

**INSTALLATION  
OF THE  
CHANCELLOR AND  
VICE CHANCELLOR**

**UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH  
1992**



INSTALLATION  
OF THE  
CHANCELLOR AND  
VICE-CHANCELLOR

Speeches  
delivered on the occasion of the  
installation of  
the Chancellor of the University of the North,  
Dr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela,  
and  
the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the North,  
Prof Noel Chabani Manganyi,  
25 - 26 April 1992

## INTRODUCTION

The official installation of Dr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as Chancellor of the University of the North is perhaps the most important event in the institution's history. The ceremony was held amidst the splendour of the Turfloop koppies and campus, and the rugged beauty of Unin's natural setting was complemented by a galaxy of national and international personalities like Dr O R Tambo, Prof W Kamba, Prof N C Manganyi - installed as the Vice-Chancellor - Messrs Joe Slovo, Andrew Mlangeni, Oscar Mphetha and, of course, Dr Mandela himself.

A large and enthusiastic gathering witnessed the installation of the 'People's Chancellor', as Dr Mandela is now popularly referred to locally. The ceremony took place on the 25th April and was preceded by a dedication lecture delivered by the Chairman of the International Association of Universities, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe, Prof Walter Kamba. The Chancellor of Fort Hare University and A N C National Chairperson, Dr O R Tambo, then rose to thunderous applause and the spontaneous singing of freedom songs. Dr Tambo (introduced by Mr Joe Slovo as Tambo The Liberator) formally unveiled the nameplates of the hostels of Unin, re-named after prominent national leaders, activists and politicians who have made significant contributions to the struggle against apartheid. These hostels now bear the names of such people as Dr O R Tambo, Abram Onkgopotse Tiro, Steve Biko, Ellen Khuzwayo, Barney Molokoane, Moses Kotane, Zephania Mothopeng, Che Guevara, Samora Machel, David Webster and Desmond Tutu. Dr Tambo also announced that the Turfloop stadium was now the Oscar Mphetha Stadium, thus bestowing honour upon yet another deserving national leader.

The installation formalities were performed by Prof Kamba, who indicated at length the historical significance of Dr Mandela's installation. Immediately after his installation, Dr Mandela, in turn, installed the Vice-Chancellor, Prof N C Manganyi, for a five-year term. In his acceptance speech, which was well received, Dr Mandela addressed such current issues as education, negotiations and democracy.

Vice-Chancellor Manganyi's address concentrated on the problems of transformation at our university. He is the first former Unin student to occupy this post. Transformation also dominated speeches made by the deputy Vice-Chancellors, Prof G M Nkondo and Mr J Malatji, and S R C leaders, who also addressed the gathering.

There were several cultural items. Choral music sung by a community choir from Venda and the UWC choir was highly appreciated and a rendition of the Venda Tshikona by the Tshivhase Royal Troupe was one of the most spectacular moments in the whole installation ceremony. To the newly-installed Chancellor's delight, the M C, Mr R Ramaite, announced that the Tshikona performance, usually reserved for the installation of hereditary Chiefs amongst Vhavenda people, was a special gift from Chief Tshivhase.

All in all, the installation of our new Chancellor was an occasion of great joy, celebration, and cultural revival. It was a moment of hope generating great expectations.

We publish the texts of the main speeches delivered during the ceremony so that those who did not have the privilege of attending may read these historic documents at their leisure.

UNIVERSITY DEDICATION  
LECTURE BY  
PROFESSOR WALTER J KAMBA  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE  
INSTALLATION OF  
NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA  
AS CHANCELLOR AND  
NOEL CHABANI MANGANYI  
AS VICE-CHANCELLOR  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH,  
25 APRIL 1992

Mr Chancellor-elect,  
Dr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela,  
Mr Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare,  
Dr Oliver Reginald Tambo,  
Mr Vice-Chancellor-designate,  
Professor Noel Chabani Manganyi,  
Members of the University Community,  
Distinguished Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

As President of the International Association of Universities, I bring you greetings and messages of goodwill, solidarity, and good wishes from Universities around the world.

Today's events, the installation of Dr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as Chancellor and Professor Noel Chabani Manganyi as Vice-Chancellor of the University of the North, are truly the creation of history. I feel immensely honoured and privileged to be part of history in the making.

It is barely five years or, to be more precise, on Saturday, 7 June 1986, when the University of Zimbabwe had the honour, privilege and pleasure of conferring the degree of Doctor of Laws *Honoris Causa* on Dr Nelson Mandela and also on one of Africa's illustrious sons, Dr Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the former President of Tanzania. In my welcoming address, as Vice-Chancellor then, I observed and emphasised that the event was truly a unique one for there could never again be the combination on the same occasion of two such distinguished personalities and sons of Africa who no doubt would leave an indelible stamp on the history of Africa and the world - who have contributed so much to the life and freedom of this part of the world.

