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GRADUATION '95



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence



FORT HARE UNIVERSITY



The graduation ceremonies for 1995 were held on Friday and Saturday, 5 and 6 May respectively at the University's Indoor Sports Complex. On Friday, 5 May, Dr Ibrahima Fall, who was awarded the D.Litt et Phil (h.c.) presented the graduation address. Dr Ibrahim Fall is the Secretary General for Human Rights (UN) and Director of the UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva.

On the same day 500 degrees and diplomas were conferred by the Faculty of Arts. Among these were 5 Masters degrees from the departments of Crimi-

HIGHLIGHTS

nology, Sociology and African Languages. A doctoral degree, entitled "Aspekte van die Afrikanersteriotipe in "Gerugte van reen" end "Die kreef raak gewoond daaraan"" was conferred on Dr Synders from the department of Afrikaans and Nederlands.

On Saturday, 06 May, the Faculties of Science, Economic Sciences, Agriculture, Law, Education and Theology awarded 578 degrees and diplomas and these

included 4 masters degrees and one doctoral degree which was awarded to Dr Peter John Kenneth Zacharias a lecturer in Plant Sciences. Dr Zacharias' thesis is entitled "The fire/grazing interaction on Dohne Sourveld"

The highlights of the Saturday ceremonies were the awarding of the D.Litt et Phil (h.c) to His Excellency, President Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe and a former student of Fort Hare. President Mugabe is one of the six African heads of state which have been produced by Fort Hare.



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Saturday, 06 May

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5. Address by His Excellency President Robert Gabriel Mugabe
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VICE-CHANCELLOR'S PRESENTATION OF GRADUANDS AT THE 72th GRADUATION CEREMONY ON 05 MAY 1995

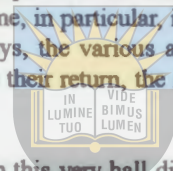
Honourable Chancellor Doctor Govan Mbeki
Honourable Guest of Honour
Dr Ibrahima Fall
MECs here present
Members of the national and provincial legislatures
Chairperson and vice-chairperson of council
Members of council
The vice-chancellors from our sister universities here present
The Deans of our faculties
Our Honourable Professors
The university's academic and the university community at large
Distinguished alumni here present
But above all fellow students

I welcome you all to this our first post-apartheid graduation. It is, Mr Chancellor, a sign of times that we can begin our graduation ceremony with Ntsikana's song and end it hopefully with Die Stem.

It is a sign of times, Mr Chairman, that we can sing, not to the accompaniment of piano, but to the accompaniment of the marimba. It is a sign of times, Mr Chairman, that at this important point of transition in the human story of our country, we are here gathered to honour our first output of our post-apartheid graduation.

It is indeed a sign of the times, honourable Chancellor that we are here to witness, and to initiate young men and women who are destined to be the first adult population of the 21st century. It is indeed a great honour (I know for you Mr chancellor...) for myself, to have the privilege to preside over this ceremony. We welcome, in particular, in very very unique ways, the various alumni who have made their return, the first in decades.

We have in this very hall distinguished



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CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE BY MR T MELANE, MEMBER OF THE SRC

Honourable Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, Chairperson and members of Council, members of Senate, members of the academic and administrative staff, graduands, parents, ladies and gentleman, I greet you on behalf of the student community.

My task today is to pave a way for the main speech which will be made tomorrow by the chairperson of the SRC. We wish to congratulate our graduands. We say to you today that you are the harbingers of our new social order. You are the torch bearers of our nation. You are the flowers of our continent. You are rivers, nourishing our Mother Africa. You are the pride of your parents. Above all, you are blood and life of humanity.

Having said that, I wish to draw you to the ebb and flow of student life in Fort Hare. I would like to do so by starting first with academic life. The legacy of apartheid has resulted in us becoming marginalised with regard to academic standards. Right now we are faced with

the influx of students who want to be registered, but there is no residential space. It is saddening to see students leaving the University, having given up on the possibility of being registered students. On the other hand, just yesterday in the Council meeting, the Vice-President of UDUSA strongly suggested something needs to be done by the institution with regard to the unacceptable high lecturer/student ratio at Fort Hare. The large number of students in a class contributes to the high failure rate which we experience in our university.

Secondly, with regard to the financial state of the students; students owe this university R5,8 million rands which is a large amount even if it is less than what prevails in other institutions. It is also reported that R2 million student fees are paid by bursaries and, that year by year this figure is escalating. We as the SRC have committed ourselves to fundraising. We are moving away from the culture of living with hand-outs. We firmly believe we must start to do some-

alumni from the 30s (yourself included Mr Chancellor, old Mac is somewhere, in his self effacing way in the congregation). We have among us honourable alumni from the 40s, we have Mr Chairman, honourable alumni from the 50s and 60s, some of whom I am very proud to call my teachers.

My family and I, and the university family, welcome in particular, Professor Ngcongco, known to all and sundry as 'Pres' as though there was never another SRC president at Fort Hare; Professor Melamu, and all those others who have made it possible that we can come back here.

The true liberation of our country, Mr Chairperson, begins with the liberation of the minds. And I have pleasure in presenting to you 1040 liberated minds in this our 72nd graduation ceremony.

thing for ourselves, even if it is not much initially.

Lastly, our social life leaves much to be desired, our residences are worse and there is no healthy recreation at Fort Hare. The only past-time which is available is the misuse of liquor which has disastrous effects on student life. However, there are encouraging signs. Right now there is a project which involves the Public Affairs and Development Office and the whole community of Fort Hare, whereby telephones are being installed in each and every hostel corridor and the placing of ATMs on several sites on campus. These are necessities; we feel they are not privileges. The list is endless but because of time constraints I have only listed these 3 issues.

We are still faced with an enormous task of upgrading student life on campus but I believe with perseverance we will conquer, believing that "In his light, we shall see light" " whilst we lead others follow."

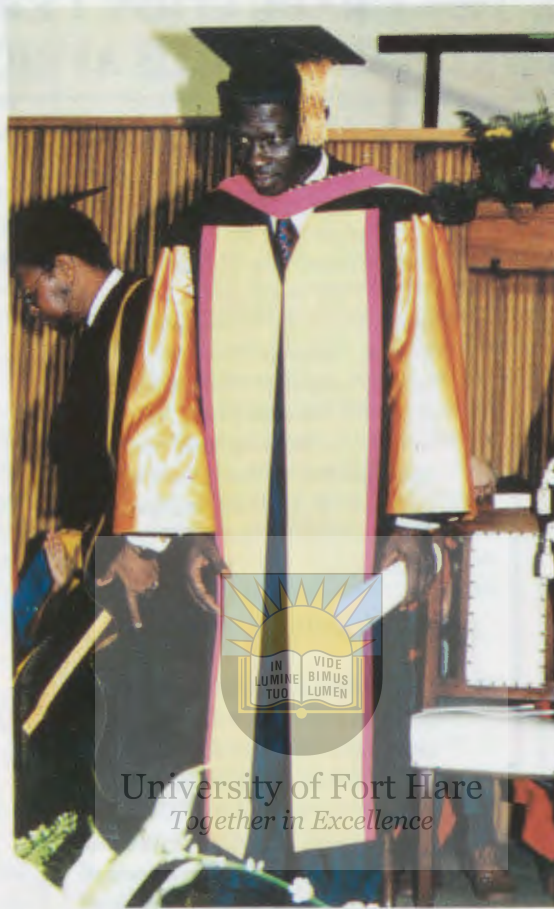
Ibrahima Fall was born in 1942 at Tivaoune, Senegal.

