

UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA



*Graduation*

*Thursday*  
*23 April 1998*



**HONORARY DEGREES**

GUESTS

ARE  
REQUESTED TO REMAIN  
SEATED UNTIL ALL  
PROCEEDINGS  
HAVE ENDED.

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# ORDER OF PROCEEDINGS

- 08h50 Academic Procession  
(The congregation will stand while the academic procession enters the hall)
- 09h00 The Chancellor constitutes the congregation for the Conferring of Degrees.
- 09h05 Scripture reading and prayer by Rev. G T Boyce
- 09h10 Welcome of guests - Vice Chancellor, University of Fort Hare  
Vice Chancellor, University of South Australia
- 09h15 Welcome of guests to the Eastern Cape Province - The Honourable Premier, Reverend Makhenkesi Arnold Stofile
- 09h20 Conferring of Honorary Degree  
His Excellency President Nelson Mandela - D. University of South Australia
- 09h30 Choir
- 09h35 Conferring of Honorary Degree - University of Fort Hare  
Dr. Mwalimu Kambarage Julius Nyerere - LLD
- 09h50 Conferring of Degrees (posthumously) - University of Fort Hare  
Dr. Robert Sobukwe - LLD  
Mr Steve Biko - D. Soc. Science
- 10h10 Choir
- 10h15 Guest Speaker - His Excellency, President Nelson Mandela
- 10h45 Choir
- 10h50 Congratulatory Messages - Honourable Chief Dr. GM Buthelezi
- 11h00 - Dr. S Mogoba
- 11h10 - Mr M Mangena
- 11h20 Choir
- 11h25 Guest Speaker - Dr. Mwalimu Kambarage Julius Nyerere
- 11h50 Choir
- 11h55 Vote of Thanks (Chairman of Council)
- 12h00 The Chancellor dissolves the congregation  
National Anthem  
The congregations stands while the procession leaves the hall

## NELSON MANDELA (PRESIDENT)

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born into the Royal Family of the Tembu on 18 July 1918 at Qunu, near Umtata. He was the son of Nonquphi Nosekeni and Henry Mgadla Mandela, Chief Councillor to the paramount chief of the Tembu.

After matriculating from Healdtown Methodist Boarding School he enrolled for a BA degree at Fort Hare University College in 1938, completing his BA degree at the University of South Africa in 1941. He then enrolled for a LLB degree at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS).

Whilst at the University College of Fort Hare he was elected onto the Students Representative Council (SRC). In 1940 he was suspended from the College for joining a student strike. In the same year he became a mine policeman in Johannesburg and an articled clerk with a legal firm.

During 1942 he joined the African National Congress (ANC) participating in the founding of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) in 1944.

In 1948 he served as National Secretary of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) helping to change the political character of the organisation to one of political resistance. Two years later he became National President of the ANCYL (1950). During 1952 President Mandela opened a legal practice in Johannesburg with Oliver Tambo. In the same year, after being appointed national volunteer-in-Chief of the Defiance Campaign he travelled the country organising resistance to discriminatory legislation. He was arrested and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act (1952) and given a suspended sentence for his part in the Defiance Campaign.

It was in 1952 too, that he was elected Provincial President of the ANC's Transvaal region and Deputy National President of the ANC.

President Mandela was instrumental in the formulation of the m-plan, whereby ANC branches were to be broken down into cells for underground activity. Renewed bans required him to resign officially from the ANC in September 1953 and from here on his leadership was exercised secretly.

He was amongst the 156 political activists arrested and charged with high treason in 1956, and later found not guilty.

In December 1961 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Umkonto we Sizwe (MK), left South Africa and received military training in Algeria and Ethiopia in 1962. He arranged training for other MK members. After returning to South Africa, he was arrested for leaving the country illegally and for incitement to strike, convicted and sentenced to five years imprisonment. While serving this sentence he was charged in the Rivonia Treason Trial on 12 June 1964 with sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was held in Robben Island prison.

In 1982, President Mandela became the central focus of the Liberation Struggle with the launch of the Release Mandela Campaign. It was that year that he was transferred to Pollsmoor prison. Discussions started with the S.A Government representatives on the possibility of negotiations with the ANC in 1986. Meetings occurred between President Mandela and the then State President, P.W. Botha, at Tuynhuys and the new State President, F.W. de Klerk in 1989.