It was a grand, moving and historic occasion, but it was also a sad one in that we were not graced with the physical presence of the honoree. The degree had to be conferred *in absentia*. His chair stood empty because the evil and inhuman hand of

apartheid and its concomitant structures had cruelly denied us his physical presence. As others would put it, he was involuntarily otherwise engaged. It was unthinkable then that in less than five years we would be gathered to witness this momentous occasion of his installation as Chancellor of a University in his own country - the University of the North to be more specific.

The University of the North was founded in 1959 as an ethnic University - as part of the grand design of apartheid. Black Universities were deliberately created to promote and further this ideological dream. The racial and ethnic compartmentalization of the education system in general and universities in particular was the cornerstone of apartheid. The venal sin of apartheid to academia was that it was attempting to racialize and tribalize the generation, dis-semination and application of knowledge. It was seeking to racialize and tribalize scientific inquiry and the search for truth. The restriction of admission into a university on racial, tribal or ethnic criteria is not only offensive to human dignity but is also a contradiction in terms. A University - a *universitas* - is all-embracing. It is founded on the fundamental principle and concept of universality not only within itself, but also in its shared values with sister universities in the country and in the world community. I understand that the founding philosophy of ethnic universities permeated many, if not all, aspects of these universities - staffing policies, composition of student body, curricula, etc.

We know and we have always known that there was no way apartheid could survive. It defied the fundamental nature of man. It sought defiantly to contradict the tide of history. No wonder opposition to apartheid has been so stern, vehement and consistent. You, Mr. Chancellor, have been in the forefront of this resistance together with your life-long friend and colleague, Dr Oliver Reginald Tambo, who is here today. In your stubborn and uncompromising rejection of President Botha's attempt to compromise you and your party for release from prison, this is what you said:

"I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly fifty years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine."

This encapsulates the solid bond which binds you and Oliver Reginald Tambo together. Who could have imagined that the two of you could be sitting side by side in such circumstances? What tremendous pleasure it gives us all!

We live in a rapidly changing world - a world in which change is the one constant variable. We are gathered here today to witness change - change of a fundamental character for the University of the North. The events triggered by President De Klerk in 1990 are part of the culmination of historical events - events which have gathered a momentum which will, as it must, inevitably lead to the complete dismantling of apartheid.

The appointment of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as Chancellor and Noel Chabani Manganyi as Vice-Chancellor represents a rebirth of the University of the North: it means the University has truly entered the post-apartheid era. Dr Mandela, as I described him on the occasion of the award of the honorary degree in Harare, is the intractable incarnation of the protracted struggle for freedom, liberty, and human dignity in South Africa and everywhere. He is a symbol of the demise of apartheid - what he has fought for is freedom of all the peoples of South Africa. For the world of academia his appointment and installation as Chancellor is the culmination of his unrelenting crusade for justice and liberation and his life-long commitment to equitable education for all.

The appointment of Professor Chabani Manganyi as Vice-Chancellor has ushered in a new era of fundamental transformation for the University of the North. Professor Manganyi has brought with him a distinguished academic career and a vast wealth of experience. His leadership qualities, his vision of the future, his ability to secure commitment and inspire enthusiasm from staff, students and the community provide a sure guarantee for the future development and effectiveness of the University of the North. Professor Manganyi has already established himself beyond the borders of South Africa. He has ably, persuasively and eloquently articulated the University's new dispensation in both regional and international fora. There is no doubt that the University of the North is well-served. I, as President of the International Association of Universities, very much look forward to welcoming the University of the North into the International Community of Universities.

It is with change - the management of change - that this institution will be pre-occupied right now as a matter of urgency and for a long time to come. To focus on change is not to be oblivious of the past. To the contrary, the need for change is because of the past and the present. The ability to advance emanates from a competence to distil from the experience of the past and to harness the present in order to chart, creatively, the future road to a meaningful and effective role for the University.

In the new context it is important to recognize and appreciate that the University does not belong to the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, or the academic staff alone; it does not belong to the students alone, nor, even though government funded, does it belong to the government of the day. **It is a national institution; and all those who work in it are trustees for society and posterity.**

The justification for the creation and existence of universities generally, and in our developing countries in particular, is that they must make a difference to the human condition; to the social and economic conditions of the people - all the people; the ultimate goal being the improvement of the quality of life of the people.

Our universities are part of the Western academic tradition dating back to the founding of the University of Bologna which celebrated its 9th centenary some four years ago. At the height of the Western traditional concept of a liberal university education, there was an almost exaggerated emphasis on the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. The twin functions of a university were seen as the discovery and dissemination of knowledge, or, to put it in common parlance, research and teaching. But, so it was argued, you discover knowledge irrespective of the use to which it may be put. That was "Ivory Towerism" at its best. While a degree of "Ivory Towerism" is necessary, a strict and narrow adherence to it is a luxury that a university in a developing country cannot afford.