Dr Fall was educated in Dakar and Paris. His academic achievements include: a Bachelor of Public Law in 1967, a Master of Public Law and Political Science in 1969, a Diploma from the Institute of Political Studies of Paris in 1971 and a Doctorate in International Law from the University of Paris in 1972. He also holds a diploma from the Academy of International Law of the Hague (1973). He obtained a Post Doctorate degree (Agregation) in Law and Political Science in 1974.

From 1975 to 1981, he was Dean of the Faculty of Legal and Economic Studies at the University Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, where he has held a succession of posts on the legal faculty since joining the University as an instructor in 1972.

From 1984 to 1990, he served as his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs. In that capacity, he was Senegal's chief representative at ministerial meetings of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement and the General Assembly. Dr Fall has also served as a consultant and adviser for nu-

CITATION : DR IBRAHIMA FALL



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merous other intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations.

In 1986, Dr Fall was a spokesman and ministerial coordinator for Africa during the Assembly's special session on the critical economic situation in Africa.

On 04 December 1992 Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appointed Ibrahima Fall as Assistant General Secretary for Human Rights. Dr Fall is currently Director of the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva, a post he has held since 12 August 1992.

Dr Fall has published a number of works on International Public Law, Constitutional Law and Political Science. As a non-governmental expert, he took part in preparing the preliminary draft of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights of OAU. He is also a founding member and honorary President of the Senegalese Association of African Unity. He is also a member of the Senegalese section of the International Student Movement for the United Nations, Honorary Member of the Association of African Jurists and Member of the French Society for International Law.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY DR IBRAHIMA FALL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AT THE 1995 GRADUATION CEREMONY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE, SOUTH AFRICA, 5 - 6 MAY 1995

Honourable Chancellor,
Mr Vice-Chancellor,
Visiting Vice-Chancellors,
Members of the University Council,
Members of the Senate and heads of
Departments,
Members of the Student Representative
Council,
Deans, Colleagues, Professors,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen
Dear Students

1. In my triple capacity as a son of Africa, as an University Professor and as a former Dean of faculty of law and Economics, I am particularly honoured by the decision of the renowned University of Fort Hare to confer upon me the Diploma of **Doctors Honoris Causa**.
2. I also wish to express, in all simplicity and sincerity, my profound gratitude to the teaching corps of the Faculty of Law and to the entire teaching staff of the University of Fort Hare for this great honour. My thanks go particularly to Dean Du Plessis for the kind words he has spoken about me, and for his touching eulogical presentation addressed to my person, my qualifications and my work. Allow me, in return, to assure you that, I will spare no effort to justify the confidence you have placed upon me, and to try to follow in the footsteps of my famous predecessors, former students and the faculty of this University, a whole galaxy of famous sons and daughters of Africa to whom it is my pleasure to pay tribute here, in the name of the late Chancellor Oliver Tambo, whose memory I greatly value, a friend and a brother, whom I came to meet, to respect and to admire by working closely with him for many years, during the meetings of the OAU and of the Non-Aligned Movement, while I was serving as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of my own country, Senegal.

3. I am fully confident that, through my modest person, this ceremony is intended to honour the United Nations, where I am the Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights. Thus, I am particularly happy to bring to you the message of greetings and congratulations of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Boutros-Ghali, that dignified son of our Continent who presides over the destiny of that Organization with devotion, competence and an efficiency that is the pride of all Africans.



4. University and academic traditions, to which I am linked through a long career as a professor for twenty six years, bowed down by the honour of receiving the diploma of the **doctors honoris causa**, give me the pleasant duty of availing myself of the opportunity in the speech of thanks, to dwell in general terms on the outline of an imaginary doctorate to be defended. Faithful to this tradition, I will not actually dwell on this but have chosen to briefly present the relationship between democracy and development from the point of view of human rights.
5. Before proceeding further, it is perhaps necessary to avoid any ambiguity. Our intention is not to engage in a theoretical discussion of democracy and development, two general concepts to which different disciplines in the social sciences and different schools of thought within each of those disciplines attach differing meaning, substance and scope.
6. Nor is it our intention to embark on a highly speculative debate about whether the ties between democracy and development are of an historical - and hence diachronic - type or indeed a simultaneous - and hence synchronic - kind.

7. Deliberately looking at things from a practical standpoint, we would like, more modestly, to examine ways and means of making sure that development - the profound aspiration of the African peoples faced by the terrible realities of the under-development - becomes the central dimension of the broad-ranging democratic process under-way on the African continent.
8. In this regard, development should be viewed in holistic terms and taken to mean an overall process for the continuous promotion and improvement of the well-being of every man and woman, every people and nations, from all angles. It concerns, in short, a process of humanity in its entirety, and it covers all aspects of human rights and freedoms.
9. Democracy, for its part, viewed as a system based on freedom, equality and solidarity of all, is a system in which every person, every people enjoys and exercises all human rights within the law.
10. In this sense, democracy obviously cannot be confined to such civil and political rights as the right to life, equality, dignity and justice; freedom of conscience and religion, thought and expression, assembly and association, free movement, access to public service and public office, free participation in political life, and so on. Democracy also encompasses economic, social and cultural rights, such as the right to work, to education, to health, to own property, to self-determination and freedom to dispose of economic resources, to peace and solidarity in their individual and collective dimensions, both national and international.
11. In the light of such conceptual approach of democracy and development, it seems that one best defini-

tion of the relationship between democracy and development might well be a human rights definition. It is the one that is at the heart of the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development. According to that Declaration, the right to development is *"an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all persons are entitled to participate in and contribute to economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized"* (art. 1).

12. Participation is of particular importance, for it is true that not only democracy and development, but also democracy for development, if they are to be viable, must be founded on the free, active and complete participation of peoples in determining and achieving their own destiny.

THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE: THE MAINSPRING OF DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

13. Whether they have been based on private enterprise and economic efficiency and aimed solely at economic growth or financial equilibrium, or whether they have been guided by State interventionism and economic collectivism, most development strategies in Africa have met with failure, and even when they have been marked by initial success, they have rapidly produced serious crises, the care of which is usually caused by massive violations of human rights.

14. While the factors that go to explain this situation are many and varied, one of the fundamental reasons is the absence of participation by the population in devising and managing national political and economic development strategies.

15. Yet the idea of the citizen and the people playing a part in determining their own political, economic and social future is not new to Africa. It is at the core of many pre-colonial political and social systems and was also one of the principal demands by the continent's political leaders while wag-

ing the struggle against colonialism and racism.

16. However, experience was soon to show that popular participation, as practised by Government leaders, became devoid of substance, namely, it was not free, active and complete.

17. In this connection, the conclusions reached by the 1990 Arusha Conference are clear: the political systems and the economic strategies implemented in Africa for close on 30 years have greatly contributed to the unprecedented economic, human, juridical, political and social crisis, and the root causes of the crisis lies in, among other things, over-centralization of power and impediments to the effective participation of the majority of the people in social, political and economic development.

18. As a result, the participants in the Arusha Conference insisted on the need for political mechanisms, to accommodate the rights to freedom of opinion, toleration of differences, acceptance of consensus, promotion of decentralization and ensuring of democracy and effective participation by the people in political, social and economic life, and this, according to the same participants can be ensured only with the protection of the fundamental human rights.

19. Today, with the new democratization and the emergence of many grass-roots voluntary organizations, whose action is based on associating the population in development, popular participation can play a positive role in the two-fold process of democracy and development.

