



UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH

Addresses delivered Jan to July 1991

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**SPEECH DELIVERED BY PROF S N MASHEGO ON ACCEPTING THE
UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH SCIENCE FACULTY MEDALLION, TUESDAY
22 JANUARY, 1990**

In 1974 the Department of Zoology and Biology of this University embarked on a Limnological Research Programme within the geographic limits of Lebowa. The programme was designed to include aspects of primary, secondary and tertiary production in the aquatic ecosystems. The primary aim of this programme was an improved utilisation of the water storage dams of Lebowa for extensive fish production and a better knowledge of the general limnology of water systems.

At that stage there was a total of 763 reservoirs in Lebowa.

Initially the programme was divided into the following subprojects:

- a) An investigation of the hydrobiology of Seshego dam with special reference to the invertebrate production potential.
- b) An ecological survey of the economic viable fish species in some of the larger water bodies in Lebowa.
- c) A study of the diet of the economic viable fish species in Lebowa water bodies.
- d) A study of the smaller Barbus species in the dams and rivers in Lebowa.
- e) A study of parasites of some of the indigenous fish species

By the beginning of 1977 the research programme of the Department of Zoology and Biology was expanded to include the Republic of Venda and additional projects such as the Invertebrate ecology of the Lephephe and Mwanedzi rivers; the Invertebrate ecology of the Mhlapitsi; as well as the fishes of the Limpopo and Olifants river tributaries had been added. In fact this trend continued until the Limnological Research Unit, which was operating under the Department of Zoology and Biology became independent. Later this unit became specific in function and concentrated on fish production and the name was changed to Aquaculture Research Unit. However, the Department of Zoology and Biology still maintains its original research programme and the parasitic research project although basic in nature is still supportive to fish production and thus it is also applied research.

In addition a survey on the preferences of people to the different freshwater species was undertaken as a subproject

of this programme by the Department among the University Community and the surrounding areas. Fish were collected and sold to the public either as fish fillets, or after degutting or without degutting. This culminated in the production of a booklet with several recipes for different menus of freshwater fish. This research project was hailed as an excellent piece of work.

The title of the M.Sc dissertation was "A seasonal investigation of the ecto - and endoparasites of the Barbel, Clarias gariepinus (Burchell, 1822) in Lebowa, South Africa. It formed part of the subproject on parasites of indigenous fish species.

In an attempt to select the most suitable indigenous freshwater fish for aquacultural purposes in South Africa the barbel, clarias gariepinus, became the object of various investigations. It was specifically selected because it has a wide distribution in this country and is known to survive relatively adverse conditions in nature such as muddy water and extreme low oxygen concentrations. It is also tolerant to water temperatures ranging from 8 C to 35 C, a wide salinity range (0 - 10%), a wide pH range and high sibling densities. In northern South Africa it is accepted as food and as a result, regarded as an excellent aquaculture candidate. However, diagnosis and treatment of parasitic diseases was identified as one of the fields which need to be researched.

The purpose of this research project was to establish the natural helminth fauna of this fish and to study the general and seasonal prevalence, intensity and mean intensity of these parasites as well as to record differences, if any, in the nature of the helminth infection of hosts from different localities and of different age groups.

The excellence and quantity of the helminth material collected during this study allowed for morphological re-descriptions of some species, where it was felt that such will provide a clearer picture of the morphology of the species in question. Where desirable the taxonomy of the recorded helminths have been reviewed. The results of this investigation have been published in various scientific journals.

Due to the fact that virtually no information was available concerning fish parasites in South Africa a trip had to be undertaken to the British Museum (Natural History) in search of literature and type specimens. I spent three months working with Dr Prudhoe and Dr Gibson.

The title of the Ph.D. thesis was a seasonal investigation of the helminth parasites of Barbus species in waterbodies in Lebowa and Venda, South Africa.

In this investigation it was endeavoured to study the general and seasonal prevalence of the helminth parasites of Barbus species, as well as to record differences in the nature of the helminth infection of hosts from different localities and habitats. Furthermore, it was endeavoured to record differences and affinities between the fish parasitic fauna of South Africa and central tropical Africa and to relate these to other zoogeographical regions particularly in relation to the theory of Continental Drift.

The genus Barbus was specifically selected for this investigation because of its worldwide distribution and because seven species occur abundantly in most water bodies in Lebowa and Venda. In addition, three large species of Barbus were being investigated as possible candidates for fish farming purpose, at that stage.

Eleven Barbus species were seasonally collected and examined over a period of four years from the Limpopo and Olifants drainage systems in Lebowa and Venda. Five new species of parasites were found among the twenty three different parasites collected. Some of these parasites were found to have close affinities with members of the same genera occurring in freshwater fishes in South America and in the Indo-Malayan region.

In 1980 I worked at the Marine Biology Laboratory of the University of Jerusalem at Eilat, Israel with Dr Ilan Paperna who is a world authority in Monogenean parasites of fish. During this period I also visited the Kineret Limnological Laboratory along the shores of the sea of Galilee and collected parasites in the Jordan valley.

The postdoctoral research project is limited to the monogenean parasites of freshwater fish in Southern Africa. A lot of material has been collected in this regard and is in the process of being analysed.

The area thus far covered include all those dams and rivers which did not form part of the collection sites during either the M.Sc or Ph.D. research projects in the Northern Transvaal. Three annual excursions were undertaken during the period 1984 to 1986 to the Caprivi strip in Namibia where a lot of material was collected.

