

# Peace Afrika

VOL. 21 // NO. 1 | June 2018

## UMTAPO'S JOURNEY TO RESTORE UBUNTU





# CONTENTS

## 1. UMTAPO'S PROGRAMMATIC WORK

- ANTI-BULLYING CAMPAIGN IN SCHOOLS..... 3
- SeVISSA: ADDRESSING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS IN SA ... 8
  - Eastern Cape..... 8
  - Limpopo.....11
- CHILD SAFETY & PROTECTION PROJECT ..... 12
- ETHICAL GOVERNANCE & PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY PROJECT.....16
- UMTAPO STUDENT MOVEMENT ..... 20
- STEVE BIKO TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION PROJECT ..... 21
  - Strini Moodley Lecture (UKZN) .....22
  - Speaking Truth to Power Online Newsletter .....23

## 2. SPECIAL FOCUS.....24

## 3. FEATURE ARTICLE.....26

# UMTAPO'S PROGRAMMATIC WORK

## ANTI-BULLYING CAMPAIGN IN SCHOOLS

An important outcome of the Peace Club Evaluation Workshops in 2017 has been the launch of an Anti-Bullying Campaign in Schools.

The unique Campaign commenced at the beginning of the school term in 2018. Formal launches of the Campaign took place at schools after the preparatory phase in 2017.

The formal launch of the Campaign at schools included:

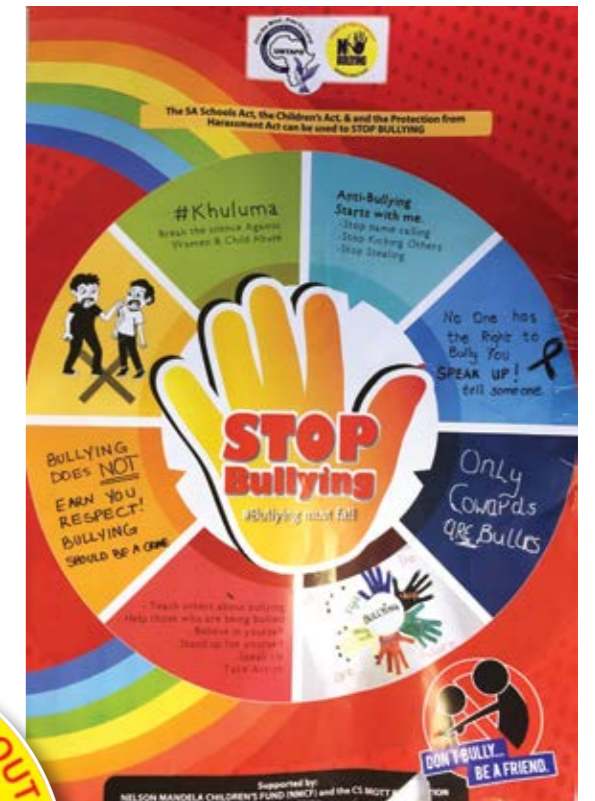
- Adoption of a School Policy on Bullying signed by the Principal and SGB;
- Presentation of a National Anti-Bullying Campaign Poster for all classrooms in the schools involved. This was a poster generated from ideas and drawings created by Peace Club members;
- Anti-Bullying songs, poetry, and drama presented by pupils at the school assembly; and
- Distribution of Anti-Bullying promotional materials such as button badges and wristbands to the schools.

At Dr BW Vilakazi Primary School, the Peace Club Chairperson, Zama Mchunu stressed that there are many effects of bullying, one of which is anxiety for the victims. She urged all the school children to stop bullying and report bullies, even if it is not them being the victims. Following the speech, the Chairperson introduced all the members of the Peace Club and urged other learners to join the Peace Club.

The Principal, Mrs T.P. Mthembu, directed the proceedings herself and after the **School Policy Against Bullying** was read, the teachers, cleaners, and learners raised their left hands and pledged that they were all dedicated to ending bullying in the school.

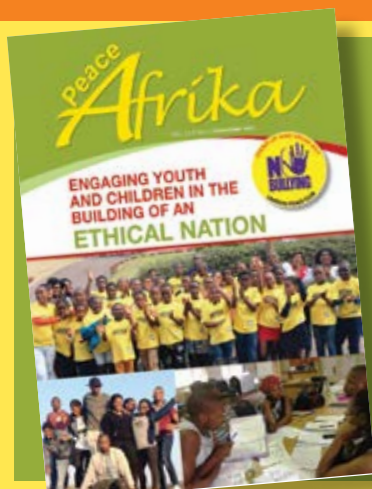
The Peace Club Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson conducted the campaign launch at **Melville Primary** with great aplomb. Various anti-bullying messages were presented by learners from Grade R to Grade 6 in the presence of the whole school. Besides the importance of the launch, it was an opportunity to showcase the leadership potential of the Peace Club members, which is a key overarching objective of UMTAPO.

When principals and educators take a keen interest in the programme, it makes a difference and the campaign can become a success, otherwise the UMTAPO liaison educator finds him/herself fighting a lone battle to support learners.



Principal of Dr BW Vilakazi Primary School Mrs Mthembu taking the pledge.

Our Previous Issue



Published by UMTAPO and funded by the C S Mott Foundation.

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

The Director

P O Box 37674, Overport 4067  
South Africa

Email: [info@umtapocentre.org.za](mailto:info@umtapocentre.org.za)

[www.umtapocentre.org.za](http://www.umtapocentre.org.za)

Twitter: @UMTAPO86

By the end of May 2018, the following schools had formally launched the campaign:

School	Area	Date	Number in Attendance
1. Radha Roopsing Primary	Groutville	13 April	930
2. Inchange Primary	Inchange	18 April	1 076
3. Dr BW Vilakazi Primary	Groutville	20 April	1 560
4. St Lawrence Primary	KwaNyuswa	26 April	845
5. Mathebethu Primary	KwaNyuswa	26 April	157
6. Fredville Primary	Inchange	2 May	476
7. Melville Primary	Melville	9 May	930
8. Tinley Manor Primary	eTete	17 May	1 432
9. Aldenville Primary School	Groutville	17 May	1 449
10. Mphumela Primary	KwaNyuswa	14 May	655
11. KwaNyuswa Primary	KwaNyuswa	17 May	94
12. Mbhanana Primary	KwaNyuswa	15 May	99
13. Amaqadi Primary	KwaNyuswa	14 May	86
14. Mzamo Primary	KwaNyuswa	17 May	890
15. Ximba Primary	Inchange	18th May	255



Principal of Melville Primary School Mrs Munien addresses the children.