President Mandela was released from prison on 11 February 1990, after serving more than a quarter of a century behind bars. He undertook a tour of the country, addressing big rallies and re-inforced the process of the re-establishment of the ANC. He also undertook a number of international visits.

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During 1990 he oversaw the ANC negotiations with the South African Government. He headed a 12 member delegation to the Groote Schuur talks and led ANC delegations to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) sessions and the signing of the Record of Understanding.

On 2 March 1991, he was elected ANC Deputy President and then elected President on 05 July 1991. He held this position until December 1997.

He was inaugurated as President of South Africa for a term of five years on 10 May 1994. He is currently an ex-officio member of the ANC's National Executive Committee and ANC's National Working Committee. President Mandela has received Honorary degrees from more than 54 international universities. In 1992 he jointly received the UNESCO Houphouët-Boigny Peace Prize with F.W. de Klerk, in Paris, France and the Nobel Peace Prize on 10 December 1994.

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## JULIUS KAMBARAGE NYERERE

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born in April, 1922 at Butiama, a village situated 26 miles outside Musoma in Northern Tanzania, near Lake Victoria. He was the son of Chief Burito of the Zanaki tribe, one of the smallest of Tanzania's more than 120 ethnic groups.

At the age of 12 years, he walked to Musoma to begin Government Primary School. After three years he completed the four year course and went to Tabora Government Secondary School until he passed the Standard Ten Examination. He received a scholarship to Makerere College in Uganda (at that time the only tertiary education institution in East Africa) where he obtained a teacher's diploma in 1945, a qualification which earned him his most popular name, Mwalimu. Mwalimu Nyerere began his teaching career at St. Mary's Secondary School in Tabora from 1946 to 1949 where he taught Biology and English.

In 1949 he won a competitive scholarship to study at Edinburgh University where he obtained a Master of Arts Degree in 1952. He was the first Tanganyikan ever to go to a university. From 1953 to 1955 he taught History, English and Kiswahili at St. Francis College near Dar es Salaam. He resigned from teaching when given the choice of going or giving up his political activities.

His political image and career began to emerge in 1950. He served as Provincial Secretary of the Tanganyika African Association, Tabora (voluntary), and was active in various other political and cooperative activities while teaching at Tabora. In 1954 Nyerere was a founder member and the first, and the only, President of the Tanganyika African National Union, TANU (as he was constantly re-elected). In this capacity Mwalimu Nyerere travelled throughout the country campaigning for Tanganyika's independence from Britain. In 1955 he addressed the United Nations Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee concerning independence for Tanganyika.

Under the leadership of Nyerere, TANU grew in strength and established authority over the whole country. In the first elections in which Africans had the vote (1958), Nyerere was elected as Member of Parliament and leader of the opposition. In the 1960 elections, TANU contested and won unopposed except for one seat forcing the British Government to concede internal self-government. Nyerere became the Chief Minister in September 1960.

Tanganyika became independent on the 9th December, 1961 and Nyerere was appointed Prime Minister. However, he had to resign a month later in order to reorganise TANU and rally support for its policies.

On the 9th December, 1962, Tanganyika became a Republic and Nyerere was elected its first President. In 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form the United Republic of Tanzania and Nyerere became its first President. He was re-elected in 1980 but chose not to contest the Presidency in 1985 when he retired.

In 1977, Nyerere became founder and Chairman of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM, or Revolutionary Party), a merger of TANU and the Zanzibar ruling party, the Afro-Shirazi Party. He was re-elected CCM Chairman and served in that capacity until he retired in 1990.

Nyerere actively supported the liberation of Africa, particularly Southern Africa, serving as Chairman of the Frontline States from 1975 to '85, and also aided the radical regimes of the Indian Ocean Islands of Comoro and Seychelles. He played a key role as African and Third World spokesman within the Non-aligned Movement, which he served as its Chairman in 1986; He was a founder member of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and Chairman from 1984 to 85. He relentlessly promoted East African co-operation, African Unity, and third world solidarity and co-operation. From 1987 to 1990 he served as Chairman of the Independent International South Commission, and from 1990 he was Chairman, South Centre, Geneva and Dar es Salaam. He continues to play a leading role towards seeking a solution to the conflict in the Great Lakes Region.