Even the industrialized countries have discovered that such a restrictive philosophy can be too much of a luxury. The gigantic advances in science and technology in this century and rapid social, economic and political transformation worldwide have led to a re-ordering of priorities in industrialized countries and to viewing universities as major contributors to development.

We must recognize that our universities are indispensable to socio-economic development and to the improvement of the quality of life of societies in general, and of the particular societies in which they exist and operate. In the generation, dissemination and application of knowledge, in the provision of highly skilled manpower and in the rendering of public and community service, the university must play, and must be seen to play, a crucial role in the development of the people and country. The university must be at the centre, and not on the periphery, of development. Development embraces the challenges caused by the search for national and cultural identity, by the problems of poverty, the need for social adjustment, the problems of economic progress and the need to halt environmental change and degradation.

Our universities must conduct research which can assist in finding solutions to the various social and economic problems that afflict our societies, without of course abandoning fundamental research. Our universities must provide leadership in research. Our universities must aim at producing graduates who are adequately equipped to contribute to the development of our societies. The university must be relevant in terms of social context, in terms of the content of its curricula and in terms of the needs of the country. That is in terms of its contribution to development.

The ability of the university to play a meaningful and effective role depends to a large extent on the structures of its own internal government and on the orientation of its staff, and their dedication and commitment to the University and its objectives and to the improvement of the quality of life of the people - all the people and country and to the enthusiasm of the students to acquire knowledge.

Perhaps more important for the university to discharge its responsibilities effectively and meaningfully it must enjoy a high degree of academic freedom and autonomy. The university must determine for itself what is taught, how it is taught, who is taught and by whom it is taught. The effectiveness of the university's contribution to national development depends in large measure on the ability of teachers and students to discuss, evaluate, examine, re-examine, criticise, and investigate ideas and engage in rational disputation. The university is a market place of ideas where, in the words of the renowned American judge, Mr Justice Wendel Holmes, "The ultimate good is reached by a free trade in ideas." The university must provide graduates who are imbued with a high degree of curiosity - graduates who are creative and capable of generating ideas.

For just over ten years as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe until my early retirement this year, I have been grappling with the problems of transformation and re-orientation. There is no easy solution but they must be solved for the good of the people and country. For me it has been an exciting and rewarding challenge.

The open-mindedness, dedication and commitment of all the participants is of crucial importance. If we can share a leaf or two with you from our book of experience, we will be only too happy to do so.

When I became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe in September 1981, I regarded my greatest challenge as that of how to convert the University in Zimbabwe into the University of Zimbabwe.

We will be with you in your endeavours to convert this institution into truly a university not only of the North but of a truly democratic South Africa.

I have no doubt that the University will stand up to the challenge under the able and inspiring leadership of its new Chancellor, Dr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, and new Vice-Chancellor, Professor Noel Chabani Manganyi. Your past record in your fight against apartheid is clear testimony to what you are capable of achieving. For all these thirty odd years, you, particularly the students, at the University of the North, have fought relentlessly for the dismantling of the evil apartheid system and for it to be rooted out of this institution.

When the late Adlai Stevenson was campaigning for the Presidency of the United States, he would start a speech by saying:  
"Today my job as a speaker is to talk. Your job as an audience is to listen. If you get finished before I do, please feel free to stand and leave."  
I am pleased that I have not observed anyone stand and leave.

May I wish you a successful, prosperous and rewarding future.

Thank you.

SPEECH BY PROF DR NOEL CHABANI  
MANGANYI  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS  
INSTALLATION AS VICE-CHANCELLOR  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH  
ON 25 APRIL 1992

Mr Chancellor, Deans of Faculties, Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors of other universities, Excellencies, compatriots, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: allow me to humbly accept the enormous challenge which my appointment as Vice-Chancellor places on my shoulders. What has happened today is, however, a matter of form and tradition for the responsibility of captaining this ship into the 21st century rests squarely on the shoulders of the university community, the parents whose children we educate, the coming into being of a national higher education blueprint as well as the foresight of our political leaders. These, in my view, are the necessary conditions for the future success of UNIN and any other university in our country for that matter.

If charity begins at home, as they say, then I must limit most of what I say today to this university. There are several reasons. First: I am one of many South Africans who can claim an abiding interest in the fortunes of UNIN, having been one of its founding students and returning in 1991 to become the first Vice-Chancellor to have been educated here at the beginning of my academic career. The second reason is that I do want to interpret the events of this week in a manner which hopefully will make sense to members of the university community. In so doing, I hope Mr Chancellor to give you and the broader community some sense of where we are and where with good fortune we may be going.