During my Sabbatical in 1988 I worked for two months at the J.L.B. Smith Institute, Rhodes University in Grahamstown, on fish from the Okovango Delta in Botswana, Namibia and also from Southern Angola as well as the Makatini flats and the Pangola river in Natal. I also worked with the research team of the Department of Zoology of the University of Zululand collecting parasites from Lake Cubu.

The Department of Zoology and Biology of this University has just completed a contract research project for the Gazankulu Government at the Middle Letaba Dam. The report on the Monogeean parasites includes 17 new species. An artical will very soon be send to a scientific journal for publication.

Parasites affect commercially viable fish in the following ways:

1. directly on the health of the fish resulting in mortalities particularly in cases of heavy infestations;
2. by rendering the flesh of the fish unattractive and unacceptable for human consumption;
3. zoonosis - parasites with no specific final host. The infective larval stages are found encysted in fish, especially in the muscles, and the adults are found in various fish eating mamals, including man.

Mr Vice Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen today I am seeing the realisation of a dream. It has always been my dream to set an example to the younger generations. An example that with dedication, with perseverance, hardwork and self discipline one can always achieve great heights in the scientific field. This in my opinion, is the key to success.

Mr Vice Chancellor, South Africa is in a state of metamorphoses. Typical of such changes there are a lot of contradictions and uncertainties. For instance we are going through a period of political violence, it is also a period of legalised peaceful demonstrations against the present political system; it is a period of war, it is also a period of peaceful negotiations; it is a period of bargains, it is also a period of promises; it is a period of dispair, it is also a period of hope.

Mr Vice Chancellor, perhaps Charles Dickens' description of the period immediately before the French Revolution has become relevant again.

Allow met to quote him, Mr Vice Chancellor.

CHARLES DICKENS

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to heaven, we were all going direct the other way - in short the period was so far like the present period,

that some of the noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only".

Mr Vice Chancellor, in the future South Africa we are going to need politicians, technologists, academicians, administrators, scientists, economists, educationists, research workers, social workers, etc etc.

Let us, therefore, start preparing for the future South Africa by encouraging and motivating people in the different fields of study to advance and improve themselves. We have to start with our youths for these are the leaders of tomorrow. I am, therefore saying to our youths let us accord our education the importance and dignity it deserves. Let us desist from getting out of classes at the slightest provocation. It is the only way in which we can lay a better foundation for a prosperous future South Africa. Assisting, encouraging and motivating these students should be a united effort of the entire South African community. We should support each other and not tear each other apart. For as Christopher Marlow puts it:

"No man is an island unto himself, ask not for whom the bell tolls for it tolls for thee".

Scientific knowledge and the spread of this knowledge through education have played a major role in the progress of mankind for a long time. The various discoveries and innovations in science and their applications in technology in the recent past have given man considerable control over his progress and destiny.

Ward (1967) wrote that the cry heard all over Africa today can be expressed as follows:

"Let us drill our own wells, dam our rivers, manufacture our own materials, pilot our own aircraft. Thus shall we increase our natural power and play a larger part on the stage of world politics".

It has been realised that in developing countries ineffective science education is one of the weakest links in the chain of development. Action should be directed towards identifying the cause of such ineffective education and to evolve suitable methods for rectifying this.

In South Africa one of the major contributory factor to ineffective science education is the lack of science teachers. Of the few produced annually most of them are absorbed by the private sector for they offer better working conditions and remuneration.

Mr Vice Chancellor, it stand to reason, that we should not

only assist, encourage and motivate our youths to study and improve themselves but we should also be exemplary.

THANKS

1. Prof Saayman and his staff, past and present, the Department of Zoology and Biology - In fact this is not my medallion it is ours. For their assistance, encouragement - Not forgetting their spouses who spent many lonely nights while we were out in the field.
2. The University of the North, C.S.I.R.;F.R.D, Wildlife.
3. My wife Teresa
4. My father
5. All of you

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STATEMENT TO CONVOCATION: UNIN 27 APRIL 1991

Mr. President, compatriots, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am highly privileged to have been afforded this opportunity of sharing this occasion as your guest. It is a very promising occasion indeed for it brings to fruition the kind of exchanges which must come to characterise the relationship between the university's leadership and its constituencies. My intentions this morning are of a very limited nature. Having been a university man for most of my adult life, I have come to understand and appreciate the intellectual value of academic exchanges such as those which arise in seminars and situations of that variety. For this reason, I will do more than suggest the thrust of a number of important ideas in the hope that audience participation will unearth the truths. This is as it should be, for no single individual, no matter how talented can lay claim to a single-handed ability to find the right answers for the myriad of problems which confront the University of the North and its diverse constituencies.

For reasons of parsimony of exposition, I will begin with a number of propositions intended as signposts regarding the overall status of universities in South African society. Following this, I hope to sketch the outlines of an idea; an idea which had its beginnings in a New York hotel room about three weeks ago. Here is the idea: the time is propitious for the coming into being of the first university renaissance in the history of this country. I will return to this idea towards the end of my contribution.

The propositions I wish to make are as follows:

- There is no university in South Africa, despite claims to the contrary, which has escaped the scourge of apartheid. That is to say: the stature and wellbeing of all South African universities has been diminished by apartheid

education and practices. While some universities are wealthier than others, none can lay claim to being distinctively South African. This to my mind is a fundamental short-coming indeed.