20. Perhaps a factor of revival is that participation must be at all levels of society. Political and economic decisions must be taken with the participation of everybody, at all levels. All too often, Governments, even democratically elected Governments, work out national socio-economic plans and programmes without active and effective participation of their citizens, and often under foreign pressure.

21. The human rights dimension to democracy and development means

not only participation in the decision-making process but also participation in its benefits. All sectors of society must benefit, on an equal footing among all citizens.

22. To ensure that governments are respectful of the democratic principle of popular participation, human rights education is a key element. All citizens, including the most disadvantaged, should know what their rights are and be able to claim them, what their duties are and fulfil them. With education, all citizens should be able to form groups and associations to defend their rights and interests, at all levels of society, not only through political parties but also by occupational, social, cultural and religious associations, as well as through sectoral interests like housing, employment, security, access to drinking water, electricity, and so on. As a consequence, for an individual who knows his rights, knows that he can defend himself or be defended, the feeling of alienation, resignation and dependence, which is so harmful to economic, social and political progress may give way to a resolute and active commitment to the protection of these rights.

23. In this regard, it is important to recognize the actions of many lawyers and non-governmental organizations working to defend human rights, as well as their actions in support of peoples in the process of democratization.

24. Another positive illustration of the human rights dimension of the relationship between democracy and development is to be found in the judiciary. We all know how an impartial judicial system, based on the rule of law, can have a positive impact on economic development. Programmes for free legal aid to protect the property, freedom and dignity of individuals should therefore be implemented. Such aid goes beyond defence in criminal cases: it uses the law and legal proceedings to end or overturn unjust laws and practices.

25. If it is to be voluntary and responsible, participation must be mindful participation. This means that the citizen stands in need of informa-

tion. The experience of some countries, shows that consensus planning and implementation of a broad ranging and ambitious national policy for literacy campaigns in the national languages, using all available human resources, can have a positive effect in combatting illiteracy and ignorance and on creating conditions whereby the population themselves can take over their own political, economic, social and cultural destiny in general, and in defending their fundamental freedoms and rights in particular.

26. It is a task which lies first of all with the public authorities, but also with the intellectual elite, the political parties, young people who have received an education, trade unions, grass-roots organizations, and structures representing the decentralized grass-roots communities.
27. Respect for freedom of expression in general, for freedom of the press in particular, is a crucial dimension of human rights as a factor in democracy and development.
28. The same is true of non-discrimination.
29. Today, more than ever, Africa is faced with serious internal armed conflicts, often ethnic, regional or religious.
30. The causes, outbreak and development of many of these conflicts are tied in with human rights violations, and they constitute a threat to stability, to democracy and to the promotion of the economic and social development of peoples. The roots of these conflicts lie in State policies of discrimination and marginalization of minorities from the conduct of political affairs at the national level and from equality of opportunity and from socio-economic advancement. Arrests, arbitrary detentions, disappearances, tortures, murders and assassinations compound the bitterness and the resistance of the opponents and creates a vicious cycle of terrible violence and devastation.
31. We are not naive enough to think that it is easy to solve such conflicts. The fact remains that where a policy

of democratic popular participation has enabled the population, including national ethnic, cultural and religious minorities, to participate freely to decisions on their own destiny, locally and regionally, and where the public authorities have avoided all discrimination or marginalization, and also where such democratic principles of Government have been reintroduced, the chances of peace and stability, and therefore development, have been markedly improved.

THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE AS THE PRINCIPAL FOUNDING OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Ladies and gentlemen

32. The problem of the relationship between democracy and development as seen from the point of view of human rights goes far beyond the internal framework of the State; it also forms the basis for contemporary international relations.
33. Both in political terms and in economic and financial terms, the world is characterized by deep-rooted inequality between a small number of States and groups of States, primarily in the North, whose political and economic weight is constantly increasing; and a large number of States and groups of States of the south, whose role and position in the conduct of International relations are becoming less and less significant.
34. This domination is exercised through institutions, systems, structures, procedures, mechanisms and policies with little respect for the individual and collective rights of peoples and nations. Rights as fundamental as equality - including the sovereign equality of States, self-determination, free and equal participation in the conduct of international affairs, permanent sovereignty, the right to development and solidarity, the principles of justice and equity and the basic democratic principles of majority rule are regularly circumvented, if not deliberately disregarded in multilateral international forums, as well as in bilateral relations and give way to the

imposition of views, decisions and actions which are in keeping with the interests of the only dominant minority and are seriously prejudicial to the interests of the overwhelming majority of peoples and States.

35. This situation is incompatible with the principles and legal standards that form the basis of international legality and with the mandate entrusted to the United Nations; And changing this situation, should be the concern of all those who wish to work for the triumph of democracy and the promotion of international development.
36. When they decided that one of the objectives of the United Nations would be to promote better standards of life in larger freedom, the founding fathers of the San Francisco Charter clearly saw that there were close links between development and democracy and paved the way for a comprehensive human development strategy.
37. The outbreak and worsening of the cold war and the political-ideological and economic split of the world into two antagonistic systems had the effect, with the exception of the process of political decolonization, of pushing democracy and development, and especially human rights, their common denominator, into the background, far behind the ideologies, and of having them looked through the prism of distorting ideologies.
38. Very fortunately, today, with the end of bipolarity and in the context of an integrated comprehensive strategy in which the concept of development and democracy plays a key role side by side with the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of the world environment, a new awareness has been created.
39. This overriding need to democratize international institutions is appearing with greater clarity each day. In his first report on the work of the Organization to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, wrote: "*The current international situation requires an*

organization capable of dealing comprehensively with the economic, social, environmental and political dimensions of human development, this requires the full application for the principles of democracy with the family of nations and within our organization."

40. In our view, this is the context in which we must analyze the prospects opened up by the organization of the World Conference on Human Rights in 1994, one of whose major themes was the link between human rights, democracy and development; The International Conference on Population and Development in 1994, the World Social Summit in Copenhagen in 1995, and the World Conference on Women which will take place shortly in Beijing.
41. It is obvious, that, if it is to work, this United Nations strategy development and democracy must bring about far-reaching changes in international, political and economic relations, whose present structuring is a serious two-pronged threat to democracy and the harmonious development of the peoples and States of the world.
42. The human rights approach to development is based, as I have already mentioned, on the principle that human rights are interdependent and that progress must be sought in all areas simultaneously. Nowhere is this interdependence so clearly demonstrated than in the studies carried out on extreme poverty and human rights. For phenomenon of extreme poverty is rooted in the basic denial of the human dignity postulated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
43. Extreme poverty and marginalization have not only economic dimensions. They are also one of the tangible realities of international economic and political relations, and particularly affect North/South relations.
44. Africa is particularly concerned in this regard. It must be recognized that most Africans are poorer today than when their countries achieved independence. Africa has more than 30 out of the 47 countries in the

world defined by the United Nations as being least developed. Africa is the only developing region in the world where poverty will increase by the end of the century if current economic trends are not reversed. Africa is also the only region where total debt equals or exceeds economic output. These are very harsh realities indeed, especially if we look beyond cold figures and think about the millions of human beings whose fundamental rights, the basic rights to food, housing, education and quite simply a life of dignity are being affected daily. I am thinking of the African children whose lives are stunted or cut short as a result of the lack of food and whose intellectual and spiritual development will be seriously jeopardized by the lack of education. The tragedy is that the situation may continue to get worse.