The present ceremony marks the highpoint in a series of events which started yesterday. The 24th of April 1992 will go down in the history of this university as the day when the University, its students in particular, appropriated for itself, the history of the struggle of its people by naming the Halls of Residence and creating in concrete terms a memory for posterity of the heroic struggles against apartheid which were waged over the years on this campus and elsewhere in the country. This campus, so inanimate and faceless for decades, is for the first time inhabited by time, tradition and symbols. Indeed, part of the nation's heroic biography has been lived here and it is fitting that the profound silence of apartheid be disturbed on this historic landscape. Another ceremony was held yesterday: The University of the North Dedication Lecture given by no less an academic luminary than Professor Walter Kamba, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe and current Chairperson of the International Association of Universities. Those present yesterday will agree, it was an outstanding performance. May I recommend to you, Mr Chancellor, that this ceremony so fittingly inaugurated by a first-rate African scholar remains on the annual calendar of the University, as the Chancellor's Lecture, to be given by a prominent scholar to rededicate the University to those abiding values which link us as a university to national and international communities of scholars. I talked earlier about a series of events. Your inauguration as Chancellor, Sir, is the highpoint of the series.

In seeking out a man of your stature for the first popular Chancellor of the University, we could be accused of political adventurism. After all, it may be claimed that there are more deserving institutions. Our response, Mr Chancellor, is that there are no more deserving institutions. Although more evidence could be provided on this question, I will use one yardstick and it is simply this: no university, in our view, has sacrificed so much in thirty or so years of its existence as the students of this university have done in pursuance of values for which you, Mr Chancellor, have paid so dearly. It is common knowledge that students of this



university have died in pursuance of justice in the relatively short history of the University. But you, Sir, represent something more than the grave-diggers of Apartheid who return to the national cemetery for an autopsy each time a problem arises. You are the standard-bearer who carries the torch as we navigate the dense darkness of the transition to a new democratic order. For this, the university and the people of South Africa are extremely grateful.

The question becomes: what are the costs of these sacrifices? The most brutal has been a political penalty, the occupation of the university by the army in the mid-1980s. The second cost has to do with the incalculable costs in human terms of students who drop out or are undereducated due to the disruption of regular university programmes throughout the history of the University. This cost cannot be calculated in monetary terms. Yet another cost, ironically a virtue as well, is associated with increased access, such that this university, with its satellite campuses, is currently carrying the largest majority of African students (a little over 11,000 on this campus) of any residential campus in South Africa including the largest residential cohort of students on any campus. This, Mr Chancellor, is a burden we cannot carry without significant assistance and adjustments beyond 1992! Given this picture, it is not difficult to understand that the student-lecturer ratios are unacceptably high and that the quality of instruction must necessarily be compromised. We are at the moment short of large-scale lecture theatres and laboratories for suddenly increasing numbers of science students, for example. But perhaps the most serious cost has to do with the lack of an institutional culture to deal creatively and in a constructive spirit with the complex political, material and educational problems of transition and transformation. The University community is not yet united for a partnership of purpose.

The most vocal cry of the 1990s is for transformation and democratisation of university governance. Mr Chancellor, distinguished guests, compatriots, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to state categorically that this is a legitimate cry of students and staff not to be ignored. For the country as a whole, I believe that reform of university legislation has become urgent to ensure that universities are, as is the case in the Netherlands for example, "steered from a distance" by a future government through the entrenchment in law of rights of participation as well as authority rights for students and workers. This, Mr Chancellor, is a call for a consolidated reform of South African University legislation to ensure that democratisation of university governance is not enshrined only in the "Private Acts of Universities" but in a reformed University Act for the country as a whole. First: there was a general university position adopted by the University Council in 1990 that students and other stakeholders should be adequately represented in all university structures including the University Council. The form of this representation was, however, to be negotiated with the parties concerned. Unfortunately, this promising development has not yet borne fruit and it remains to be seen what new initiatives in this regard will achieve. But, Mr Chancellor, we in this institution must make democracy work for the benefit of the institution. It is part of our responsibility in this country and on the continent as a whole to say without equivocation that democratic practice is more difficult than finding fault, than resisting, than destroying, than creating new structures: it is about making people better than they were before. Within the University of the North, Mr Chancellor, we are experimenting with new democratic structures. My own view is that they are not working very well yet because they are not yet fully democratic. Nevertheless, the demand for a new University Council, which has been in existence since about 1990, is legitimate. We have recently requested the responsible Minister to do everything in his power to ensure that Section 8 of the University's Private Act is amended during the current sitting of Parliament. This initiative, which has been fully endorsed by the current Council, will hopefully result in a significant advance in the process of repositioning our university.

Mr Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen, we must guard against the dangerous fallacy of believing that political correctness in the prospective structures of governance is a guarantee for administrative efficiency and academic excellence.