- Some South African universities such as UNIN are more disadvantaged than others. Being disadvantaged is not as self-evident as might appear at first sight. Most of us know that the concept disadvantage is a contested one, in the political economy of education. Allow me to elaborate a little. One crucial advantage of the predominantly white universities is their perceived wholesomeness; indeed one is tempted to speak of credibility both domestically and internationally. At home, the present government and captains of industry and commerce continue to nurture these institutions as custodians of a colonial past and much else. For universities and donors in the Western world, the older liberal institutions, the seduction is one of familiarity; of a distant yet well preserved kinship. In both cases, donors and supporters of these universities are able to give considerable financial and other resources knowing fully well that they can go home and have a good night's sleep. Not surprisingly, this university sector with only about 6% of students from the majority population on their books, are relatively more well provided for on all important respects that count.

Our university and others like it are institutions of dubious parentage to say the least. They came into being during a time of ideological recklessness and bravado. Considered a political thorn in the flesh over more than three decades of their history, they have been treated with disdain by both students and parents; to say nothing about liberal humanist academics. Universities elsewhere, foreign governments, as well as, international NGOs interested in matters educational reacted with sustained scepticism and stand-offishness.

Today these universities produce the bulk of the intellectual and cultural capital from the disadvantaged communities of South Africa. Indeed, our university will stand out in the history of higher education in South Africa as the university which has given South Africa, and the world the second generation cohort of national leaders just as much as Fort Hare gave us the first generation of national leaders.

I believe, Ladies and Gentlemen, that this is a tradition not only to be cherished but on which we must continue to build for the future of our university and country. Needless to say, this fact is related to another important tradition in the history of this university. I am referring to the tradition of resistance and struggle against apartheid racism, in all its forms, epitomised in the heroic yet tragic lives of former UNIN students such as the late Tiro. I believe Ladies and Gentlemen, that here lies one of the seeds of a future direction for the university, as it searches for values on which to anchor its mission during the transition and well into the future.

But unhappily, at the present time, our university and other like it, are doing praiseworthy national work under the most unfavourable of possible circumstances. At a time when we should be doing more to subvert entrenched inequalities in the provision of leaders and high-level manpower in the professions, our capacity to do so continues to be undermined by differential and progressively diminishing government spending on our institutions. We are receiving lower financial provision in spite of skyrocketing student numbers, as well as, high current expenditures associated largely with the very location of our university. Shortages of physical facilities, large lecturer-student ratios unknown in the white universities are the rule rather than the exception.

There is another way of giving flesh to the concept

disadvantage in the political economy of education in South Africa at the present time in terms of trends in the reproduction of inequality. Stated in the broadest possible terms: apartheid higher education is unable to produce adequate numbers of leaders and high-level manpower to service its present and future economic and social development needs. There are known chronic shortages in several strategic areas of national life such as health care, engineering, accountancy, teaching, as well as economics and administration. What is more, the extent of Black (particularly African) representation in these fields remains dismal. Indeed, recent statistics indicate a drop of as much as a percentage point between 1980 and the end of the decade in the number of graduates in some of these professions.

Having sketched the mix of past and present what can one say about the future. It is important to remember in this regard that the concept "post-apartheid" something or other has been with us for a long time. The many conferences which have been held under the spell of this populist notion have in many cases failed to produce tangible consequential results in real life which is the point where most things matter.

I happen to believe that the liberal debate has created a dangerous smokescreen by giving the idea of a post-apartheid South Africa such an undue prominence. In the process, much intellectual work which needs to be done, and done urgently, on the demands of political transition has been marginalised. Engaged in the process of repositioning a university as we are at the University of the North, we are confronted frontally by problems of transition rather than those which are, strictly speaking, problems of a post-apartheid future. Regrettably, this demands that we scale down our relish for high sounding rhetoric and plant our feet firmly on the ground. It is in doing doable things, now that we can set in motion the university renaissance that I made reference to a

little earlier. In the time available, I will do no more than give you a quick run down of developments in the past few months: the foundation stones for a meaningful transition and a promising future.

INITIATIVES:

- Undermine the transition of isolation. This involves work on the internal and external environments; introducing diversity into our staffing and in future student mix
- Strengthen the teaching and administrative capacity of the institution; working hard on communication both internally and externally
- Develop the physical infrastructure to cope with increasing student numbers, as well as, demands for staff accommodation: government and private funding
- Continue to seek resources for the assistance of economically disadvantaged students.

I would be irresponsible if I failed to refer in passing to the dangers facing the predominantly Black universities in South Africa today. My challenge to my liberal colleagues is: do not theorise about transformation from the comfort of the foothills of Table Mountain. Come to the real world where real problems are to be found and confronted.

1. The idea of a peoples university not a nice sounding substitute for inferior higher education.
2. Partisanship must mean something more humane than sectarianism.

QWAQWA GRADUATION

The Vice Rector, Professor Modinger, members of the University Council, Deans of Faculties, members of the Student Representative Council, distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: as the newly appointed Vice Chancellor of the University of the North, I regret being unable to be present on this occasion. Let me assure you that this is not a result of indifference. It is due mainly to national responsibilities which are equally urgent and compelling such that I had little choice but to request the deputy Vice Chancellor to read this statement on my behalf. As a senior executive of the University of the North family, he and I are developing and sharing a vision: a vision of the University of the North which both us and the major stakeholders here and on the Main Campus are going to bring to fruition.

A graduation ceremony is as good an occasion as any other to reflect on both the past and the future. We do so at a most exciting and challenging time in the history of our country and of higher education. The end of the 1980's ushered in a period of universal transitions. So commonplace was the phenomenon of transition that one American historian was tempted to speculate seriously about the end of human history as we have known it. Even the African continent, notorious for its long silences on questions of democracy and human rights has begun to stir to life. There is a refreshing optimism and enthusiasm from North to South; East to West. South Africa, fortunately for us all, has not escaped the wave of universal disenchantment with the past.