Right: Principal of Fredville Primary School Ms N. Dladla speaks to learners.

When principals and educators take a keen interest in the programme, it makes a difference and the campaign can become a success...

At **Mbhanana Zenex Primary School** in lower KwaNyuswa, the Tribal Council and the School Governing Body were represented at the launch. Mr S. Radebe, the School Principal, performed the welcome and the Chairperson of the Peace Club, Ayanda Dladla, introduced the rest of the executive committee members of the Peace Club followed by various items by the Peace Club.

At **Nyuswa Primary**, Peace Club Liaison Educator Ms Buthelezi is fortunate to have great support from the other educators, unlike in most other schools. The school has followed up the launch with a weekly Poster Friday, where learners make anti-bullying posters and display them around the school.

At **Umzamo Primary School**, the Peace Club took the initiative to draft their own Anti-Bullying Contract for learners over and above the School Policy on Anti-Bullying that was adopted.

Mr Shau, Principal of **Inchange Primary School**, said that he was very appreciative of the initiative and was glad that his school was a part of the campaign.

At a small primary school, **Amaqadi Primary**, at the very bottom of KwaNyuswa (Mabedlane), the Anti-Bullying Campaign was also launched. Various guests were present and UMTAPO was represented by its field-worker, Zakhele Ngcobo.

Educators said the programme has increased the focus and self reliance of learners and the SGB Chairperson also invited UMTAPO to have a slot at the next school Parents Meeting.

The NPO Wheels of Wagon's secretary suggested that UMTAPO should arrange a general meeting in the area and educate adults about the implications of bullying so that every member of the community could be involved in this programme. They expressed their willingness to help whenever UMTAPO needed them.

At **Mnamatha Primary School** in KwaNyuswa, Peace Club member, Margarete Chaenda excelled as the programme director. Ms. Pumzile Yika gave a brief input about UMTAPO and the background to the Anti-Bullying Campaign. She encouraged learners to Speak Out

“Bullying is a form of abusive behaviour. Bullying someone through intimidation, threats or teasing can be just as abusive as beating someone up. Bullying is an aggressive behavior and it is usually repeated over time. Bullying involves hitting or punching, name-calling, nasty gestures or social exclusion. Technology has given children a new means of bullying other children that is called Cyber-Bullying.

People who bully others may have been abused themselves but that does not give them the right to harm someone else intentionally. Bullying violates the human right to be free and protected.



Lindokuhle Mpoli, secretary of Ximba Primary School Peace Club, delivered this speech at the launch.

So let us all put a stop to bullying. **BULLYING MUST FALL!** I thank you”.



Principal of Mnamatha Primary School Ms Mhlongo.

against Bullying and Abuse and told learners to exercise their Children's Rights but always remember that rights go with responsibilities and they should not violate or humiliate other learners. Mrs. Z. Dlamini, the liaison educator, read the School policy on Bullying that was signed and adopted by the school.

“Since our engagement with UMTAPO, learners' lives have changed. The learners are confident and are not shy to do an address in front of many other learners and whenever they are faced with challenges, they speak out”

**Ms Mhlongo, Principal of Mnamatha Primary School, KwaNyuswa**



Chairperson of the Peace Club at Mnamatha Primary School.

“We are indeed grateful that we have members from UMTAPO Centre to visit our school to launch the Anti-Bullying Campaign and create a new learning experience. UMTAPO is empowering our children to stand up for their rights by providing them with the necessary skills needed to deal with everyday issues. I am certain that learners are going to benefit greatly from this and other programmes and to learn and adopt the vital skills needed for survival”.

**Mr C.L. Naidoo, Deputy Principal, Radha Roopsing Primary School, KwaDukuza**

# ANTI-BULLYING: WITHIN THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK IN SA

In South Africa, Bullying in Schools can be addressed within the following legal frameworks:

## SA SCHOOLS ACT (SASA)

The SASA does not explicitly mention Bullying. However, most of the elements of bullying are identified as conduct that will not be tolerated in terms of section 10A, that is:

- (a) The endangerment of mental or physical well-being;
- (b) Undermining human dignity;
- (c) Humiliation; and
- (d) Undermining the rights as set out in the Bill of Rights.

## THE CHILDREN'S ACT

Section 2 of the **Children's Act** encompasses the objectives of the Act.

These include protection against maltreatment, abuse and neglect and very importantly, they provide for the promotion of the best interests of the child. This Act also aims at providing structures and means for promoting and monitoring the physical, psychological, intellectual, emotional and social development of children, while protecting them from physical and

emotional harm. The objectives of the **Children's Act** are thus aligned with the eradication of bullying in schools.

Section 6 of the **Children's Act** contains the general principles applicable in children's matters. Pertinent to this article is section 6(2), which governs all proceedings, actions and decisions in matters concerning a child. The approach followed in section 6(2) correlates with both the **Constitution** as well as with international trends. The general principles are all inclusive and encompass fundamental rights as enshrined in Chapter 2 of the **Constitution**, the standard of best interest of the child, as well as all other principles mentioned in the Act. The importance of dignity is also highlighted.

## THE PROTECTION FROM HARASSMENT ACT

The **Protection from Harassment Act** is the latest addition to the legal framework that can be employed to enforce the rights of the victims of bullying.