For this reason, it is of the utmost importance that as we promote the values of equity, the widest permissible access, accountability and so forth, we do not disregard the imperative necessity of keeping the goal of academic excellence alive. In the past year or so, we have institutionalised this goal by adopting the strategic position that our primary focus for the 1990s should be the strengthening of institutional capacity.

To locate our strategic vision on a sound practical footing, we have been increasing our administrative and managerial capacity to increase our ability to manage the university in an efficient and cost-effective manner.

Another facet of institutional capacity that has become a priority is the rehabilitation and extension of the physical capacity, the teaching, research and social space of the University. The rapid expansion in student numbers during the past four years to the current population of 11,113 on this campus is a heavy financial and socio-psychological burden on existing capacity despite the fact that the university was compelled to spend R29,6m of its diminishing reserves in 1991 to provide staff and student accommodation. In spite of this, we are still grossly short of accommodation for students in 1992. It was circumstances of this kind which compelled the University in 1991 to make public its plight through a media statement as well as its appeals to government, the private sector and international donor agencies.

However, the University recognises its comparative advantages historically, in providing education and training for the disadvantaged majority. Since this is a national responsibility we cannot ignore or shirk, we must increase our capacity to empower the disadvantaged majority by keeping the goal of academic excellence alive and attracting staff of the highest quality. In the last regard, I am happy to say Mr Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen, that there has been a decided rise since last year in the academic quality of staff joining the ranks of this institution. However, this of itself will not solve the problem of what student leaders yesterday described as academic terrorism, or as I understand it, the problem of student/staff relationships within the classroom. It has become necessary to think of other long-term strategic initiatives to deal with this vexing problem. The solution we have been working on, in co-operation with other universities overseas, is in the field of staff development programmes. In the near future, we hope to enter into staff development co-operation agreements similar to the one recently signed with the Free University of Amsterdam in the area of science education. It is not generally appreciated (even by academics themselves) that the cry for help within the teaching situation is of high intensity for both teachers and students. We recognise this and are determined to do something about it. Indeed, it is because of this realisation that our plans for the creation of a university-wide base are far advanced.

Very briefly, then, these are our ideas about increasing institutional capacity in which an integrative developmental view of learning under conditions of social economic and educational disadvantage are to be considered.

Finally, Mr Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen, an increase in our funding base would enable the University to initiate important new developments in economics and public management, public policy research, as well as science education and health. In this regard, the search for funding for a Centre for Social and Economical Research is at an advanced stage. In conclusion: one last thing. I say it last because it is probably the most important problem facing higher education in this country at the present time. I am referring to the diminishing capacity of disadvantaged students to pay for their education. This problem has achieved an intensity of chronicity within a very short time. I want to use this opportunity to appeal to the government, the private sector, as well as international donor agencies to expand the outer limits of their generosity so that poor yet deserving students may benefit from tertiary education. I thank you most graciously, ladies and gentlemen, and hope in the words of Professor Kamba that this University will indeed become a University of the North.

SPEECH BY  
DR NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA,  
PRESIDENT OF THE  
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,  
ON THE OCCASION OF  
HIS INSTALLATION AS  
CHANCELLOR OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH,  
25 APRIL 1992

Mr Chairman of Council, Chancellors of other Universities here present, members of both the Council and Senate of the University of the North, members of the Transformation Committee, members of the SRC and members of the Student Union, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades and Friends.

It is an immutable fact of life that no power on earth can shackle the human spirit for ever. However, this universal truth, that has permeated the social fabric of society from time immemorial and been passed on from generation to generation, seems to still elude many, even as we move towards the end of the twentieth century. The infamous apartheid system has built up an elaborate system of social engineering in terms of which black education at a tertiary level has been fragmented and people allocated to universities on the basis of race and tribe. The creation of the "bush" universities was but one way in which Government tried to exclude the black majority from the mainstream universities.

It is no irony that today I stand here before you to be installed as the Chancellor of the University of the North! This occasion assumes even greater significance, given the fact that both this University and I have reached this point through the narrow path of fire, characterised by relentless struggle. We have converged on this summit of victory after many sacrifices. In this regard, it is instructive to recall that Turfloop was established at a time when many freedom fighters were being herded into prisons, whilst others were forced to take sanctuary in the relative safety of foreign lands. At that time, architects of our misery believed themselves to have succeeded in defying the law of nature - they were convinced that the human spirit in us was broken for ever. Three decades later, the corpse of apartheid lies prostrate at the feet of people's power. However, our journey to this point has never been an easy one. We literally had to walk through a garden of thorns, and we are still wading across rivers of blood. It is a matter of great pride to us that this University, like many others, did not become an institution of servitude as was the design of our oppressors. In this regard, we must single out the heroic role of the students and commend them highly for their commitment to the struggle. The indelible history of the struggle of the students on this campus is full of events of indomitable courage and resilience. It was students like Onkgopotse Tiro, Fistus Mothudi, Ignatius Mathebule and many others who inscribed the name of Turfloop on the conscience of our people. That Turfloop is today counted on the roll of honour is because of their valiant deeds. These heroes and heroines of our people are no more today. May we observe a moment of silence in memory of all the martyrs of our University.