On the academic front, Nyerere served as Chancellor of the University of East Africa from 1963 to 1970; the University of Dar es Salaam from 1970 to 1985; and Sokoine University of Agriculture in 1984. His works include: *Freedom and Unity* (Uhuru na Umoja) 1966; *Freedom and Socialism* (Uhuru na Ujamaa) 1968; *Ujamaa* (1968); *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* 1968; *Nyerere on Socialism* (1969); *Freedom and Development* (Uhuru na Maendeleo) 1973; *Binadamu na Maendeleo* (1974); *Crusade for Liberation* (1978); *Julius Kaizari* (translation into Kiswahili of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*) and *Mabepari wa Venisi* (translation into Kiswahili of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*).

In recognition of his outstanding contribution to humanity, Nyerere has been a recipient of many honorary degrees and awards from diverse disciplines and regions of the world. He received honorary degrees from: Edinburgh (UK); Duquesne (USA);

Cairo (Egypt); Neukka (Nigeria); Ibadan (Nigeria); Monrovia (Liberia); Toronto (Canada); Howard (USA); Ljubljana (Yugoslavia); National Economy, Pyongyang (Korea); Jawaharlal Nehru (India); Havana (Cuba); Dar es Salaam (Tanzania); National University of Lesotho (Lesotho); Philippines (Manila, Philippines); and Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe).

He was, above all, awarded the Nehru Award for International Understanding (1976); Third World Award, 1982; Nansen Medal for outstanding services to Refugees (1982); Lenin Peace Prize (1987) and the OAU Distinguished Son of Africa Award (1988).

Perhaps his most famous contribution lies with the proclamation of African socialism adopted in the Arusha Declaration of 1967, which articulated a new philosophy and approach to the political, social and economic development of Tanzania based on socialism and self-reliance. In addition, Nyerere created participatory grass-root structures at the village and at work places; he encouraged criticism and self-criticism, and readily accepted mistakes when they were made. Although there were problems with the implementation of ujamaa policy, the moral sincerity with which he advocated it and the results achieved in infrastructural development, income differentiation, education, health and water supply earned him respect in many countries.

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Until his retirement, Nyerere dominated Tanzania politics and created a sense of identity and pride for all Tanzanians as a united nation in which tribal loyalties and conflicts had no place. Mwalimu Nyerere is a true son of all Africa. He has fought for the African continent as a whole; he fought for their respect, unity, dignity and honour, and contributed to the freedom of Africa in a larger sense. Mwalimu Nyerere fought selflessly to promote a world order based on equitable distribution of the world's resources, non-discrimination, equality, justice and peace and this has earned him most admiration and respect from all those that suffered or still feel the repression of colonialism and its manifestations.

Mwalimu Nyerere is married to Maria Magige (1953) with 5 sons and 2 daughters.

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# ROBERT SOBUKWE

Robert Sobukwe was born in 1925 in Graaff-Reinet in the Northern Cape.

Until the sixth grade, Sobukwe went to the local Methodist mission school. At age fifteen, he was sent to Healdtown, a Methodist boarding school established by British missionaries.

In 1948 he enrolled at Fort Hare and joined the Youth League, the youth division of the African National Congress (ANC). In 1949, he was elected both president of the Fort Hare Students Representative Council and national secretary of the Youth League.

In 1950, he began teaching at Jandrell Secondary School in Standerton but was temporarily suspended for publicly supporting the Defiance Campaign in 1952. After the Jandrell School Committee, comprised mainly of local clergymen, appealed to the Transvaal Director of native schools, Sobukwe was reinstated.

In 1954 he was appointed a languages lecturer in the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. During this time he was chairman of the ANC branch at Mofolo, one of Johannesburg's newer townships, and gradually became the unofficial leader of the Orlando Africanists, editing the Orlando Youth League's journal *The Africanist*, and guiding the maturation of the Youth League's ideas.

The Africanists under Sobukwe's leadership broke away in April 1959 and formed the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Mr Sobukwe, whose Christian faith was the source of respect for individual rights, considered the guarantee of individual rights the highest protection necessary. He saw no reason why a predominantly black electorate should not elect a white man to Parliament "for colour will count for nothing in a free South Africa."