Disenchantment with the past tends to father high

expectations and unbridled optimism. Indeed, this is the kind of public consciousness which up to now has accompanied the "dirty work" of putting apartheid to rest. What is historically imperative at the present time is a deep-seated conviction that doing this "dirty work" will not be easy, for it is much easier to destroy rather than create, build and sustain.

More pertinently: what are we legitimately disenchanted with, as far as the University and higher education in general are concerned. We are disenchanted with an ideology driven higher education system which became extravagant in its heydays. We are disenchanted with the loss of material and human resources that apartheid higher education entailed over the past thirty years. We are disenchanted with the failure of the government to sustain viable funding levels for institutions which proliferated in front of their very eyes. We are disenchanted with the chains of academic mediocrity which flourished at the peak of the apartheid dream. We are disenchanted because of prevailing racial inequalities in university funding levels, the provision of facilities, as well as the associated disparities in the supply of high level manpower. We are disenchanted because of much else.

The political struggles of the last twenty years at our university and elsewhere were reflective of this disenchantment. However, the time has come for us and our compatriots to move beyond simple resistance towards more formative and transformative strategies and initiatives. Since we know that in the past 3 decades the development of our University was distorted by ethnic chauvinism and the dangerous indiscretions of apartheid, we must begin with an affirmation on the simplest level and it is this: the University of the North is a national asset and resource which belongs and must progressively be of the people. Understandably, this will

mean many things to many people, depending on their definition of a people's university. Part of the meaning which we attach to this affirmation may be summarized as follows: while assuring reasonable access to students from the disadvantaged sector of South African society, we must so develop our teaching and research capacity, as to ensure excellence at the through put (output) part of the process. There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that educationally and economically disadvantaged students require the best teachers and mentors that we can find, if we are to provide the country with leaders in government, in the cultural sphere, as well as, industry and commerce. At the University of the North, we are happy to have contributed significantly to the cohort of second generation South African national leaders, in politics, the professions, as well as, the business sector. With the repositioning of the University which is in progress, we hope to contribute even more to the country's capacity for a democratic and non-racial form of governance.

Oriental wisdom tells us that even the longest journey is initiated by the first step. Since my recent arrival at the University, my colleagues and I have taken a number of initial steps. We initiated a campaign of bilateral consultations with all the major political organizations, the sole purpose of which is to enable black communities to develop ownership of the University and its future development. Principles and strategies for a democratic, non-racial and non-sectarian practice in university governance are in the process of being established. Clearly this will have a decisive impact on all functional structures including the University Council, the Students' Representative Councils and Senate. We have extended the pool of potential teaching staff to include academics from other countries (particularly African countries) to internationalize our institutional teaching and research capacity. It is

also our hope and desire to benefit from the pool of returning South Africans who may have a great deal to offer our University and the country. Clearly, our contribution in this regard will in large measure be determined by our ability to raise supplementary funding to support what we consider to be a patriotic duty. Needless to say, we will discharge our patriotic duty guided as we must always be, by the academic needs of students and the University. There is a need to continually engage government and the business sector to make good the shortfalls which exist in the higher education system so that historical inequalities may in time be eliminated. Finally, it is our desire to enhance and enlarge the University's corporate image both domestically and internationally. Initiatives in this regard have been under way since the beginning of the present academic year.

Allow me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to point out that this road will be hazardous and there will be no smooth sailing. Situations of danger exist and signals are already evident. The one danger which may result in a significant degree of social inertia is what a colleague of mine recently described as the new "consultation bureaucracy" or something to that effect. The danger here is that as the oppressed majority, we run the risk of consulting ourselves out of liberty and equality. It is important to remember in this regard that the transitional period to a majority government is not interminable. Reconstruction must begin now. Another danger signal for our University and similar institutions is the kind of populism which equates a "people's university" with academic mediocrity. When we engage in this kind of heroic populism, it is necessary to remind ourselves about the fact that some like the University of the North Tiro lost their lives precisely because they fought against inferior apartheid higher education. To take away the word apartheid from our description does not elevate poor education into an acceptable level. Yet another danger which universities need

to guard against with all the conviction and energy at their disposal is that of becoming so sectarian that they become mouthpieces of the dominant ideology. It will be a great historical irony indeed if the Black community which has sacrificed so much to remove one form of tyranny, were to allow itself to be seduced to a slumber a second time around. What is necessary is for universities to be partisan, that is to say: to be against racism, political tyranny and undemocratic practices.

However, Ladies and Gentlemen, every crisis, every situation of danger in human affairs is, paradoxically enough, also an opportunity. Those of you who are graduating today are going into the world: the world of adulthood and work. If you are unable to thrive five years from now, history will be stingy with stock excuses such as that you are from the disadvantaged community. You will indeed be on your own. Your major historical task will be to make the sacrifices of those who died and the millions who suffered heroic in the superlative degree. Go out to oil the wheels of a future democratic, non-racial and non-sectarian South Africa.

Thank you.

UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH

GRADUATION CEREMONY: 28 JUNE 1991

WELCOMING ADDRESS BY PROF M S BURGERS

Mr Deputy Vice-Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen for those of you who live in the dark, allow me to enlighten you, before I proceed to welcome you. This is the third Graduation Ceremony of the week. Tomorrow there will be the fourth one. I think tomorrow's Ceremony is supposed to be the Main Graduation Ceremony. But ladies and gentlemen, I must inform you that today's Ceremony is the most important one of them all. I'll tell you why:

Today we hope to confer 166 degrees and 17 diplomas in the faculties of Agriculture, Law, Health Sciences and Theology. You will agree with me that these four faculties are undisputedly the most important faculties at any University, because they produce the graduands that will provide us with all the protection we may need in life or death:

- * The faculty of Agriculture must protect us from going hungry
- * The faculty of Health Sciences must protect us from going to hospital
- * The faculty of Law must protect us from going to jail
- * And the faculty of Theology must protect us from going to hell.