Thank you.

Mr Chairman of Council

On this campus, our students organised a Pro-Frelimo rally simultaneously with a much bigger rally at Curries Fountain in Durban in the wake of the victory of the

national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Taking place as it did, at a time when the apartheid rule held sway, that rally was a truly remarkable expression of international solidarity with forces of freedom. It became a standard bearer, an acid test, against which efforts by successive generations of students, on this campus and elsewhere, would be pitted.

Our students proved to be more than equal to the task. Their tenacity became an unprecedented phenomenon. This is the reason why our campus had to be occupied by the army for a period of no less than 3 years in the 1980s. Even as we speak, the army continues to man a military post on a hill-top not far from here. It is little wonder, therefore, that Turfloop has produced national leaders of the stature of Cyril Ramaphosa, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Frank Chikane and many others. I am, therefore, deeply honoured and humbled to be associated with an institution which has rendered such outstanding service to this our beloved country. Accordingly, I accept this Chancellorship with all humility. It must be said that in recent time the governing bodies of this University have shown a marked readiness to initiate changes intended to transform the University in response to the winds of change blowing across the length and breadth of our country. The appointment of Professor Chabani Manganyi as Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University, and today my installation as Chancellor are, among others, developments which bear eloquent testimony to the new spirit of transformation reigning supreme on these hills of Turfloop. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Professor Manganyi on a job exceedingly well done. Within a very short space of time, he has managed to steer our institution towards a new beginning, and thus we are on course to being a true People's University. At last, we are transforming an instrument of oppression into a vehicle of liberation. Mr Chairman of Council, as we enter the still waters of transformation we must brace ourselves for the inevitable undercurrent. The creation of a new society has never been an easy task. On that plane, we have to make a clean and at times painful break with tradition and the things to which we are accustomed. Those who seek to rely on old landmarks in their quest for a new society will find themselves wandering aimlessly in a hostile jungle. Yesterday's familiar terrain is disappearing before our very eyes. We are being thrust into the role of pioneers and torch-bearers, into a new and democratic South Africa. It is us whom history has charged with the task of opening up new realms, to unveil the hitherto hidden horizons, so that the coming generations can live in a land where merit is the only determinant of success.

We are distressed to note that our compatriots in the National Party still have such grave reservations about democracy. While State President de Klerk and his party pay lip service to this concept, it is clear from his speech of 23rd April that he and his colleagues are not prepared to accept the consequences of a truly democratic dispensation. Shorn of the rhetorical frills with which de Klerk adorns the National Party's proposals, it is evident that what they really seek is the continued incumbency of the National Party even in the event that it loses an election. It is the National Party's stubborn refusal to give up exclusive power that constitutes the primary stumbling block to the success of Codesa.

The ANC would like Codesa II to be more than a mere talking shop for the repetition of comfortable platitudes. It must be an occasion when concrete decisions affecting the future of our country can be agreed upon. The sense of urgency that informs the constituencies we represent is clearly absent in the case of the National Party. South Africa has waited too long for change. We are, consequently, very impatient and the National Party can no longer equivocate on this matter.

No party, to our knowledge, has thus far put forward a winner takes all solution. On the contrary, it is the National Party that is advocating a loser takes all solution, which is unprecedented in any democracy. In other words what South Africa is being asked for is a constitutional dispensation that will permit the political parties to ignore the verdict of the electorate.

Speaking plainly, the National Party wants to retain its hand on the levers of power even when, after a democratic election, it has been demonstrated that it does not enjoy the confidence of the South African electorate.

The National Party's desire to cling to power at all costs emerges even more sharply in the Government's proposals for the transition. Our concern here is not the labels that politicians stick on their wares, but the actual substance of their proposals. De Klerk's claim that his proposals are intended to avoid the temptations of absolute power is disingenuous. If accepted, the outcome will not be an Interim Government that enjoys the confidence of the majority of South Africans, but a slightly refurbished National Party government. The ANC also rejects outright the suggestion that elections be held to constitute an executive council. Our position remains unchanged. We call for elections for a Constituent Assembly which shall also have legislative powers while a new constitution is being negotiated.

I shall take this opportunity to respond also to State President de Klerk's veiled threat to unilaterally outlaw Umkhonto We Sizwe. As far as the ANC is concerned we have scrupulously avoided engaging in public debate on this issue because it is the subject of extremely sensitive bilateral negotiations between the Government and ourselves. The Government has constantly made provocative remarks on the subject which require us to respond.