The victim of bullying can apply for

a protection order against a child-bully. According to section 2(3)(a) of the Act, such an application may be brought on behalf of the complainant by someone who has a material interest in the matter. In the instance of bullying, such a person could be the parent or legal guardian of the victim. However, section 2(4) also provides that a child may apply for a protection order without the assistance of his or her parents.

A child-victim of bullying may thus seek immediate relief through a protection order in accordance with the **Protection from Harassment Act**, and he or she could invoke this remedy with or without the assistance of parents and guardians. However, the child-respondent could be served with an interim protection order even in his or her absence and without notice. Where, for example, a bully is a child under the age of 10 years, he or she cannot be criminally prosecuted in terms of the **Child Justice Act** but a protection order can be issued against him or her in terms of the **Protection from Harassment Act** irrespective of age.



# ADDRESSING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA (SEVISSA)

The Nelson Mandela Children’s Fund has partnered with Comic Relief and local organisations to coordinate a programme addressing Sexual Violence against Girls in Schools in South Africa (SeViSSA). The project is over a five-year period, having started in 2014.

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

The programme is implemented in four provinces:

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

Each province has a consortium made up of a lead organisation and partner organisations. The lead organisation will administer the funds for the consortium and be accountable for reporting to the donors.

In the Eastern Cape, UMTAPO is the lead organisation and the Eastern Cape project is focused on 16 villages around Peddie (UMTAPO works in 10 of them), which falls under the Ngqushwa Local Municipality and Amathole District Municipality.

In Limpopo, UMTAPO is a partner organisation focusing on two villages: Tshisaulu and Madodonga in the Vhembe District.

## SeVISSA (Eastern Cape)

These were the UMTAPO activities in the Eastern Cape during the period: January – June 2018, which constituted part of the fourth year cycle of the SeVISSA project:



## Leadership Camps

### Schools

Three leadership camps were held during this period for learners from the following schools:

1. Nathaniel Pamla Secondary School
2. Mzuxolile Secondary School
3. Kaulela Secondary School
4. Emfundweni Secondary School
5. Ncedolwethu Secondary School
6. Matomela Secondary School
7. July Secondary School
8. Lujiko Primary School
9. Fezeka Primary School
10. Ayliff Primary School
11. Qeto Primary School
12. German Village Combined School

The outcomes of these camps were that:

- The learners felt more confident and



Nicole Randall of German Village Rimary School at the camp.

empowered to fight issues such as sexual violence and bullying in their schools.

- The learners’ knowledge about Children’s Rights and child abuse was strengthened.
- The learners elected the Peace Club executive committee and they acquired greater knowledge about the role of the Peace Club.
- Educators gained added information and knowledge on the issues affecting their learners and how to deal with them.
- Educators were able to recognise that learners had the potential for leadership, which was not given space for expression at schools.

“The school has indicated that the learners who are members of the Club have improved in their studies,” said Principal Jakavula of Nathaniel Pamla Secondary School. The Peace Club members have also adopted a disability home, which has children with disabilities who have been either neglected or assaulted physically/sexually. They collect clothes and food cans to donate and do visits.

## Communities

On 23-25 March 2018, UMTAPO facilitated the leadership camp for the UMTAPO Women’s Coalition at Mpekweni Beach Resort. Villages that participated in the camp were:



1. Peddie Extension
2. Darban Location
3. Cisira
4. Ndlovini
5. Lujiko

6. Crossroad
7. Gcinisa
8. Tuku
9. Feni Location
10. Qeto





On 13 – 15 April 2018, a Leadership Camp was facilitated for the UBUNTU COMMUNITY FORUM (UCF) members from the same villages. The UCF is intersectional and includes various community stakeholders, including tribal authorities.

## Village Campaigns

Village campaigns in all 10 villages involving all stakeholders are being planned to consolidate the programme and its impact, as part of the culmination of the fourth year.

FENI location has already had its campaign which started with a gathering at the local hall followed by door-to-door awareness raising and distribution of the whistles.



Athini Ngxumza explaining the campaign and distributing whistles to villagers.



## SeVISSA (Limpopo)

Work done in SeVISSA schools in Limpopo is rubbing off on neighbouring schools and communities. This is evidenced by the fact that at the beginning of implementation of the SeVISSA programme, two villages (Madodonga and Tshisaulu) were targeted as implementation sites but currently the programme has spread to other villages in Madodonga such as:

- Ravele
- Muduluni
- Madabani
- Maebani
- Tshikwarani

These villages are situated within the Kutama-Sinthumule tribal area in Makhado Municipality. In Tshisaulu, the programme has spread to areas like:

- Itsani
- Posaito
- Riverside
- Makhombane

These areas are situated in Tshisaulu in Thulamela Municipality.

In Limpopo, the programme is being implemented in the following schools:

### Primary Schools

1. Muduluni Primary
2. Madodonga
3. Muengedzi
4. Daniel Mubva
5. Tshisaulu
6. Mutende
7. Makumbani
8. Magalangwe

### Secondary Schools

9. Songozwi
10. Kutama
11. Tshiungulela
12. Magoni
13. Thambatshira
14. Mabhuduga
15. Lwandani

**Sports Against Gender Based Violence (Chess clubs) in LP:** On 27 February 2018, a chess coaching clinic and consultation



meeting took place at Kutama and Songozwi Secondary schools. This intervention does not only assist positive behaviour and decreased vulnerability at an individual level but it also assists in the retention of learners in school because the sports activities keep them motivated, recognised and occupied.

### Men's intergenerational dialogue:

On 19 March 2018, men from different communities that UMTAPO is operating in came together to dialogue on how they can get involved as men in the fight against gender-based violence. The event was held at Makhado Showground.

**Young Women's Forum in LP:** On 31

March 2018, a workshop for women on Gender-Based Violence was held at Mashila Primary School in Thohoyandou.

One of the male participants commented that "the chief in Madodonga now refuses to have women lying down in the tribal house when there are traditional meetings. He feels that having learnt and been associated with the SeVISSA programme made him question some of the norms and traditional practices that support women's subordination and hence he feels that he has to change such practices and that starts with a simple act of not having women lie down on the floor when having to address the tribal council."