Mr Deputy Vice-Chancellor this is the day of our graduands and their parents, their relatives and friends. Allow me thus a few moments to make them feel indeed welcome on the campus of the University of the North and particularly in this congregation. I would like to make you understand Ladies and gentlemen, how much we as management and staff of the University, appreciate your presence here today.

As a matter of fact, this event could not have been possible without the sacrifices and hard work of both parents and students.

Today we see the well deserved rewards on all that hard work and sacrifices, today we know that it was all worth it, today we know that, as one parent declared yesterday, **hunger is now just as dead as apartheid!** -

I'm sure that she meant, now the bugger can go and work and we no longer have to starve in order to keep him at the University.

Ladies and gentlemen parents, we know how proud you must feel to see your children receiving their degrees and diplomas. Let me assure you that you have good reason to be proud. You may have heard that sometimes there is such a high failure rate at this University. That happens, not because we find pleasure in failing any one, but because we must make sure that only those that deserve to pass are passed, only then can we confer the degree or diploma with confidence and with the knowledge he or she will not be ashamed to tell the world that they graduated at the University of the North.

Ladies and gentlemen you are welcome please relax and enjoy the day with us just as we will enjoy your company.

Mr deputy Vice-Chancellor, I'm sure that the parents, relatives and friends of our graduands and even the graduands themselves, appreciate the contribution made by the academic staff members in guiding them to where they are today, as well as that of management, administrative staff and council in providing the infrastructure to do so. It is thus, a pleasure for me to welcome you, Mr Deputy Vice-Chancellor, today acting on behalf of our Vice-Chancellor in conferring the degrees. A special word of welcome to the chairman of our University Council, Prof J Poolman and Mrs Poolman as well as all other council members present here today with their spouses, deans of faculty and their spouses, registrars and deputy registrars and their spouses and then of course all academic staff of the four faculties represented here today.

It is my sincere hope that you will share in the joy of seeing the products of your efforts achieving their goals.

We are also particularly honoured to welcome the honourable bishop and Mrs Lekganyane who graced our proceedings with their presence.

To the Graduands and diplomates I say this: you have done well to have arrived at this important landmark in your careers, on behalf of management and staff I extend our heartfelt congratulations with your achievements. Look upon this day as a door opening to even greater things.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is your day, enjoy it to the full.

Mr Deputy Vice-Chancellor, it is now my singular honour to introduce our guest speaker to this congregation.

DIKGANG ERNEST MOSELEKE was born on the 20th December 1947 in Pretoria. After attending the Banareng High Primary School in Atteridgeville and the Kilnerton High School in Pretoria Graduated from the University of S A with a B A in English and Political Science in 1969, a B Iuris in 1973 and the LL B in 1977. He then went on to pass his Attorneys Admission exams also in that same year and after serving his articles was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court on 13 April 1978. He practised as an attorney until July 1983 when he was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court and has since practised as an advocate at the Pretoria Bar.

I have here an unending list of Advocate Moseneke's achievements and his involvement in services to his people. It was thus a logical consequence when he was elected as deputy President of the Pan Africanist Congress in December 1990.

In May 1975 he married Naomi Kabonina Mashianoke and the marriage was blessed with two sons.

Ladies and Gentlemen this is obviously an account of a highly successful career of a man who made his mark in S A Legal history. The way in which I have related it may sound as if he had a peaceful life. However, this is not the complete picture and the man Dikgang Moseneke cannot be understood fully unless I relate to you the part of his life history which I have left out up to now.

On a cold day in July 1963, a young boy at the tender age of fifteen, was sentenced before the Supreme Court to an imprisonment term of 10 years. The charge: **SABOTAGE**, his offence: *statements made as a member of the PAC Student Wing which were allegedly calculated to bring about the violent overthrow of the State.* The young Dikgang Moseneke served the full term of imprisonment on **Robben Island**, from 1963 to 1973.

Immediately on his release, he was served with a banning order which lasted until 1987 and prevented him from attending meetings, entering any school or University or leaving the magisterial district of Pretoria. This ladies and gentlemen is what the Pretoria Regime found necessary to do to young children in order to uphold the apartheid flop.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you should by now have realised that Advocate Moseneke must have completed his matric, his BA and his B Iuris, while he was a resident on Robben Island and his LL B, while he was under banning orders! If this is not evidence of the man's courage and determination, I do not know what is!

I am told that Dikgang Moseneke is not a bitter man, in spite of the ordeal which he had to endure. I think we can all learn something from this man's example.

Comrade Moseneke, Deputy President of the Pan Africanist Congress, I salute you and request you to give us some words of wisdom, particularly to our graduands.

graduation.spe

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT
OF THE PAC ADV. E.D.MOSENEKE
AT THE GRADUATION CEREMONY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH HELD ON 28 JUNE 1991

Mr. Vice Chancellor, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, graduands, comrades, compatriots and friends.