45. However, as Mr Butros Butros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, so rightly pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization to the forty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly: since poverty, economic helplessness, political rejection and social alienation will contribute little to democracy. It is illusory to believe that without development, there can be any long-term enjoyment of human rights and democracy.
46. The Secretary-General also said: *"The freshly witnessed momentum for political pluralism in Africa can hardly withstand a continuing assault by desertification, famine and deprivation. Poverty is infertile soil for democracy."*
47. Commitment to the triumph of democracy and the promotion of development at the international level depended primarily on demanding respect for individual and collective human rights.
48. This too is a struggle that must be waged through popular participation.
49. The first aim is the promotion and strengthening of ties of cooperation and solidarity among active groups of citizens with the same aspirations

and motivations for democracy and development at the international level. Such action should be based on grass-roots communities, social and cultural groups, non-governmental organizations sectoral associations and groups of young people, women and professionals and local communities.

50. In and between South and North, such groups of citizens harmonize and coordinate their action on behalf of democracy and development in the world, by focusing on problems such as debt, deterioration of the terms of trade, poverty, humanitarian assistance and the democratization of international political, economic and financial institutions. There may be a variety of possible structures for cooperation, harmonization and coordination, but they should be designed to implement active partnership strategies.
51. The intensification and strengthening of cooperation and solidarity among peoples and developing countries should also be given priority as a way of helping to bring about democracy and promoting development at the international level.
52. In this connection, the reinvigoration of Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, and the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the G.15 are structural prerequisites of primary importance.
53. These efforts must also take account of the current trend towards structuring within economic groupings such as the European Community, the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Economic Community of the Pacific.
54. Africa, for its part, has just implemented the Abuja Treaty setting in motion a process for the establishment of a Pan-African Community is to take during a 34-four year transitional period.
55. There is cause for alarm at the sorry state of inter-African economic exchanges and the lack of any real commitment for its economic integration by the continent's leaders and their elites.

56. One of the factors that may create conditions for the viable integration of the economies of the African countries is popular participation. Experience shows that, since independence, the African elites and leaders have deliberately kept the people away from economic cooperation and integration initiatives and have locked themselves up into processes of consultation where their own lack of genuine determination has been equalled only by their propensity to make impassioned statements and proclamations.

57. In this connection, elites, political parties, trade unions, the press, young persons, students, the peoples of neighbouring countries, economic agents, women, non-governmental and other voluntary organizations, universities and advanced vocational training schools could, all, play an active and important role within their spheres of competence and in their own fields of activity, in this process of participation for democratic economic integration.

CONCLUSION

58. That there can be no development without democracy has been more than amply demonstrated by Africa in the past three decades.

59. The far-reaching movement towards democratization now taking place in

Africa carries with it both political and socio-economic hopes and expectations that are deeply rooted in the collective mentality of peoples, especially the most deprived.

60. We must take care to ensure that the conditions for the unfolding of this democratic process do not put an end to an experiment that has already been greatly weakened by many threats, in the context of which one must include the dangers of heterodox change in the form of injustice, arbitrariness, authoritarianism, disguised dictatorship, marginalization and inequalities, on one hand; and, on the other, the problems of ethnicism, regionalism, tribalism, iridentism and government decay.

61. It is therefore, important for a democratic culture to be rooted in both the mentality and in the conduct of the governed and the governing. Respect for human rights, in all their socio-political and socio-economic dimensions, can and must constitute the basis on which to build lasting guarantees of democracy. Only the same respect can also lay the foundations for economic development in social justice and solidarity.

62. This enormous task of promoting democracy for development is ob-

viously a collective effort that involves all components of society within each State and within the international community.

63. By making the human person the central subject of development, ranking free and active participation as a fundamental principle of the promotion of democracy and development, and making everyone's duty of active solidarity a constant reality, it will be possible to take up all the challenges that lay on the road to the creation of a united world standing in democracy and development.

64. In view of its age old traditions, Africa should be able to move ahead with hope on the road to democracy and development through free and active popular participation. Traditional ways of life in Africa have always made room for discussion and efforts to achieve consensus. This tradition of participation is still deeply rooted in African social life, in which dialogue and consultation constitute strong foundations on which to build genuinely democratic societies and to promote sustainable and lasting development.

I thank you and I congratulate you, new graduated students, together with your parents and relatives, and I wish you every success in your new professional and social life.

CLOSING SPEECH BY CHAIRMAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE GOVERNING COUNCIL, PROFESSOR FRANCIS WILSON ON 05 MAY 1995

Mr Chancellor, it is my very happy task, on behalf of the council and indeed on behalf of the whole university to say Thank You for today. But I want to start by pointing out that in this first graduation ceremony in independent South Africa we are running well early. We are indeed 15 minutes ahead of schedule which means I could go on talking for another 20 minutes at least and we will still be on time.

But I won't do so, but I want to get to the point that this is the moment to thank our behind the scene organisers, for their magnificent efficiency and for organising such a splendid day for us today where we are running with Chock Work pieces. Now, we thank them very much indeed, and of course we need to begin at the beginning by thanking the choir for their wonderful music. It is indeed true as the chancellor was saying that in this context and indeed in most contexts the marimba is much better than piano and we are so pleased to have such marvellous music live in our whole proceedings.

I want to thank too the Student Representative Council, for all the work that they have done during the year and particularly for the message that we received this morning. I know from my position in the council what an enormous role the students play within the council in the wise advice and the point that they make there and I want to say that what was said today in terms of the need for expansion of space for more students, the need for an improved staff-student ratio, the need for health recreational facilities on campus, the need for the upgrading of student life and all this within the context of moving away from the culture of handouts.

This is the message that was delivered exceptionally clearly and one that we hear very very clearly indeed and from the perspective of council, we will do everything in our power to move as rapidly as possible to improve in all those areas.

I would also like to thank today (because I think its very important that we do so) the parents, the wider family, the donors of bursaries, all those who stood behind to those who've been able to graduate today.

We know that we do nothing all off our

own, that we are members of the community, but no where is there it more true than on a graduation day when those who graduate recognise that although they worked hard to get their degrees, they could not possibly have done it on their own. And its a moment that we just pause to give thanks for the enormous sacrifices and generosity of those whose work behind those who graduated has enabled them to get to where they are and we want to thank the parents, the families and all those who generously contribute to the bursary funds of the university for making this possible. And we want to thank all our other guests, M.E.Cs, members of the provincial and national assembly, all those who've come to make today possible. We want to make sure that our new graduates and their guests know that there is lunch for them in the Great Hall and they are warmly invited to that and that just as 1995 was the home-coming graduation for alumni, we want to invite all alumni including today's graduates, who are now alumni, to the 80th birthday celebrations in 1996 next year to make sure that we have even greater party than this year at that 80th celebration.

But, I want to turn now to thank particularly, our honoured guest, to whom we have awarded an honorary degree and he graciously accepted that degree today, Dr Ibrahima Fall.

I want to thank him for being with us today and we all know or probably not everybody know that he could have been here a year or two ago, but he couldn't come because although he'd been awarded the degree, in terms of the United Nations, until we a majorlty government, democratically elected, it was not possible for him in any way to come to South Africa and that symbolises the enormous role the united Nations played in the whole anti-apartheid struggle.