*"It was good to note that change is possible, especially when listening to older men in communities questioning their own male privilege and dominance."*

**– UMTAPO Limpopo Director, Nomiki Yekani-Mathonsi**

# CHILD SAFETY AND PROTECTION PROJECT

The project, funded by the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, is located in rural areas/townships in KwaZulu-Natal: KwaNyuswa and Inchanga within the eThekweni Metro Municipality, and Groutville, eTete, Thembeni, and Melville within the KwaDukuza Local Municipality in the iLembe District Municipality.

The leadership camps are geared towards enhancing self-worth, understanding societal issues, and engaging in building a better society. UMTAPO has been conducting these for a number of years in schools around the country.

The specific objectives of the project are:

- Establishing Peace Clubs in schools to build child leadership and actively campaign for a safer learning environment;
- Creating joint stakeholder networks in schools for ensuring collaboration among parents, educators, community stakeholders and learners, and that perpetrators can be exposed; and
- Engaging government departments and Chapter 9 institutions to make sure that action is taken against abuse and the abusers in schools.

## Building Leadership and Creating Safer Schools

Four Leadership Camps involving 19 schools in KwaZulu-Natal were held between November 2017 and June 2018.

The leadership camp on **3-5 November 2017** was facilitated for three schools: Bongo Primary School and Amanganga Primary School from KwaNdengezi, and Mathebethu Primary School from



KwaNyuswa. The camp brought together 21 participants (three educators and 18 children) and the facilitators for the camp were Pumzile Yika and Siyakudumisa Mofokeng, who is a trained member of the USM (Edgewood).

A Leadership Camp was facilitated for six Peace Clubs from KwaDukuza. The camp took place on **16- 18 Feb 2018** at Tre Fontane in Mariannhill.

Schools that participated were:

- Radha Roopsingh P. School

- Mbekamuzi P. School
- Melville P. School
- Dr BW Vilakazi P. School
- Aldenville P. School
- Tinley Manor P. School

At the end of the camp, participants said the following:

- I will stop calling other children names.
- When I came to the camp I was shy, but the shyness went away.
- I have learnt that it is important to share with others.



A leadership camp was facilitated for primary schools from Kwa-Nyuswa and Inchanga on **9-11 March 2018** at Tre-Fontane, Mariannhill. Schools that participated were:

- Fredville Primary School
- Ximba Senior Primary School
- Inchanga Primary School
- Mnamatha Primary School
- St Lawrence Primary School
- 

Reflecting on how the camp impacted on them, learners said:

- I now have better knowledge about child abuse.
- That bullying is wrong and dangerous.
- I now have confidence to speak in front of many people.

On **20-22 April 2018**, Umtapo facilitated a leadership camp for five schools from KwaNyuswa. The schools that participated in the camp were Umphumela Primary School, Umbhanana Primary School, Umzamo Senior Primary School, Nyuswa Primary School and Amaqadi Primary School. Pumzile Yika, Xolile Ntuli and Zakhele Ngcobo facilitated the camp and there were 25 participants (20 Peace Club members and five educators).

The young learners at the last camp had the following messages for Umtapo:

- They must open a centre for bullied children.
- Thank you for showing us Ubuntu.
- Thank you for teaching us new things.
- Carry on with the great work.
- I want to thank Umtapo for helping me to become a good person.
- I love you Umtapo.

## Post-Camp Initiatives undertaken by Schools

St Lawrence Primary School has dedicated a classroom for the Peace Club to use. Peace Club members are putting up posters and other educational information to decorate the room.



Most Peace Club liaison educators have a Peace Club file in which they record activities and keep all relevant Peace Club information. This has been a purely voluntary, self-reliant initiative on the part of committed educators.



On 23 February 2018, the Mathebethu Primary School Peace Club, a small school in a rural part of KwaNyuswa, officially launched their Peace Club and welcomed new Peace Club members. UMTAPO staff were present at the launch.



## Joint Stakeholder/Community Meetings

The purpose of the meetings/workshops was to engage community stakeholders in the programme so that there could be support structures for the safety of the children in the schools in their areas.

A stakeholder meeting was held in **KwaDukuza** on 13 April 2018 at the Chief Albert Luthuli Museum in Groutville, KwaDukuza.

Present at the meeting were representatives from South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), Provincial Co-ordinator of the DOE School Safety Unit, School Governing Body Members (SGB), Educators, South African Police Services (SAPS), Community Safety Unit and the Luthuli Museum.

Against the background of the news that a nine-year old boy was gang raped by a group of boys at a neighbouring school, the meeting became more relevant than ever. The strange term 'Rape Festival' was raised as a phenomenon that has been taking place in that ward of KwaDukuza.

UMTAPO brought together stakeholders who, under normal circumstances, would not have met. The communities from which learners come from and the school environment has put children under threat due to the erosion of values of Ubuntu and several complex socio-economic problems. Educators and school management find it difficult to handle victims of violence and abuse. In many instances, they do not have the resources, skills, time, the necessary support and passion to take up such daunting issues. Their main focus is the school curriculum, which in itself is time-consuming and difficult to achieve with limited resources.

Feedback from Educators and SGB members who have been on camps was shared in the group. The Leadership Camps had an immensely positive response from learners. They have become confident and are able to identify abuse and bullying at schools and in the community. An educator said, "No longer can educators and the school management turn a blind eye to bullying at school. Learners have been empowered to speak out."



The representative from SAPS said that schools that do not have Peace Clubs have serious problems and learners need confidence, awareness and space to raise issues that violate their human rights.

In **KwaNyuswa**, a Stakeholders Meeting was combined with the 'war room' convened by the ward councillor. This was held on 9 May 2018 at the Qadi Hall. Pumzile Yika presented the UMTAPO programme and this was followed by open discussion.