Firstly, it has to be clearly understood that Umkhonto We Sizwe is not a private army, but an insurgent army created by the National Liberation Movement to rid our country of the crime of apartheid. Umkhonto We Sizwe is recognised as a legitimate military formation in International Law and in terms of the Geneva agreements. Government attempts to act unilaterally on this matter pose as grave a threat to our bilateral negotiations as their intransigence poses to the entire process set in motion by Codesa. The ANC shall not disband Umkhonto We Sizwe. But we are equally determined that the de Klerk Government will not wreck the negotiations with ill-conceived bombast and reckless behaviour.

Mr Chairman of Council, change is as unsettling as it is painful. It cannot be any different because change is movement - tension caused by contradictions which are part of existence. At times of momentous developments, when societies reach their own high noon, everything else becomes uncertain except for the golden gate that must be reached - the goal of freedom. Like our wider society out there, our University is at a crossroads. We are, therefore, being called upon to be firm in our convictions, yet very accommodating and flexible in our approach. Yes, we are bound to hurt ourselves in the process, but if we are sensitive and careful enough, we shall be able to heal our wounds and rise again. Only this time, we shall be the wiser and, therefore, much stronger. Lest we lose heart, our cherished goal of freedom for all now looms large on the horizon. This must reinforce our will to do good to those whom we lead as well as our nation.

We are beginning to experiment with the future. Contradictions must consequently abound. Differences between students and lecturers, tension between students and the administration, these are part of the growing pains. As we suffer these growing pains, what unites us, that which cements us together into a solid whole, is our common goal of education for the youth of the motherland. It is this priceless objective - far nobler than our imagining - which must never be sacrificed on the altar of our weaknesses. If we should fall, as we may, from time to time, it is this banner - our education - which must never be allowed to touch the ground. We should never forget that education is our first reason for our existence as a university; students, in particular, should always keep this in mind. One of the singularly significant developments over the last couple of months has been the recently held National Education Conference at which a broad range of national political, educational and community organisations participated. This conference agreed on a set of guiding principles for the future education system, including the

right of all people - adults and children - to education and a corresponding obligation on the state to provide education and training. Clearly, the provision of education and training shall be linked to the development of human resources within national development aimed at the restructuring of the economy, redistribution, and the democratisation of society. We would also have to place special emphasis on the redress of educational inequalities among historically disadvantaged sectors of society, particularly the youth, the disabled, adults, women, the unemployed, rural communities and black people in general. Education should be based upon the principles of co-operation, critical thinking, and civic responsibility, and must empower individuals for participation in all aspects of society. As we prepare for a democratic South Africa education will remain a central concern for us. It is therefore essential that we recognise this centrality and develop both short and long-term objectives to realise this goal. In the short term we need to ensure that the immediate consequences of apartheid education are urgently addressed.

These include:

- \* The reallocation of educational resources on a national basis according to national needs.
- \* Ensuring access to schooling, particularly in the townships and rural areas.
- \* Improving the survival chances of our children in both primary and secondary schools.
- \* Improving the examination results at matriculation level.
- \* Increasing the numbers of successful matric candidates in mathematics and sciences.

In this period of change, the minority government needs to cease all unilateral restructuring of education. In particular, its short-sighted moves to hand over national resources in the form of schools to the white community through its Model C policy not only creates greater inequalities but entrenches the privileges of the white community. Our majority objective in education is to develop a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic educational system. The realisation of this objective will not only ensure the development of an economically just society. Educational institutions such as Universities and Colleges have a major role to play in this task. The University of the North stands poised to play a significant role in this process. It is my belief that this University will respond to this challenge.

In conclusion, I wish to thank you most profoundly for the singular honour you deemed fit to bestow upon me through my appointment as your Chancellor. At all times I shall ensure that your trust in me is fully vindicated. Let us get down to work and make this University one of the brightest stars in this country. Thank you.

## CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES

On behalf of the Fort Hare family may I convey sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the installation of your Chancellor, Dr Nelson Mandela, and your Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Chabani Manganyi, on 25 April 1992.

As you celebrate this auspicious occasion, may God bestow His richest blessings on you and your University, its Management, staff and students. We trust that your work in the cause of education will be richly rewarded.

Cordial greetings,  
Professor S M E Bengu.  
Vice-Chancellor and Rector: University of Fort Hare

-----000-----

May I wish you all success in the inauguration of your new Chancellor, Nelson Mandela. I am confident that under his wise leadership the University will become a beacon of hope and an inspiration to all those striving for the ideal of democracy, non-racialism, and educational equality.

It is a great honour to be associated with the University through the renaming ceremony and I only regret that I am unable to be present on such an historic occasion.