And so it is with particular warmth that we receive you today Dr Fall precisely because you couldn't come a year ago and you are here today. And we want to thank you for speaking as the son of Africa, as a university professor and as a lawyer. We want to honour and thank you for bringing the message from Professor Bautros Bautros Ghali of the United Nations because it seems that from who you are, you have confirmed by coming here today Fort

Hare as part of Africa, we have this link, here we are on the Southern Africa linking with Senegal and Dakkar, linking with the secretary general of the United Nations from Egypt, and that's the pan-African vision and then through the United Nations, the international community.

What you said, we want to thank you for that as well because you faced the realities of the crisis in Africa. You held, and yet beyond facing the realities held up for us a vision, a vision of the national level, a vision of the continental level for the whole of Africa, a vision of the international and global level, a vision of the human rights approach to development through participation with democracy as a driving force, and centre of that all and I want to assure you that we have heard that message, we are very grateful for it.

Indeed it may be appropriate, (I think we should think this through with the university) that we mark Dr Fall's visit to the university and his honorary degree by perhaps deciding that we as a university should become a driving force in the movement for African Unity and for the United Nations.

Just as Dr Fall himself in Senegal has been a driving force for the Senegalese Association for African Unity and the Senegalese Association for the United Nations. Perhaps here at Fort Hare this is a moment for us to think about such South African Associations for African Unity and for the United Nations so that we do not simply rest on our history but we take the... we draw from the strength of our past and on the visit of Dr Fall and his long friendship with our previous chancellor Dr Oliver Tambo to go forward with that vision off Africa in Unity which is both developed and democratic, where poverty will be eliminated and a vision of the world in which we do not simply have few rich, powerful countries up in the north dictating what the rest of the world should do but where we are all members of the human community, we thank you very much for your message.

We thank everybody here for their presence today we wish you God's bid in the year ahead.

WE THANK YOU

VICE-CHANCELLOR'S REMARKS AT THE 72ND GRADUATION CEREMONY, 06 MAY 1995

Mr Chancellor, Dr Govan Archibald Mbeki, I have the singular honour to present to you and to the congregation an 'old war house' in the struggle. (I use that of cause metaphorically)

I should say, rather Mr Chancellor, a collaborator of yours - and it gives me no end of relief Mr Chancellor to be able to use that word, 'collaborator'

without flinching. It does indeed bespeak the new ethos that even such concepts have been liberated in our new world order. I have the honour Mr Chancellor to present the chief host of the occasion and the Premier of the Eastern Cape, The Honourable Raymond Mhlaba.

I have the pleasure Mr Premier to present

you and to present to you this congregation, our 72nd graduation ceremony with 1041 graduands, your intellectual foot-soldiers Mr Premier, I have the honour Mr Premier, I hope in battle ready shape.

Please Ladies and Gentlemen welcome the Premier, the honourable Oom Ray Mhlaba!

WELCOME ADDRESS FOR THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT DR ROBERT MUGABE OF ZIMBABWE BY PREMIER OF THE EASTERN CAPE, RAYMOND MHLABA

Mr Master of Ceremonies.

Today is a red letter day for the University of Fort Hare as well as the entire region of the Eastern Cape.

The government of the Eastern Cape Province is greatly honoured to welcome one of the illustrious products of this university. In few minutes time he will be conferred with an Honorary Degree - Doctor of Commerce.

His being honoured today by this institution is of great significance. Not only

did he receive his first degree here, he as well played a great role in the liberation not only of Zimbabwe but University has always been a mental house for mental capacitation for the entire Africa and the world at large.

Besides Dr Mugabe, Fort Hare has produced such stalwarts like the late Prof Z K Matthews who died in Botswana, Dr Mjoroge of Kenya and Professor Lule of Uganda. Also to have been honoured by Fort Hare is Senator Govan Mbeki.

The Government of the Eastern Cape

also wishes to welcome the Honourable Prime Minister of Lesotho Mr Ntsu Mokhehle as well as his Honourable Minister of Justice Mr Keleboue Maope.

To the men and women who are conferred their degrees today, the people of the Eastern Cape would be looking at you to inject the knowledge that you have acquired here to their benefit. You have a definite role to play for the RDP to succeed.

I wish you all a successful future.

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE FORT HARE STUDENTS BY THE SRC CHAIRPERSON : MR WONDER MASOMBUKA

Mr Chancellor, Comrade Govan Mbeki

Mr Vice Chancellor, Professor Mbulelo Mzamane

His excellency, The President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

The Honourable Premier of the Eastern Cape, Mr Raymond Mhlaba

The Chairman and members of Council

Members of Senate

Distinguished guests here with us

Our dear parents

Comrades and friends

Not forgetting our dear sons and daughters, the beautiful graduands

As you are graduating today, remember that you are the torch bearers of our nation. You are the harbingers of our new social order. You are the pride of our parents. You are the rivers of our continent. You are the intelligentsia of our people. Behold the services invested upon you.

Mr Chancellor, allow me from the outset to re-evaluate the nature of the degrees being conferred upon us. There are a few thought-provoking questions that we must attempt to answer in order to validate the validity of our degrees.

Are our products that upon them today we confer degrees employable? Or rather to be more ambitious and precise: are our products capable of creating jobs? Who of the graduands present here today, thinks of himself/herself as being an employer and not an employee? It is critical that sometimes we must undergo self-introspection in order to realise a brighter and more prosperous future.

We should start the process of evaluation sooner than later. We should scrutinize the relevance of our curriculum content; if there's any content in it at all. What about staff evaluation as a supplement of the later view? This process is not about witch-hunt, neither victimization, but this endeavour is aimed at encapacitating the national university of Fort Hare.

Mr Chancellor, I'm not here to make a speech but to deliver a short and precise message to the nation. I will be failing in my duties as the SRC head to not to shortly visit the national education scenario.

It took more than a century for the colonial regime to build the Afrikaner universities, not to mention the historically

English liberal universities. The Boer regime invested a lot in these universities, in terms of material, capital and human resources. These institutions were used to promote one group against the other. These institutions were used to ensure that the economic power remains in the hands of the minority. These institutions have a sound and viable infrastructure. As the government of national unity has introduced the reconstruction and development programme, the historically white universities (HWU) will simply fit into RDP programme and move even further away from the historically disadvantaged universities (HDUs). Our message is loud and clear, we don't intend applying apartheid in reverse in this country, but we need to be stabilized. We are faced with a two pronged dilemma. We used to be assisted financially in order to be stable at the same time we need to fruitfully engage ourselves in RDP programmes. Mr Chancellor, once more allow me to make a clarion call to our government and nation; we need a stabilization fund as a matter of urgency.

Thank you Mr Chancellor, and once again thank you to the graduating sons and daughters of Africa. Thank you!

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE, FIRST EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

The President of Republic of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe was born on the 21st of February, 1924 at Kutama Mission in the Zvimba Area, North-west of Harare. He received his primary education at Kutama Mission and qualified thereafter as a primary school teacher. Mr Mugabe taught at various school throughout the country between 1942 and 1949, while at the same time pursuing his studies. He was, in 1950, able to enter university with credits already acquired by correspondence towards his BA degree.