Stakeholders were very happy to form part of such an important campaign. Mr S Sibiya, the war room convenor, requested UMTAPO to also visit Empilweni Primary and Bothas Hill Primary since it seems that child abuse is a problem there.

Miss Hlengiwe Mabaso said that a child from her family is a member of the Peace Club in Mnamatha Primary and that the level of focus in her studies and in her life has increased since she joined the Peace Club. She also offered her assistance to UMTAPO if required.

The stakeholders suggested that they should come together and formulate structures to assist programs like this that protect and brighten the future of children. They requested UMTAPO to always attend their war room meetings to update them so that they could assist where needed.

SGB members suggested that UMTAPO should be a part of all future parents' meetings in schools. Finally, the stakeholders felt that programs like this should be

extended to the community at large because most bullying incidents and child abuse cases are happening out of school.

Another Stakeholders Meeting was held in lower KwaNyuswa on 12th May 2018 at Umphumela Primary School Hall. Zakhele Ngcobo did the welcome and opening of the meeting and Pumzile Yika gave an input about UMTAPO. Some of the feedback was as follows:

- Bullying is a problem in schools and parents were happy with the idea of the Anti-Bullying Campaign.
- Parents were concerned with the use of inappropriate language by educators when addressing learners.
- The lack of a Community Policing Forum makes the community and children vulnerable to crime and abuse
- Parents are not spending enough time with their children to build a relationship with them so that they can feel free to communicate with them.
- The Community Care Givers will avail themselves to check on children who don't have parents especially in the areas where it's not safe.
- Parents agreed to assist in mobilising for the area campaigns and it was acknowledged that parents should be more involved.
- The office of the councillor also promised to assist UMTAPO in any way that they can.





# ETHICAL GOVERNANCE AND PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY PROJECT

## In Pursuit of our Collective Destiny



In a unique programme, not only in South Africa but globally, UMTAPO has developed a training curriculum to enable young people in universities to embark on a journey towards building an ethical nation. The week-long training course on Democracy, Human Rights and Anti-Corruption (DHRAC) targets a limited number of students from 15-20 universities around the country. The project is funded by the Embassy of Finland.



### Some general comments were:

*"I learnt that democracy is not a problem but unethical leaders are the problem."*

*"It was the best information I ever had. I now know what is happening around me and that I have the power to bring change."*

*"The course should never stop for it opened my eyes and provoked critical thinking."*

*"It is a pity that UMTAPO is not funded (enough); we need this training course at least once a year."*

*"I think the course is absolutely brilliant."*

*"The facilitation used was something from the top drawer."*

*"I learnt a lot and I would love for other students to have this opportunity. God bless all the facilitators. They are great people."*

The overall objective of the project is building capacity and strengthening civil society participation in the promotion of ethical governance and a people's democracy, in particular, by enabling and empowering youth to play a central role in the future of the country.

In the words of the Deputy Public Protector, Adv. Kevin Malunga, at the UMTAPO 2016 Symposium on Anti-Corruption: "The key to combatting unethical governance does not lie in lone crusades by integrity institutions such as the Public Protector; it lies in a national quest for ethical governance by all of us."

Students who graduate from universities will most likely be the future leaders in government, in the corporate world, within professional circles, and in

general positions of power in society. It is in the interests of our collective destiny that we need to ensure that they inculcate the ethics and values that will contribute meaningfully to a society where the majority of the people will benefit.

The second DHRAC training course in this cycle of the project took place at Pumula Beach Hotel in KwaZulu Natal on 22-27 January 2018 for students from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood, Westville, Howard College campuses), University of Zululand, and Durban University of Technology attended.

Participants were empowered with a new sense of self-worth, a spirit of unity, and collectivism. They established the new branch executive committees to prepare for the USM growth at their campuses.



The closing ceremony and certification was held at the Bellaire Hotel in Durban on 27 January 2018. The function was chaired by Shawn Mavundla, USM member of the University of Zululand, who was selected by the group.

The function ended with the certification process. Mr Jay Reddy of the UMTAPO Board handed out the certificates.

Following the training, 60 members were recruited at UKZN (Howard) and 28 members were recruited at UKZN (Westville).

The third Training Course took place from 2-7 April 2018 at Cape Town Lodge Hotel in Western Cape for students from:

- University of the Western Cape
- University of Cape Town
- Stellenbosch University
- Cape Peninsula University of Technology

The course is a participatory journey that starts with the individual and with self-reflection, moving onto the root causes of what has impacted on the individual and society, and then addressing the current situation and what is needed and expected from young people to build an ethical nation.

The training ended in a closing and certification function, with special guests

of the participants and UMTAPO present. Ms Leigh Anne Naidoo, student activist, was the guest speaker and UMTAPO Board Chairperson, Dr James Marsh, handed out the certificates.

For most students, many of whom were active student leaders in their respective institutions, the practical and participatory nature of the course was an eye-opener.

### Some general comments were:

*"The course is rather intense and at times tiring but worthwhile because of the open space provided for independent thinking and open, critical engagement."*

*"The highlight of the training included, but is not limited to, learning about different schools of thought, looking at democracy in a very different manner..... No topic was left uncovered and no topic was under discussed. The amazing thing is how 90% of the answers came from the individuals in the room."*

*"I've learnt to be confident about myself, speak what's on my mind, and share my knowledge with other participants."*

*"The facilitation and techniques used were world-class and they sparked critical thinking."*



## MAKING ANTI-CORRUPTION A REALITY!



Following the effective ongoing training courses for university students and the mobilisation of communities towards building an ethical nation, requests from communities for training in anti-corruption have been growing. Unfortunately, UMTAPO does not have sufficient resources to accede to all the demands.

In Limpopo on **20 March 2018**, an anti-corruption workshop was held in Madodonga. Participants asked for continuous dialogues and workshops on issues of corruption and agreed to organise a joint rally together with other stakeholders like SAPS, DSD and local councillors.

On **23 March 2018**, a community strategic planning workshop took place at Adams Apple Hotel in Makhado. Participants were motivated to continue working and mobilising communities to fight against corruption and a six-month plan of action against corruption was drafted.

