2013.

Athini describes herself as: "a 26-year-old 'go getter'. I believe in myself and others. I am a great team player or leader, if given the responsibility to do so."

OBITUARY

Let her be Remembered for her Smile

A tribute by Xoli Ntuli (UMTAPO student Co-ordinator) and Luyanda Lubepe (USM-UJ)

There are certain qualities that every organisation hopes to find when trying to recruit members; someone who is a hard worker, resilient, dedicated, and loyal to the cause. UMTAPO looks for all of that and more, allowing you to be yourself, show your strengths, hone in on your skills and then go into the world and share those qualities with others. Therefore it takes a special kind of person to be a part of UMTAPO, and KEBONE MICHELLE MOLEKWA was special.



All except for Michelle. She realised that our society needed such organisations and all she wanted to do was make her country a better place for all those who reside in it.

Kebone Michelle Molekwa lived her life trying to build a better country; whether it was through her legal studies and pursuit of a better justice system or through her company and attempts at creating employment for those who needed it most. She believed in everything that UMTAPO stood for and not only that, she actively pursued it in her day-to-day life.

Her sad and untimely passing on 17 September 2016 touched us all deeply. Her friends, her colleagues and even her country, lost an amazing soul with amazing potential and the ability to do things that most of us could only dream of doing at such a young age.

I could only hope that those who knew her will continue to remember her for her kindness, her strength, her love for people, her love for her work, her loyalty, her determination and most of all, let her be remembered for her smile.

During the training, she made a lasting impression on all those who came into contact with her. She would sing all day with her beautiful voice. Her infectious laugh would always pick the mood up on lazy mornings and her contagious smile would soften up anyone who got annoyed at her for constantly being on her phone – taking selfies. After the training, we were all mandated with taking all we had learned and sharing it with our fellow students in our respective institutions by establishing the Umtapo Student Movement on our campuses. Unfortunately, a general attitude of apathy developed among some of the other members who were not motivated enough to do as we had promised when we left the training in Venda.



Michelle (standing) on far right.