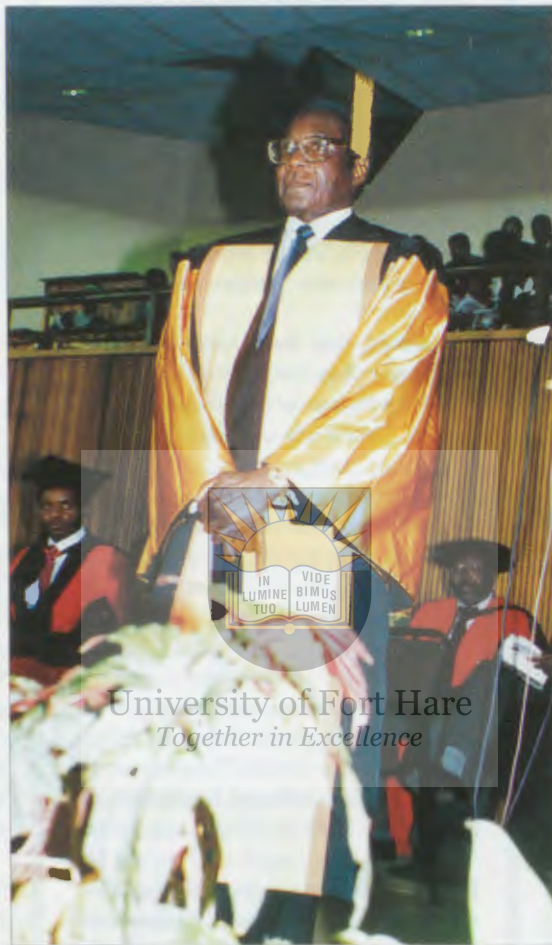
He was admitted to the University College of Fort Hare, then associated with Rhodes University, where he finally completed the BA degree in 1951 before, once again, resuming his teaching career in the then Southern Rhodesia. It was in this year that he completed his post-graduate University Education Diploma by external study. Thereafter, and whilst teaching in Zimbabwe, he completed his Bachelor of Education degree in 1954 with the University of South Africa.

In 1955 he secured a post at the Chalimba Teacher Training College in Zambia, then Northern Rhodesia, and remained there until June 1958.

During his sojourn in Zambia as a teacher, he continued with his studies and passed the B.Sc (Economics) degree with the University of London in 1958.

The independence of Ghana in 1957 lured him to that country in June 1958. He taught at St Mary's Training College, a Catholic Institution in Apowa near Takoradi.

On his return to Southern Rhodesia in 1960, Mr Mugabe joined the National Democratic Party and was chosen Secretary for information and Publicity at its inaugural congress held in October 1960. He moved quickly in his political standing in the nationalist movement, and when the NDP was proscribed in 1961 and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was formed, he was, whilst continuing with his previous post as Information and Publicity Secretary, also made acting Secretary-General until the banning of ZAPU in September 1962.



In 1963 he was one of those who opposed the continued leadership of Joshua Nkomo and became a founder member and Secretary-General of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

Mr Mugabe was first imprisoned in December 1963 until March 1964, and then in August 1964 until December 1974, thus serving a period of no less than ten and a half years for his political opposition to colonial rule.

His academic interest continued to show itself even in prison as he obtained the Bachelor of Administration degree in 1969 with the University of South Africa and the Bachelor Laws (1969) and Masters of Laws (1972) degree with the University of London. A more recent acquisition was the M.Sc (Economics) degree which he completed in May 1985 with the University of London.

When Mr Mugabe was released from de-

tention in December 1974, he soon left the country in April 1975 to lead the liberation struggle from Mozambique, after the Central Committee of ZANU had appointed him to assume the mantle of leading the external wing of the Party following the death of Herbert Chitepo.

Mr Mugabe was responsible for reorganising and reactivating the armed struggle in Mozambique where the Party and its military wing, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) had established itself. When an alliance was formed between ZANU and ZAPU to constitute a common front for the 1976 Geneva Constitutional Conference and coordinate the various aspects of the struggle, as co-leader of the established Patriotic Front, Mr Mugabe led the ZANU team to the abortive talks. Mr Mugabe's position as leader of ZANU and Commander-in-chief of ZANLA was formalised with his election as president of ZANU at the historic ZANU Congress at Chimoio, Mozambique in 1977.

In 1979 he led the ZANU delegation to the Lancaster House Conference in London and returned to Zimbabwe on the 27th of January, 1980, to lead and supervise his party's election campaign. In the general elections held in February of that year, ZANU won 57 of the 80 common roll seats in the House of Assembly and thus formed the first government of the newly independent state. His quest for national unity in which ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) was represented by five ministers and the white community by two.

Mr Mugabe ensured from the very beginning of its independence that Zimbabwe was a member of the United Nations, and its associated bodies, a member of the Commonwealth, of the Non-Aligned Movement, of the African, Caribbean, and Pacific group of states (ACP) in its association with the European Economic Community of the Organisation of African Unity. In September 1986, Harare hosted the Eighth summit of the Non-Aligned Movement at which President Mugabe was elected Chairman of the Movement for the next three years during which he

worked assiduously to ensure the implementation of both the political and economic resolutions passed by the Summit of this important movement of which 101 countries are members.

In cognition of his personal achievement and merit, and for his struggle for freedom, justice and peace, Mr Mugabe has been awarded the following honorary doctoral degrees (in addition to the seven university degrees he already holds) by the following universities:

UNIVERSITY	COUNTRY	TITLE OF AWARD	YEAR OF AWARD
Abmdou Bello	Nigeria	Hon LLD	Dec 1980
Morehouse College	Atlanta Georgia, USA	Hon LLD	Sept. 1983
Univ. of Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	Hon LLD	May 1984
Univ. of Edinburgh	Scotland	Hon LLD	July 1984
St Augustine's College	Raleigh, North Carolina, USA	Hon LLD	Sept. 1984
Univ. of Massachusetts	Amherst, USA	Hon LLD	October 1986
University of Moscow	U.S.S.R.	Hon LLD	Dec 1986
Michigan State Univ.	Michigan, USA	Hon LLD	Sept. 1991
Univ. of Mauritius	Maritius	Hon. Dec.	May 1991

Robert Gabriel Mugabe was inaugurated on 31st December 1987 as First Executive President of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Ever conscious of the historical links between ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU, President Mugabe's long standing desire to unite the nation, bring an end to insecurity in Southern Zimbabwe and usher in political stability, law and order, was realised when, on 22 December 1987, he

signed the Unity Accord with PF ZANU leader Dr Joshua Nkomo.

On September 15 1988, President Mugabe received from the US-based Hunger Project, the African Prize for Leadership for the Sustainable End of Hunger. This emanated from distinct recognition of Mr Mugabe's pragmatic hunger, starvation, malnutrition and poverty, which has earned Zimbabwe (in recognition of its food self-sufficiency) the term, "the bread basket of the region". President Mugabe then set up an agricultural National Scholarship Fund with the US \$100 00 prize money he received.

On April 2, 1990, President Mugabe was sworn in for a 6 year term as the first directly elected President of Zimbabwe and again led ZANU (PF) to a third land slide victory since Independence, in the 1990 general elections. In October 1991, Zimbabwe hosted the Commonwealth Summit, another sign of international recognition and confidence in the able leadership of Mr Mugabe, who assumed the post of Chairman for CHOGM for the next 2 years. He also assumed chairmanship of the Frontline States in March 1992.

**ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY H.E. PRESIDENT R.G. MUGABE
ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERREMENT UPON
HIM OF THE HONORARY DOCTORATE OF
COMMERCE DEGREE BY THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE,
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, 06 MAY 1995**

The Chancellor, the Honourable Govan Mbeki,
Honourable Premier of the Eastern Cape,
the Honourable Raymond Mhlaba,
Honourable Prime Minister of Lesotho,
Honourable Ntsu Mokhehle
The Vice-Chancellor, Professor M V Mzamane
The Chairman and Members of the Board of Trustees of the University of Fort Hare
Honourable Ministers,
The Lord Mayor of the City of Alice
the Lord Mayor of the City of Bisho
Members of Management and Staff and Students
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen

It was with great pleasure that on my last visit here, on 18 August last year, I received news that Fort Hare had made a decision to confer upon me an Honorary Doctorate of Commerce degree. This aroused within me a deep sense of nostalgia for my alma mater whose values and traditions have meant so much in my life. So, although it is barely eight months since I came to Fort Hare during my first state visit to a free South Africa last year, I am, all the more, very pleased to be amongst you once again.