On the **18-22 April 2018**, a Democracy, Human Rights and Anti-Corruption training course took place at Ben Lavin Nature Reserve in Makhado. It brought together delegates from around Makhado Municipality and Thulamela Municipality, mainly community activists and members of local radio stations. The training was conducted by Nomiki Yekani-Mathonsi.

## ANTI-CORRUPTION DAY

The National Day of Action took place on International Anti-Corruption Day, **9 December 2017**, in three communities simultaneously:

- KwaNyuswa (Kwazulu-Natal)
- Peddie (Eastern Cape)
- Makhado (Limpopo)

The aim was to raise awareness and mobilise civil society and community stakeholders in campaigning for anti-corruption and the building of an ethical nation.

On **International Anti-Corruption Day 2018**, UMTAPO will target five communities/villages to continue its campaign against corruption.



## THE UMTAPO STUDENT MOVEMENT (USM)

Currently, the USM has a presence on 14 university campuses. While a few are registered and some are pending, the focus in 2017-2018 has been to rebuild and mobilise students to join. The need for ethical leadership has never been more urgent in South Africa than at the present moment. The country depends on it!

The UMTAPO Student Movement exists in the following institutions of higher learning:

### Recognised

1. University of Johannesburg
2. University of Western Cape
3. University of Limpopo
4. University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood)
5. Durban University of Technology (provisionally recognised)

### Application for Recognition Pending

6. University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College)
7. University of KwaZulu-Natal (Westville)
8. University of Zululand
9. Stellenbosch University
10. University of Cape Town
11. Cape Peninsula University of Technology
12. Tshwane University of Technology
13. University of the Witwatersrand
14. University of Venda

During the University of Johannesburg Society Week on **5-9 February 2018**, 65 new members were recruited. On 2 March, they were regionally recognised as a structure that gave them access to book venues and get allowances to have events on campus. A branch opening function took place on **7 March 2018**.

The University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard Collage) held a recruitment drive between **5-6 February 2018**. Sixty members joined the structure during recruitment.

At Tshwane University of Technology, the USM was not granted recognition but



USM at the University of Western Cape.



was given access to operate under another structure called 'Right of the Students' as they share common values. They form part of the student parliament and thereby are part of the decision-making on behalf of students.

The five participants who were trained from Cape Peninsula University

of Technology implemented their Plan of Action immediately and recruited 55 members to join the USM branch.

The USM at the University of Western Cape, the stalwart branch, held an Africa Day event on campus.

*The need for ethical leadership has never been more urgent in South Africa than at the present moment. The country depends on it!*

## SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER A Steve Biko Transformative Education Project

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

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

UMTAPO will work in co-operation with relevant departments at institutions and with its UMTAPO Student Movement (USM) branches to forge formal collaboration with institutions of higher learning.

In addition to its longstanding collaboration with the **University of KwaZulu-Natal** with which a new Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed in June 2017, UMTAPO has signed an MOU with the Centre for Education Rights and Transformation (CERT) at the **University of Johannesburg** and with the Oliver Tambo Chair for Human Rights at the **University of Fort Hare**.

The Strini Moodley Annual Memorial Lecture and the Annual Steve Biko Seminar are incorporated under this project as part of the university collaboration.

The Strini Moodley Annual Memorial Lecture continues to be hosted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal on its various campuses. The University of Johannesburg's CERT hosts the Neville Alexander Conference, and the DUT hosts the Steve Biko Seminar.

Other envisaged co-operation will include the Mbulelo Mzamane Memorial Lecture between the Oliver Tambo Chair for Human Rights and UMTAPO and the USM at the University of Fort Hare.

The online newsletter was launched in February 2017 that was dedicated to the late Professor Mbulelo Mzamane, who was a Board member of UMTAPO when he passed away in February 2014; the second edition in April was dedicated to Strini Moodley, founding member of UMTAPO, who passed away on 27 April 2006; and, the third edition in August 2017 was dedicated to Dr Neville Alexander, UMTAPO patron and revolutionary educationist and socialist, who passed away in August 2012. The fourth edition of the newsletter was dedicated to Dr Oshadi Mangena, patron of UMTAPO who passed away in September 2015.

The newsletter has received positive feedback from readers/activists after its pilot year.

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

**STEVE BIKO**

**Transformative Education Project**

**IN MEMORY OF**  
**MBULELO MZAMANE, STRINI MOODLEY, NEVILLE ALEXANDER & OSHADI MANGENA**

**Includes:**

- ▶ STEVE BIKO SEMINARS & WORKSHOPS
- ▶ ANNUAL STRINI MOODLEY LECTURE
- ▶ ANNUAL MBULELO MZAMANE SEMINAR
- ▶ NEVILLE ALEXANDER EDUCATION PROJECT
- ▶ OSHADI MANGENA WOMEN'S DIALOGUE

**ONLINE QUARTERLY NEWSLETTER:**  
**Speaking Truth to Power**

## 2018 Strini Moodley Lecture

The 11th Annual Strini Moodley Memorial Lecture took place on 4 May 2018 at the Unity Conference Centre, University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College) campus.

**South Africa: The Unfinished Revolution** was the theme of the annual Strini Moodley Memorial Lecture held at UKZN in collaboration with UMTAPO's Steve Biko Transformative Education Project.

The lecture explored South Africa's progress, the exploitation of human rights and inequalities in society. Keynote speakers included Black Consciousness Movement stalwart and close friend and comrade of the late Moodley, Dr Nchaube Aubrey Mokoape, and a co-founder of the Umphakatsi Peace Ecovillage, Ms Sarah Motha.

In his welcome, Professor Donal McCracken of UKZN's School of Applied Human Sciences said that memorial lectures were important as they provided an opportunity to explore challenges the country faced today and to commit to serving society.

Said McCracken: "Strini's banning

and imprisonment are reminders of the sacrifices made by many South Africans in the liberation struggle." McCracken added that Moodley exhibited most of the qualities that UKZN seemed to emulate.