The following Methodist hymn contained the theme of his address to the 1949 graduating class at Fort Hare:

Once to every man and Nation  
Comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of truth with falsehood  
For the good or evil side . . . .  
Then to side with truth is noble  
When we share her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit  
And 'tis prosperous to be just.  
Then it is the brave man chooses  
While the coward stands aside,  
Til the multitude makes virtue  
Of the faith they had denied.



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Sobukwe quoted regularly from scriptures in his political pronouncements, and spoke of fulfilling God's mission through politics. "You have a mission; we all have a mission. A nation to build we have, a God to glorify, a contribution clear to make towards the blessing of mankind," he urged his followers.

On March 20, 1960, Sobukwe announced a national Antipass Campaign to be held on March 21, 1960, in which his followers were to surrender themselves at police stations without passes under the slogan "no bail, no defence, no fines". It was hoped that by insisting on arrest, the defiers would clog the jails, halt industry by their absence as workers, and thus force the government to accede to their demands. The night before the campaign, Sobukwe with his wife, Veronica, had prayed together for the welfare of the participants and for a successful campaign. In front of 200 followers, who presented themselves for arrest at the Orlando Police Department, Sobukwe stated simply: "I am Sobukwe. We have no passes and we want the police to arrest us."

In all, seventy-four people died throughout the country on this day of protest that Sobukwe had planned to be peaceful.

Sobukwe's plan to be arrested was accomplished. Police seized documents from his home and office and took him to Marshall Square, the central police station in Johannesburg. There news reached him of the massacre of 69 peaceful protestors at Sharpeville.

He was sentenced along with eighteen other PAC members under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which had been introduced in 1952 to break the Defiance Campaign.

After his three-year sentence was completed on Robben Island, Sobukwe was held for six additional years under a new measure, the General Laws Amendment Act of 1963, which allowed for continued detention “this side of eternity” of prisoners who had completed their sentences.

During his long captivity and subsequent house arrest in Kimberley, Sobukwe continued to uphold his religious convictions. While in prison in Pretoria, a Roman Catholic priest, Father Reg Webber, held weekly church services for the Methodists. Father Webber maintained contact with Sobukwe when he was sent to Robben Island.

During his banishment to Kimberley, following nine years in jail, Sobukwe continued to display both an optimism about himself and South Africa, and a deep trust in God. Although on Robben Island he had broken formally with organized religion, after he was released in Kimberley he began attending a Methodist Church. A skilled linguist, he was used as an interpreter during the Sunday service, translating the sermon into one language, then another.

The religious justification for the opposition to apartheid begun by Luthuli and continued by Sobukwe would be more fully articulated by the new generation of Africanists who came of age following a decade-long lull in resistance politics. Led by Steve Biko, these young Africanists ushered in the Black Consciousness Movement.

\* \* \*

## STEVE BANTU BIKO

Steve Biko was born in King William's Town on December 18, 1946 and was educated at Brownlee Primary, Charles Morgan Higher Primary, Lovedale Institute and Marianhill where he matriculated before enrolling as a medical student at the University of Natal in 1966.

During his student days he became one of the founders of the South African Student's Organisation, one of the bodies of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) which he had helped to launch. It was because of his membership in the BCM that he was banned and restricted to the King William's Town area until his death on 12 September 1977.

The South African government of the early seventies feared Biko and his Black Consciousness Movement for three main reasons. One was that the BCM was effectively filling the vacuum in lawful black politics that had been created by the outlawing of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the second was that Biko was working to reconcile these two movements in order to build up a broadly united black front against apartheid both underground and openly.

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The third reason for governmental fear was Biko's own personality and leadership qualities. Though banned, confined to the magisterial district of King William's Town and prohibited from writing, public speaking or being quoted in the Press, he was nevertheless building up a national following through the many visitors who came to him, either one at a time to observe the banning restrictions or clandestinely.

He himself broke the ban constantly, eluding his Security Police monitors to travel widely in South Africa on political business. Biko was arrested for the last time at a roadblock outside Grahamstown on August 18, 1977, and held in Security Police custody until his death on September 12, less than a month later.