Mr Chancellor, I wish first of all to express my most sincere gratitude to the Board of Trustees and Management

of Fort Hare University for having seen it fit to bestow upon me such an honour. I accept this honour with humility, because it is not just me you are honouring but the people of Zimbabwe as a whole. Unlike the first degree I had from this great University, this one is a recognition of a national struggle which I could not achieve alone, without the full participation of many Zimbabweans from the times we fought for our independence to the present when we are struggling to deepen democracy and bring about an all-round development in a just society of our beloved Zimbabwe. I also accept this honour in full recognition that it is given in part as a demonstration of friendship and soli-

parity with the people of Zimbabwe.

Mr Chancellor, it is no coincidence that many of those who later took up leadership in the struggle for liberation in our region and elsewhere in Africa are products of Fort Hare. I have in mind several South African comrades-in-arms among whom the names of the late Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela shall for ever remain indelible in the revolutionary history of our liberation in Southern Africa. Indeed, the history of liberation struggles of countries like Zambia, Malawi, Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe cannot be complete without reference to the role played by the products of Fort Hare. This bears testimony to the spirit of conquest, discipline and revolutionary zeal in the quest for justice and a vision of a better world that came to be associated with this university from those early days of the anti-colonial struggle. I am proud to say that it was this very first black institution of higher learning in South Africa that produced Zimbabwe's revolutionary leaders such as the late Dr Samuel Parenyatwa, Zimbabwe's first medical doctor, Herbert Chitepo, Zimbabwe's first advocate, the late Josiah Chinamano and Tarcisius George Silundika both of whom served in my first post-Independence Cabinet. There are many others in senior positions in Government and other sectors of Zimbabwe's society who also came out of the womb that is Fort Hare. For this, Zimbabwe owes Fort Hare a great debt of gratitude which cannot easily be measured.

However, to the students of Fort Hare, a word of advice. Success at Fort Hare is not pre-ordained, it is a result of hard work. There is no substitute for personal application to study, dedication to serving the community, personal integrity and discipline. For, as future leaders in government, commerce and industry, people will expect you to apply the knowledge you acquire here and look to you for guidance and example. No Fort Harians should ever be found wanting in this respect. You have a proud tradition to emulate and uphold.

Mr Chancellor, you will agree that universities the world over do not operate in isolation. They have a tradition of co-operation with others within or without

their own countries. This co-operation takes various forms such as student and staff exchanges. In this way, the benefit derives from cross-fertilisation of ideas and cultures and the comparative advantage of some over others in the different disciplines they offer. In this way, they inform and strengthen one another.

It is in this spirit that I urge Fort Hare to come forward and engage its sister institutions in Zimbabwe in fruitful discourse and nutritious exchange. Though our facilities are limited, we would however like to see South Africans studying at our own universities and vice-versa. In this regard, my government is grateful that South Africa has continued to open its doors to Zimbabwe students and in particular that Fort Hare has made special efforts to accommodate a group of Zimbabwean students even at very short notice. This is very much appreciated.

Mr Chancellor, I understand that a good speech on an occasion like this one we are celebrating today must have three characteristics. First, it must be historical in order to depict our humble beginnings and slightly exaggerate the difficulties we encountered enroute to the present. Secondly, it should be political by washing our clean linen in public thereby emphasising that we have never had it so good; and thirdly, it must be poetic and philosophic by painting a glorious future, often garnished and spiced with imponderables and improbabilities. Being only a small historian and less still a poet/philosopher by profession but a teacher who became a politician by force of circumstances, I realise that I can not fully meet the three requirements stated above, yet I know that I would do the convocation wrong and lose a golden opportunity to share with you my reflection and vision on the condition of the African university, if I only dwelt on the hardships and successes of the past and did not look at the prospects and challenges of the future.

The image of the classical university is that of a seat of learning for its own sake where scholars set themselves apart and live in secluded monasteries, spending their working moments in

the pursuit of truth and excellence and pondering over such weighty matters as the number of angels who could sit on the head of a needle. There was virtually no government involvement in those classical days as the university was not expected to involve itself with the mundane issues that pre-occupied governments. The curriculum was determined by the institution without consideration of the political or social environment around it. This romantic view of the medieval university is only partially true, for in reality the university was there to serve the interests of its main stake holder - the church.

It produced the workers and intellectual defenders of the church. Today's universities, be they state or private, must equally address our main concerns, be they social, economic, cultural, educational and environmental issues.

It is on this basis that universities are generally financed by the state. With this in mind, the idea of cloistered autonomy should evolve in this new light where the government and indeed the nation are major stake holders in a national venture, and hence the governance of a university must take into account national interests.

Whereas the pursuit of truth and excellence is essential, it should never be the be-all of the programme, and hence the curriculum must take cognisance of new goals of higher education which ensure that students are prepared through University education for the world of work in a fast changing environment. Truth and excellence without pertinence and relevance are like a tree that bears no fruit. Knowledge is a good thing but relevant knowledge is a much more useful commodity, as the late Professor Peacock found to his cost while attempting to cross the Zambezi River from Zimbabwe to Zambia.

The learned Professor was enjoying an article on the Amazon Indians in an American journal on Anthropology while cruising in a ferry on lake Kariba. Much to his annoyance, a friendly Zimbabwean kept on trying to strike a conversation with him. Finally, Professor Peacock adjusted his spectacles and confronted the Zimbabwean; "My good man," he asked,

"have you ever studied anthropology?, "No Sir," replied the Zimbabwean. "Sociology?" continued the good Professor. "No Sir" responded the African uncomfortably. "What about psychology?" Again the answer was in the negative. "My dear fellow," the proud Peacock concluded, "You have wasted your life." Rebuffed and humiliated the Zimbabwean retreated into a corner and started enjoying his calabash of mqombothi, when suddenly the ferry hit a rock and began to sink. Unfortunately, the crew had forgotten the life jackets and so everybody had to swim for their dear lives. The Zimbabwean, a renowned Zambezi River fisherman and great swimmer, jumped into the river, and looking at the pompous but now drowning professor, he said, "Dr Professor, Sir, have you ever studied swimmology." "No, no, no, please help me!" replied the Professor.

Mr Chancellor, Sir, our universities have a great responsibility of, inter alia, producing such high level manpower as is necessary for and relevant to our development. As each country undergoes transition, the university and indeed all institutions of learning, should be part and parcel of that transformation. Thus universities should respond to these concerns by suggesting strategies for viable national development. As South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme document states, "Human Resources, unlike all other resources, think for themselves". Fort Hare, being one of the beneficiaries of the Reconstruction and Development Programme document states, "Human resources, unlike all others resources, think for themselves". Fort Hare, being one of the beneficiaries of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), must gear itself to excel as a contributor to the solution of the problems facing the country at this juncture in its history. In your field of endeavour, your role in the RDP has been defined as being of key importance. Here, may I read only one sentence from the programme document which states:

"The challenge that we face at the beginning of a democratic soci-

ety, is to create an education and training system that ensures that people are able to realise their full potential in our society as a basis and prerequisite for the successful achievement of all other goals in the Reconstruction and Development Programme".