A medical doctor involved in politics from the age of 13 and a spokesperson for the Pan Africanist Congress youth at 15, Mokoape met Steve Biko at medical school and became a leading member of the Black Consciousness Movement. He was imprisoned on Robben Island together with Strini Moodley and seven other leaders of the Movement. Mokoape's presentation was titled: 'The Tragedy of South Africa: A House Divided by Racism/Tribalism, Patriarchy and Greed'.

He focused his talk on inequalities in today's society. He said that a number of white South Africans continued to live comfortable lives because they are beneficiaries of 'colonial dividends' while the majority of black people continued to be victims.

Mokoape said that the lecture was an important gathering to remember where we come from, where we are, and where we are. He commended Umtapo

for their commitment to the struggle. He encouraged South Africans to know their identity, carry their culture with pride and emulate other African countries and rename the country. He added that names were important as they provided identity.

Programme Manager (Vulnerable Groups) at the Foundation for Human Rights (FHR), Motha said that South Africa was a wounded society suffering from generational violence.

She said that it was important for South Africans to historically analyse the root causes of the current challenges, so they could be enablers and animators for the change people wanted to see.

She spoke about the Foundation's involvement in partnership with the Department of Justice in teaching the citizens, especially school children, about xenophobia, Ubuntu and other fundamental human rights.

Motha highlighted the work done by the FHR to correct the injustices of the past and urged the youth to continue on that path.

Written by Sithembile Shabangu of UKZN

## Other Activities

The 2018 online newsletter *Speaking Truth to Power* was produced in February and April 2018 as scheduled, and was dedicated to Mbulelo Mzamane and Strini Moodley respectively.

The feature article in Volume 2, Number 1 was **SORTING THROUGH THE DELIBERATE CONFUSION: 'WHITE MONOPOLY CAPITAL' AND 'STATE CAPTURE'** by Enver Motala.

In Volume 2, Number 2, the focus was on **LAND**. A speech delivered by Professor Lungisile Ntsebeza at an UMTAPO event was printed and an article written by the late Strini Moodley on **LAND, RACISM AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LAND CAPTURE**.

*"Well written and a wonderful tribute to Comrade and Brother Mbulelo.... I remember him and his deep laugh fondly.... In Defence of a united and indivisible Socialist Africa..."*  
– Julian Kunnie

*"Thanks to UMTAPO for keeping the bells ringing in favour of true humanity. It was great reading about Bra Mbu, a man all of us will miss."*  
– David Macharia

*Speaking Truth to Power*, Volume 2, Number 3 in memory of Neville Alexander will be online in August 2018.

The 2018 Steve Biko Seminar, in partnership with the Durban University of Technology, is scheduled for 14 September 2018.

Those wishing to receive online copies or to contribute to future newsletters, should contact Ms Arun Naicker at UMTAPO:  
Tel: 031 307 3350 or  
Email: [arunaicker@gmail.com](mailto:arunaicker@gmail.com)



# SPECIAL FOCUS

This special focus highlights young people who have grown up with UMTAPO from Peace Clubs in schools to the USM at university.

## Ms Sisonke Dyonta ('to selflessly serve your community')

### Current work/student position

Junior company secretary at Brimstone Investment Corporation

### Educational background

Name of School: Thembelihle High school  
Location: Khayelitsha, Western Cape  
University attended: University of the Western Cape  
Degree/s completed: LLB

### What impact has UMTAPO had on your life?

My journey from high school to University has been a memorable one. While I was in high school I attended a few trainings of the Peace Club yet I was not very clear about the idea of UMTAPO and how broad it is. Throughout my university application, I was assisted by 'Tertiary Peace Forum' members (now USM). They were able to put into practice everything USM is about: they were considerate, selfless and displayed Ubuntu in a way that one would want to join the organisation on the spot.

At the university level, I remained a member of USM and led the organisation as a chairperson for two consecutive years. This is where I learnt everything I know about leadership and the ability to stand firm on a vision and still be kind at the same time. Ethical leadership, discipline and respect are major elements that I have witnessed in practice from my peers. These are the skills that one doesn't learn from a book. UWC USM is a family orientated structure; it is a club of leaders and strong individuals who are eager to make a difference. Learning from peers who are skilled differently and who are comfortable with their skills in their skin has been a major influence in my life in general.



The appearance of USM on my CV while I was still looking for employment was what set me apart from the other candidates, in my opinion. One who stands against corruption in a world that we live in today, who understands ethical leadership, who is against sexism and for the promotion of human rights and democracy, in my opinion stands a better chance in life. The benefits that USM has brought into my life during and post-university has been nothing but amazing.

### Why do you think that UMTAPO still has an important role to play (if at all)?

In our generation, opportunities are attainable. The question is whether we are ready to exercise them responsibly when we attain them and whether we understand our historical background and if we have an idea of the ideal South Africa. UMTAPO doesn't only teach you where you come from, it inspires you to draw your own path in life, to understand how sufficient you are, to understand how important the next

person is to you and how you and the next person can pave a way to a better future.

UMTAPO brings the idea of a community living together: free of hate, self-reliant, considerate, where all people in that community understand their powers and are rightfully practising them to elevate each other to prosperity. This organisation prepares one for life in a general sense of people living together and giving, intolerant of ill behaviour.

My scope of employment revolves around issues that were addressed in the USM. The question that is frequently asked nowadays in the presidency of Ramaphosa is: How do we combat corruption? For this question, the university could not have prepared me enough to be able to make an informed, confident contribution in the midst of well-established businessmen and people who serve in governance. The socio-economic status of black people as a whole depends on our ability to be able to be vocal about issues without arrogance or violence as we have stereotyped to be by our history. This is a skill that you acquire in USM without effort.

In my opinion, UMTAPO in our generation has an even broader role to play in preparation of future responsible, well-mannered leaders.

From your experience, what advice would you give children and youth in UMTAPO Peace Clubs and in general?