I bring to you greetings from my President MLAMLI CLARENCE MAKWETU of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Mr. Vice Chancellor may I at the outset express my gratitude towards you and your staff as well as the students of this University, for the kind invitation to be your guest speaker at this historic graduation ceremony. The last veritable graduation ceremony on this campus, was in 1972. ONKGOPOTSE ABRAM TIRO, the SRC President of this very Institution in 1972, never lived to enjoy the impact of the speech he made at such a ceremony. It will be remembered that TIRO, true to kind and character, spared no holy cow. He did not hesitate to state that the University of the North then was, an extension and institution of apartheid and repression and what the University should be - a vehicle for liberation, re-construction and development and academic independence.

Mr. Vice Chancellor I therefore stand before you following an outstanding tradition of a man, who did not flinch to speak his mind and had an undying quest for truth, for which he also died.

Mr. Vice Chancellor graduation ceremonies at academic institutions are a necessary symbol of recognition of achievement. The pomp and the elaborate flourish of such occasions should however not drown the essence of a graduation

ceremony. In a way it is a statement by an academic institution to the community that they have assisted bringing into being valuable individuals and functionaries in society who will make valuable and much needed contributions to society. At a personal level it is a matter of endless pride to each graduand who has been tried and tested and has not been found to be wanting.

It is however important to understand that the University of the North was created within a specific political and socio-economic context. Its location, so too its physical construction was intended to be an affirmation of the separateness of people. Racist ideologues in this country contended that higher education, so too all other activities within our nation had to conform to ethnic and racial identities. Institutions such as the University of the North were intended to instill, maintain and advance some ethnic identity which would for ever ensure that the oppressed African people are kept divided and therefore malleable subjects of control, exploitation and repression.

Of course over the thirty years of its existence, students, so too certain members of the staff at this University, have done the direct opposite of what was intended by the Verwoerdian ideologists. Students from this University stood up to be counted in our liberation struggle. You need only to look at the youthful leadership of our people in the last thirty years to understand the invaluable role which this University has played in advancing the struggles of our people. In different fields of endeavour the University of the North has continued to make a contribution despite the severe limitations, physical financial and academic, which obtained here for over three decades at the University.

I have no intention of indulging in the past. It is the present challenge which fascinates me more and which should engage us all the time.

Let me first state a few basic principles which inform the overall position of the Pan Africanist Congress in respect of the present education crises. You must have noticed the various press and public declarations we have made about the education crises and the response of the Pan Africanist Congress has not been prototyped. The position is informed and inspired by fairly specific liberatory principles. I will state only a few crucial ones hereunder.

- Education is an index of power. Structural and functional power relationships in society are determined by the disparity of the content and extent of education between different classes in society. The ruling class of any era in any country exercises and deploys its power principally through access to and utilization of education. Education skills expertise knowledge, whatever places appraise the holder thereof in a certain relationship with the means of production within his or her society. The Verwoerdian dictum on bantu education informed by a profound understanding of the relationship between education and social power relations. He sought to oppose and exploit and knew that that formula would work.

Education is strategic. Indeed education underpins freedom and liberation. It is the one single most important factor required by the oppressed in order to undercut and undermine the present repressive socio-economic order in our country.

Simply put before and after liberation skills are critical. The understanding of the strategic nature of education will help one avoid ill-advised positions such as "liberation before education". Or the equally ignominious slogan "pass one - pass all". Education should be for liberation. The struggle for education and liberation and

contemporaneous struggles. Both struggles will remain with us way beyond apartheid. Both are struggles for a total transformation of our society and not struggles for the cosmetic removal of racial laws. Therefore it is as wrong to say "liberation before education" as it is to say "education before liberation". Both are perpetual and contemporaneous struggles of our nation and of any nation for that matter.

Strategies and campaigns in the struggle for education should not weaken but strengthen the oppressed. Any campaign or struggle which debilitates the combative capacity of the oppressed should be avoided. The primary calling of the PAC, so too of all liberation movements is to enhance the ability of the oppressed people to transform the society in which they live; to transform the institutions through which they seek to achieve their aspirations. If you weaken in that combative capacity you will never bring true and genuine transformation of the oppressed in this country. A failure to understand the principle I have just enunciated explains why some activists are ever ready to boycott the graduation ceremony of a university such as the present, that principally serves and seeks to serve the needs and aspirations of the oppressed and yet applaud and approve their leaders addressing occasions and graduation ceremonies at white universities.

I would like to turn my attention to what appears to be an obvious neglect and a certain level of disdain for predominantly African academic institutions. Too often too many of us are too ready to proudly declare that they study at Wits, at Natal University or that they have graduated at Stellenbosch and not at the University of the North and other predominantly African universities. This is an obvious

strategic error. As I have said earlier our duty is to strengthen those institutions that primarily serve the aspirations and interests of the oppressed. This is simply so because the next phase in our struggle would be a phase for development, of reconstruction, of redistribution of resources, re-arrangement of social relations in our society. Academic institutions should be in the forefront of that process. Very soon the process will go way beyond the mere demand for one person one vote within the political order. Mr. Vice Chancellor then and then only will the real struggle for the transformation of our society commence.

It is for that reason that we in the PAC are proud of and support the Vice Chancellor's declared objective of transforming this university from a vestige of racism and repression to a centre of democratic transformative values and academic independence.

We accordingly urge you not only to democratise the process of transformation but also to enrich and strengthen the academics of this university. It always pains me to no end each time I realise that this university has hardly any research units that are found in other universities throughout the world. It is an agonising matter that the law faculty, if not all faculties, at this university has no journal of its own. An association small as the Black Lawyers Association produces the "African Law Review". Despite repeated requests for contributions for articles and research material from this university none have been forthcoming. African academics have been often said to lack the work ethic if not incapable of decent academic research work. The normal charge, Mr. Vice Chancellor, is that, beyond their theses for a specific degree African lecturers at our university simply fail to understand the true essence of their academic calling. They believe that the short official hours kept by them a fringe benefit due to them and not space for proper academic work. These approaches will have to change drastically.