I am therefore pleased to learn that, in recognition of the objectives of the new democratic order in South Africa, Fort Hare has embarked upon a strategy of providing high quality education through improved teaching methods, enhancing research capacity, expansion of out-reach work and provision of better student facilities. We are aware, of course, that all this requires a heavy commitment in terms of resources - both financial and human. But these are the challenges facing all our universities in Africa today, may, in the world at large. The question of more demands in the face of diminishing resources is a challenge facing even the governments themselves. Finding innovative solutions to that dilemma is even the greatest challenge before us all.

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

It is most encouraging in this regard to note, as I have been informed, that the government of South Africa has already clearly shown its commitment to provide the resources that will go a long way in correcting past imbalances by channelling more resources to those tertiary institutions which in the past were underfunded to the extent that they nearly atrophied. While we recognise that, from the very beginning, the majority funding of this university came from private foundations, churches and other non-governmental organisations, it is our hope that the dawn of a new era in South Africa would spur others to come up with the much needed assistance and support.

In this connection, the alumni of Fort Hare, most of whom occupy positions of considerable political and financial influence have an obligation to put something back into their alma mater for the development of this university. The old lady has seen some difficult days in her recent past! Our contributions should,

as a matter of common purpose, not be confined to fund raising only but cover all aspects that will make Fort Hare one of the best institutions of higher learning on this continent. To the privileged few of us who graduated from this university in the fifties, Fort Hare was to us what Oxford was to the United Kingdom. Its reputation of academic and intellectual excellence must therefore remain second to none. Like the phoenix of old she must rise to her previous splendour and glory!

Mr Chancellor, collective development efforts demand less and less of nationalistic boundaries and more and more of complementarity in our endeavours, given the scarcity of resources and the very small size of our economies. I see tertiary institutions playing a critical role in the fulfilment of these regional goals, in that with properly coordinated and focused human resources development for the region and enhancement of the community will also be faster, easier, smoother and less costly in both social, economic and political terms.

Mr Chancellor, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades and Friends, if in all our efforts we have not met with the success we envisaged, reward always seems to come after arduous application. We are, nevertheless pleased to say that, given our circumstances in Southern Africa, we are on the right course.

On this note of hope, may I once again, thank the authorities at this university for the honour they have bestowed upon me and the people of Zimbabwe. My thanks go to all the distinguished guests here present, who have taken their time to be with us on this historic occasion, which will always be a memory to cherish.

Fort Hare has much to give to and receive from the new democratic South Africa and, may I add, the same applies to her role in the region at large. May you, Mother Fort Hare, continue to grow from strength to strength and remain a shining example of excellence, integrity and dedication! I thank you.

SPEECH BY PROFESSOR FAH WILSON, CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL ON THE 06 MAY 1995

Mr Chancellor, Mr Vice-Chancellor it is my very happy privilege as Chairman of council on behalf of the University Council to thank people of this marvellous ceremony.

I think I should start by pointing out that although there was a slight delay over the rain and although the president from Zimbabwe was flying down from the North, and the airport that he was supposed to land in was closed off (rain, which is a very good reason) he is a good old man to come down with rain. The organisers behind the scenes decided some weeks ago that at 1.15pm the chairman of council will stand up and say something. I'd like you to look at your watches split-second timing seems to be part of what the new Fort Hare is all about. Yesterday we even managed to finish earlier, but then we did not have the rain. But I want to use this opportunity to thank very much the organisers behind the scenes who have brought us together for such a marvellous ceremony today. We want of course to thank the choir for the lovely music and particularly for writing songs especially for this occasion. We thank them for that and know that it's the music at these ceremonies that is one of the reasons that make the Fort Hare graduations so special.

I would like also from the point of view of the Council to thank the students particularly the SRC and the president of the SRC Mr Masombuka for their particularly creative and positive position within the University. Mr Masombuka himself talked about the role of the SRC in uniting the student body where there are differences, and yet they can be reconciled within a spirit that tolerates a diversity and with his clear call to the government for a substantial stabilization fund that will make universities like Fort Hare to be able to catch up what they have lost because of the years of colonialism and apartheid.

We want to thank also (and this is an important occasion to do so), the parents, the wider family, the donors (not all of whom are here today) whose sacrifice and generosity has made it

possible for graduates who graduated today through their financial, moral and material support. I know this is a moment when one wants to say thank you as well as recognising the achievements of the graduands and we do indeed wish to say thank you to all those who have made that possible.

And it is a moment to say thank you to our distinguished guests for being with us. And there is a whole host of them all of whom could be named at this moment. There is a long long list of them but I want to start with President Mokhetle who was seating next to me, who made a particular effort to be here. He is not very well so he had to leave a little earlier. But Prime Minister Mokhetle of Lesotho studied at Fort Hare right through the 1940s. He studied, (if I'm correct) at Healdtown with Premier Ray Mhlaba who we also welcome very much. It seems to me to symbolize simultaneously both Fort Hare's rootedness in the Eastern Cape that we welcome our Premier, Prime Minister Mokhetle, from the neighbouring state of Lesotho who brought with him his minister of natural resources Tshidiso Mokgege who has been here as a student, and I think this is his first visit since 1951 and so this is indeed a home coming for many Alumni and we welcome you very warmly indeed.

We also welcome our MECs, members of Parliament, Provincial Parliament, national assembly, many of whom, I may say, were members of staff at Fort Hare a year or two ago and whom we are very pleased to welcome back as old friends of the family. We welcome today (though he had his special welcome yesterday) Dr Ibrahim Fall, UN Assistant Deputy Secretary for Human Rights and Director of the Centre for Human Rights of United Nations in Geneva who received an honorary degree yesterday and whom we are delighted to have with us again this morning. But, of course the special thanks today, go to our honorary graduand, distinguished Alumnus, President Robert Mugabe, who we are indeed honoured and

greatful to have accepted our degree and to have come down in person to be with us.

President Mugabe, we want to take this opportunity of thanking you for your life and for your work and for what you have said today. It will seem to me that you embody essentially the scholar, warrior, statesman and teacher. The scholar with all those (forget about all the honorary degrees which is a list about ten long) degrees in Education, Administration, Law and (I am happy to say because its the best of them all) in economics. And we lured for that and welcome you here as a scholar but also as a warrior who was imprisoned for more than ten years, who was exiled, but who did not flinch from what was necessary in order to bring about fundamental political change in the cause of justice. We honour you for your warrior statesmanship and then even beyond that, coming back home with that tremendous statesmanship of reconciliation in drawing together all the people of Zimbabwe; and with that a flexibility as you find; policies that will work in order to bring about a real development. We were talking just before we came in about agriculture, the role of Zimbabwe in small scale agricultural development which is something from which here I'm sure in the Eastern Cape we will learn a great deal. We thank you for your strong message to the students; to today's graduands; and we say to those students - go forth into the world with that wisdom and that vision and that commitment of the distinguished alumni who are here today on whose behalf President Mugabe spoke. You are warmly invited as you know, to lunch with your guests in the Great Hall and we look forward to see you back next year to our 80th birthday celebrations, together with Alumni from around the world, and for many celebrations to come. We know that as you go forth into the world you will take a spirit of the new Fort Hare, deeply rooted in its past into the new South Africa with a knowledge that is relevant, applied and that will fight for justice and development. We thank you all very much indeed.