His death had a massive impact on world opinion, more than that of any other detainee, mainly because he was better known to the international media than any other detainee. He had been visited by journalists from all over the world, and they had written about him so that when he died there was shock and anger on a wide scale abroad, as well as among his admirers and friends in South Africa.

At the United Nations his death was cited as one of the principal reasons for the intensification of sanctions, in particular the oil and arms embargo, against the Pretoria government, and because he had died so young, young people all over the world used his name as a rallying cry, as they demonstrated for disinvestment and the economic and diplomatic isolation of the apartheid regime.

At the time of his death, aged 30, he had matured and broadened his political thinking far beyond the anger and fire of his earlier and student writings, and there is little doubt that if he had lived he would have played a leading role in South Africa's accession to democracy. As a unifier and reconciler he would also have played a leading role in promoting consensus and development in the new South Africa. Nevertheless, his death had a massive impact on galvanising worldwide rage against apartheid as well as inspiring young blacks within South Africa to reject oppression.

Ultimately, Biko will be remembered in his region as one of the bravest and best in a long line of political heroes of the Eastern Cape - a line which includes the likes of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Hani and Sobukwe.



Nationally he will be acknowledged as the most charismatic South African leader, who filled the gap left by the absence of older leaders who were in prison in the 1970's.

And internationally he will be remembered as the man whose name and story inspired millions all over the world to support the cause of oppressed people.

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## NTSIKANA'S GREAT HYMN

XHOSA:

CHORUS: Elele le homna, hom, homna. (x3)

VERSES: Uto Thixo omkhulu, ngosezulwini.

Ungu wena-wena Khaka lenyaniso.

Ungu wena-wena Nqaba yenyano.

Ungu wena-wena Hlathi lenyaniso.

Ungu wena-wen' u- hle' enyangwaneni.

Ulo dal' ubom, wa-dala phezulu.

Lo Mdal' owadala wa-dala izulu.

Le Menzi wenkwenkwezi noZilimela.

Yabinza inkwenkwezi isixela.

Lo Menzi wemfaman' u-zenza ngabom?

Lathetha ixilongo



lisibizile.

Ulongqin' izingela imiphfumlo

Ulohlanganis' imihlamb' eyalanayo.

Ulomkhokeli wasi- khokela thina.

Ulengub' inkhul'esi- yambatha thina.

Ozandla zakho zinamanxeba wena.

Onyawo zakho zinamanxeba wena.

Ugazi lakho limkrolo yina na?

Ugazi lakho liphalalele thina.

Le mali enkhulu-na siyibizile?

Lo mzi kaKhonwana siwubizile?

CHORUS: Elele le, homna

TRANSLATION    Elele homna! - exclamation, praise words...

You are the Great God who dwells in the heavens.  
You are the true shield.  
You are the true fortress.  
You are the true forest (of refuge).  
It is you who dwells in the highest.

You created life, you created on high.  
You are the creator who created the heavens.  
You created the stars and the Pleiades.  
A Star flashed forth, bringing us your message.  
You created the blind - did you not create them for a purpose?

The trumpet has sounded, it has called us.  
You are the hunter who hunts souls.  
You gather together flocks rejecting each other.  
You are the Great Blanket with which we are clothed.

Your hands are wounded.  
Your feet are wounded.  
Your blood - why is it streaming?  
Your blood was poured out for us.  
Are we worthy of such a ransom?  
Are we worthy to enter your homestead?

Elelele homna!

by (Arranged J.K. Bokwe, and as performed by S.T. Bokwe)

NATIONAL ANTHEM  
(Shortened version)

Nkosi sikelel'iAfrika  
Maluphakanyisw'uphondo lwayo,  
Yizwa imnandazo yethu,  
Nkosi sikelela, thina lusapho lwayo  
Morrna boloka setjhaba sa heso,  
O fed se dintwa le matshwenyeho.  
O se boloke, O se boloke Setjhaba sa heso  
Setjhaba sa South Africa, South Africa.

Uit die blou van onse hemel  
Uit die diepte van ons see.

Oor ons ewige gebergtes  
Waar die kranse antwoord gee,  
We can hear the land rejoicing  
With a voice not heard before,

and the people of our country  
Live in peace for ever more.



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