On the students side Mr. Vice Chancellor even greater changes of attitude will have to occur. Your transformative ideals will come to nought unless the two key components within your university understand the historic nature of their present participation within the university.

And finally may I turn to all of these granduands I wish to congratulate them, may I wish them the best in life, lets hope they will understand the duty which degrees conferred on them, imposes on them.

PRETORIA

28 June 1991

**TRANSFORMATION OF TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS
FOURTH WINTER GRADUATION CEREMONY - UNIN 29 JUNE 1991**

Mr. Deputy Vice Chancellor, the Chairman of Council, Members of the University Council, Deans of Faculties, distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have the honour to address this congregation of the University of the North following a hectic week of academic activities during which degrees and diplomas were conferred on a large number of our former students. In addressing this congregation today, I am sending a signal to convocation, the country and the international community of scholars that the University of the North which has contributed so much in developing the second generation of South Africa's Black leaders is ready and willing to assert itself as a national seat of higher education. I make this assertion in full awareness of ongoing problems at the University and the country as a whole - problems which we are determined to resolve.

The time is not yet ripe for us to tell the country all that we intend to do in asserting this academic presence in the north most part of our country. However, I am able to state that much work has been done in the past six months to break the national and international isolation of the University; to stake our legitimate claim to additional funding, to diversify and enhance our teaching and research capability, as well as, negotiating internally with students and staff for a more democratic form of university governance - for learning and teaching remains high on our list of priorities. Ladies and gentlemen, I hope to have ample opportunity to pronounce on these and related matters on the occasion of my installation as Vice Chancellor.

My aim today is rather limited. I want to share with this congregation some preliminary views on the question of the transformation of tertiary institutions of which our University is but one.

South Africans are in the habit of thinking that the problems they face, as well as the solutions they propose, are new. However, a little reflection reveals that racial oppression and revolutionary struggle are not novel human experiences. Likewise, a careful study of international developments in higher education reveals problems of transformation are not new. In the United States, The United Kingdom and Western Europe, debates about expanded access and democratisation of tertiary institutions have been raging for almost two decades. While local, that is national, priorities have largely determined the responses and progress achieved by different countries, it is clear from my own experience and study of the world scene, that there is a great deal that we in South Africa can learn from experiences elsewhere,

including continental Africa. For example: we can learn from the United States that a country can have large state universities, smaller research universities, two year community colleges, as well as universities of technology. We can also learn that it is possible and at times desirable to adopt a flexible approach to curricula and degree structures. From Western Europe we can learn something about how to cope with large student-lecturer ratios which result in very large classes resulting from expanded access to tertiary institutions. From the British we can learn something about the failure of the binary (two tier) system of universities on the one hand and polytechnics and colleges of further education on the other.

The driving forces behind developments in the countries mentioned above are familiar to us here in South Africa. In all cases, there were increasing demands for increased access to tertiary institutions particularly for individuals traditionally excluded as a result of traditional admission criteria/class and/or racial origin. In all cases, the notion of academic standards had to be re-examined. In all cases, the right to universal tertiary education was asserted, together with ideas about post experience, life long education and second chance education as guiding principles.

It is sobering to discover that transformation in the countries briefly referred to above is still in progress despite the fact that the momentum for change started in earnest more than a decade ago. The point I want to emphasize, however, is that there is a universe of international experience from which we can learn. There is no need to pretend that we are starting from scratch as we often do in this country whenever we talk or write about academic standards and universal access to tertiary institutions. Our colleagues in the established universities must not pull the wool over our eyes and pretend that the difficulties we face are unique and unsolvable.

Another sobering lesson from the international scenario is that all governments including the most democratic are unable to meet the national bill associated with expanding access to tertiary institutions. We need to inform ourselves adequately about the economics of transformation. While various approaches to student and university financing are being attempted, the picture generally is one of shrinking government spending. Indeed, in the United States and Britain, students and the private sector are being called upon to carry a larger slice of the financial burden. For us in South Africa, it is sobering to remember that a new democratic majority government will be confronted with similar if not worse difficulties and choices early in its term of office.

Turning to the local scene, I want to provide a bird's eyeview of the current situation in higher education with a view to bringing into relief both the constraints and opportunities for meaningful transformation of the tertiary education sector. Taking the existence of gross racial inequalities in the tertiary sector for granted, we are able to add that the tertiary or higher education sector is a two-tier system. It is composed of a university sector, and what for the lack of a better descriptive term, we may describe as a college sector. Racial inequalities that have little to do with individual abilities continue to ensure an over-representation of the white minority population, as well as, limited access to the disadvantaged Black majority population. Unfortunately, this two tier is further characterised by racial and ethnic divisions and inequalities such that there now exists a predominantly white tertiary sector and a predominantly Black tertiary sector. This continues to reproduce inequalities in the production of high level skills. Inequalities in resource allocation continue to be a defining feature of the system with no sign of dramatic shifts in the near future.

Although much must be left unsaid in this regard, it may be helpful at this point to ask two related questions. The first of these is: transformation for whom? The second questions is: transformation for what? It is necessary to ask ourselves such questions because it would be unwise to assume that all interested parties in tertiary education are concerned about the need for transformation of the tertiary sector. Allow me to suggest that these are questions for which you and I must find answers.