Trevor Huddleston CR,  
President: Anti-Apartheid Movement,  
London

-----000-----

Please accept our congratulations on the occasion of Dr Nelson Mandela's inauguration as Chancellor of the University of the North. It must be a great joy to you, looking back to 1960. We send our respectful greetings to Chancellor Dr Mandela.

Yours sincerely,

Dr H J Brinkman  
Chairman Executive Board: Vrije Universiteit  
Amsterdam

-----000-----

I would like to thank the Council and Prof Chabani Manganyi, in particular, for appointing Dr Nelson Mandela as the Chancellor of the University of the North.

I believe that the decision was a wise one given the fact that Dr Mandela is the true and authentic leader of the oppressed black community. I also believe that his appointment will help in resolving some of the "grave" problems experienced at the University.

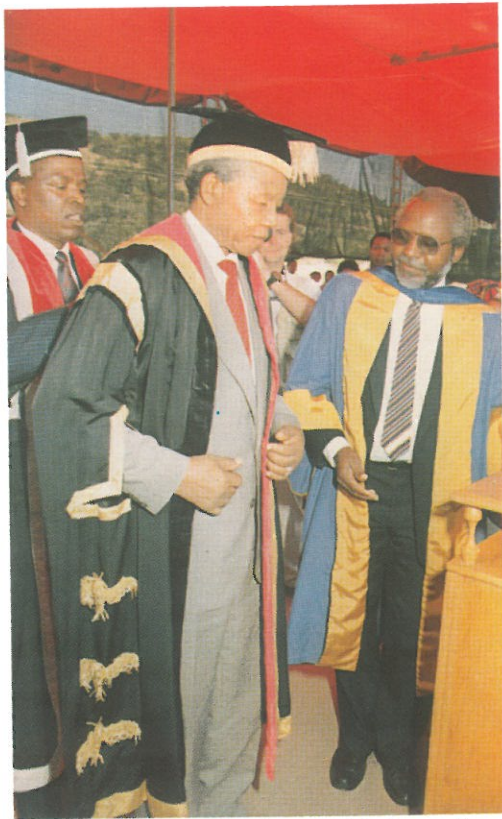
God bless you and your Council.

Yours sincerely

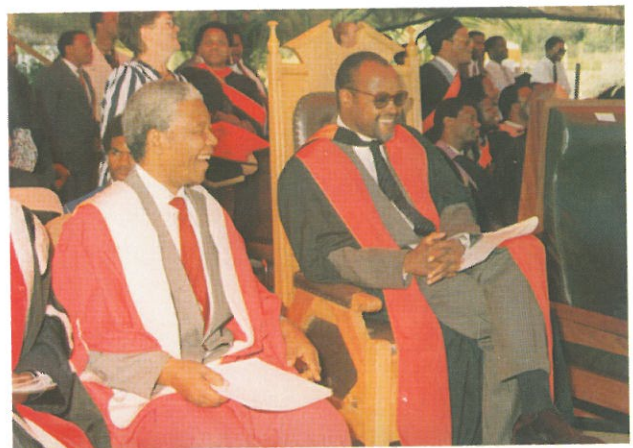
Christopher Uoane  
St Hilda's Parish  
(Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg)



Layout: ISS (UNIN)  
Printed: BSB Printers, Tel. (01521) 74265



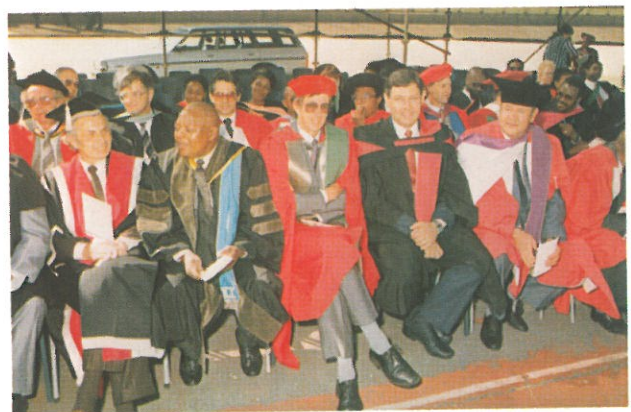
*Prof Walter Kamba, right, formally installs Dr Nelson R Mandela as the new Unin Chancellor. Mr John Malatji, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, looks on.*



*The Chancellor, Dr N R Mandela, and the Vice-Chancellor, Prof N C Manganyi, during the ceremony marking their official installation.*



*Bottom Left: Mr Oscar Mpheta, from far left to right: Prof N C Manganyi (Vice-Chancellor UNIN), student leader from UNIN SRC and Dr O R Tambo (ANC National Chairperson and Fort Hare University Chancellor), formally unveiling the "Oscar Mpheta" stadium plaque during the installation of the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the North.*



*Deans of faculties, Heads of Departments and other senior academics witnessing the installation ceremony.*