One answer to the first question has to be that the major beneficiaries of transformation will largely be members of the disadvantaged majority who have little or no access to political or economic power. It stands to reason that transformation of the tertiary sector to be meaningful must increase the social power base of the majority population. Not surprisingly, the predominantly white universities and their major constituencies will continue to undermine meaningful transformation of the tertiary sector because they know only too well that higher education is the royal road to power in modern societies. The practical consequence of this is that the contest for the bastion of what is described as academic excellence, will be long and bitter. This places a significant historical burden on the predominantly Black sector of the system to develop innovative transformation initiatives. They must of necessity become stronger rather than weaker.

Answers to the second question are less clear due to unfinished business on the national political front. However, we are able to say that there must be transformation of the tertiary sector in order to broaden access to higher

education, as well as the associated increase in high level skills and power. In the second place, there must be transformation of tertiary institutions in order that national priorities in the elimination of racial and class inequalities may become a reality in our lifetime.

A translation of transformation as a process for everyday practical purposes involves recognition of the following factors amongst others, factors which must be seen as constraints.

- There are constraints to what can be achieved in changing human behavior and practices in the short to medium term. This is particularly true when envisaged changes are driven by democratic values. In social life, the failure to bring about transformation speedily, easily deteriorates into the substitution of one form of tyranny by another.
- During period of transition and transformation, rationality or more generally, the intellect must come to play a far greater role than coercive measures which may have worked well under historically different circumstances. Taken in the context of struggle, this means that we should not undermine the gains of earlier struggles and sacrifices through an intellectual failure to come to terms with new demands that require novel approaches. Transformation requires that we think as we sing and chant. It may also mean that there is an imperative need for new songs and slogans. Most people who talk glibly about transformation and the need for transitional arrangements, often fail to go on to point out that the struggle has now entered its most critical phase: A make or break phase during which our intellectual resources as a people will be stretched to the limit. This is another practical meaning of transformation as a process.
- Besides the transformation of behavior and values there is a need for the repositioning and restructuring of social institutions such as universities, technicons and colleges of education amongst others. Changes in staff and student profiles; in management practices, as well as increases in compensatory resource provision. In this regard, modesty demands that we remember at all times that tertiary institutions like many other institutions in our society have both local and international parentage. There are many implications which can be derived from this fact. However, the two most important may be stated briefly along the following lines. First: those who think of transformation of tertiary institutions as re-inventing the wheel, are indulging in a form of high pretence bordering on grandiosity. Second: transformation of tertiary institutions must result in internationally recognisable institutions in view of the emerging international economic and political order in which the social universe is becoming smaller by the

day.

- The stakeholders (students, administrators, political and labour organizations, etc.) in Black tertiary education must master the political will to bring about meaningful changes in the system. It is important to emphasize this point since the privileged minority has no pressing need to change the status quo; a status quo which entrenches the prevailing monopoly of power in the white hands.
- There must continue to be a demand for a unitary national education with an education and science ministry to plan and administer higher education in accordance with national development needs. The government of the day must not be permitted to shirk its responsibility in ensuring that imbalances in resource provision are addressed on an urgent and ongoing basis. This should include the optimal use of all available physical and human resources in a nonracial need driven basis. Priorities must be determined by the areas of greatest need.
- We in the historically Black sector of tertiary education provision must demand equity in sharing the burden with predominantly white institutions to ensure that we are not compelled to increase access alone to the detriment of a whole generation of students. There is a real danger that predominantly Black tertiary institutions may crowd themselves into educational anarchy.
- The multi-sector system of tertiary education in which only universities award degrees must be abandoned as soon as circumstances permit. The college and technicon sector must be strengthened and empowered to become degree awarding institutions. Such a move would not only increase access, but would also diversify the higher education national student profile and empower both students, technicians and colleges of education.
- The universities must continue to insist that present and future funding arrangements include a substantial provision for the establishment of staff and student development programmes. My own view is that it is unproductive to attempt to remedy the problem of underprepared students without engaging in the equally necessary task of staff development.
- The best student and staff leadership available within tertiary institutions, as well as outside, must be harnessed to ensure efficient utilisation of all available resources. In this context, the establishment of accountable and democratic systems of governance, remains an essential ingredient for meaningful transformation of our tertiary institutions. Faced with the problems of transition and reconstruction as we are, there is no room for being flat.

footed. A great deal of time is spent in Black communities at the present time nurturing and manufacturing enemies. The time must surely come when we all realise that our national resource pool is too limited for this kind of destructive self-indulgence.

- Students in the higher education sector cannot reasonably demand transformation and want to stay out of the fray at the same time. Where meaningful participation becomes possible the space for institutional transformation must not only be appropriated. It must be used to the benefit of the institutions and the country as a whole.

- It will be a national tragedy from which we are unlikely to recover for a long time, if we should equate transformation of our institutions with the absence of quality education and essential competences to function in national and international life. The institutionalisation of mediocrity which is sometimes wrongly associated with the concept say of "peoples' university" would negate the heroic struggles of the last thirty years and worsen the national racial inequalities to catastrophic proportions. We need constantly to guard against this everpresent danger.

Mr. Deputy Vice Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen I conclude with a challenge and it is this. There is present at this University the moral, political and intellectual will to establish a university of the people that is, a national resource which is non-sectarian yet predicated on an enlightened partnership of students, academics and the communities we serve. We are demanding that this commitment to build a strong, democratic national institution of higher learning be reciprocated by all progressive forces in our country (the liberation movements, trade unions, the churches as well as business and commerce). The University of the North must not divide us. It must serve as a beacon to unite us.

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