UMTAPO members become family. We are known for being our brothers and sisters keepers. Our relationships become firm even outside the organisation. I have been very fortunate to be based at UWC where, literally, members became family from the date of joining. This tradition gives one a sense of belonging and a stage to express

one's views without fear. In whatever that one does, whether in a position or not, think about the next person.

Learn not to ask for permission to be great. Teach yourself and set your own goals at your pace. When we grow up, we marry ideas that will best serve us as individuals. I hope that you adopt a new

idea of selflessness. There are things that you will not be taught in an institution and those include: to selflessly serve your community without expecting thanks or money in return. I advise you to use those moments and practice your best. This will not only build your character, but it will teach you how to be a better leader.

### General comments

UMTAPO gives one a well-balanced start from Primary school to University and beyond.

**Sisonke has obtained a scholarship to study for her Masters degree at the University of Missouri, USA and will be heading there in August 2018.**

## Siyakudumisa Mofokeng

### Current work/student position

Final year student at UKZN (Edgewood)

### Educational background

Name of School: Thabela High School  
Location: KwaNyuswa  
University attended: UKZN  
Degree/s completed: Bachelor of Education

### What impact has UMTAPO had on your life?

The journey started in 2009 when one of the UMTAPO facilitators came to my school to motivate us at the assembly point. She spoke of changing the society through active participation in our community and emphasised that we need to be confident, exercise Ubuntu and have peace.

As she spoke, I was so furious because I was the victim of physical abuse and could not do anything about it. A few days later, our teacher came to class recruiting members and together with a friend of mine, they persuaded me to join the Peace Club. But as shy as I was, I never participated in discussions until a few months later when I shared my story and they unanimously elected me to be the chairperson of the club, saying that the Thabela High School community needed that voice. Since that day, I wake up with a purpose every day to have a positive influence in the life of others through UMTAPO's teachings. My family have become unified through sharing what I learn at the gatherings that UMTAPO organises.

After the UMTAPO Democracy, Human Rights and Anti-Corruption Training



*"Recognise the strength that you possess to be active agents of change."*

Course at the beginning of 2016 for KZN students where I was the only student from UKZN (Edgewood), I went back and recruited students to establish the USM. Today, it is one of the biggest branches of the USM in the country. Since then I have had the opportunity to attend an UMTAPO national meeting of student representatives in Johannesburg and have also been requested to co-facilitate UMTAPO leadership camps for schools in KZN. My journey with UMTAPO spans nine years and I am continuing to grow with the organisation.

### Why do you think that UMTAPO still has an important role to play?

The world is a cruel place; people do not value the life of the next person. People who are supposed to protect children abuse them at home and in their communities. Youth are unemployed due to corruption by the elite members of society who steal from the poor, and women are raped and killed daily. UMTAPO still needs to preach the gospel of Ubuntu in society. However, it is within the capacity of an individual who has been involved with UMTAPO to take on the baton and run to influence others and create a ripple effect of positive change.

### What advice would you give children and youth in UMTAPO Peace Clubs and in general?

When joining the Peace Club, note that you are becoming a part of the biggest movement ever; the society depends on you. Recognise the strength that you possess to be an active agent of change. Understand who you are, what you are carrying and whatever you discover and whatever you are carrying, take it and serve the world. Listen more than you speak and in that way you will learn a lot. People are afraid of change so Peace Club members must not be demoralised when they have a few members in the club. They must keep on planning programmes to raise awareness and enjoy being peace activists.

# FEATURE ARTICLE

Following recommendations from its Oshadi Mangena Memorial Dialogue in 2017, UMTAPO will be preparing dialogues, seminars, and camps addressing Patriarchy, particularly focusing on the mindset and behaviour of men/boys. This article, therefore, becomes an important point of reference.

## New Men Wanted in Africa! Patriarchy must Fall

Dr Ama Biney

Imagine a poster with the words: “New men wanted in Africa!” Most people would find the statement amusing, but that is what Africa urgently needs. This specific demand has to be part of a radical transformation in attitudes and outlooks that the continent must undergo, alongside fundamental socio-economic development as the 21st century continues to unfold.

If we are to create a decolonialised world and consciousness in which all forms of oppression are eliminated, we need to deal with the fact that among the many ‘pitfalls’ of the struggle for Pan-Africanism since 1945 has been sexism or patriarchy, or what Nanjala Nyabola appropriately refers to as ‘Man-Africanism’.

I will confine myself to patriarchy/ sexism/male domination that continue to manifest in the current Pan-Africanist movement, but there are other Fanonist ‘pitfalls’ such as tensions over the question “Who is an African?”; generational and ethnic cleavages; neo-colonialism, capitalism and imperialism in their new configurations in the 21st century.

My position is that in seeking radical socio-economic and political transformation in Africa, the CONSCIOUSNESS of the Pan-Africanist intellectual must also be genuinely transformed to challenge patriarchy or sexism.

**Patriarchy has to be reframed as an issue for everyone and not just ‘a women’s issue’. It is also an issue for men.** As bell hooks writes, “Patriarchy has no gender”.

Before I go any further, I think it is important for me to state that feminism is NOT a foreign imposed ideology on Africa and African women specifically. It is not un-African. Briefly defined, it “is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression” of BOTH men and women. In this definition and struggle, men are



not the enemy. Yet, in popular culture and among some political movements claiming to be progressive or revolutionary, feminism is misunderstood. It is sometimes unconsciously or consciously perceived as distracting us from more important issues – whatever those more important issues are.

Patriarchy – or simply put, our male-dominated society – is taken for granted. Yet male domination is accepted unconsciously even by most women – that men are superior to women or that women are secondary, deficient, to be blamed and ultimately, are inferior to men.

Patriarchy manifests itself in the unconscious way most men, and particularly male academics, are unconsciously conditioned to expect women to have ears and no mouth, or intolerance of a woman speaking as lengthily as a man. The unconscious belief is that men speak in paragraphs and women in a sentence. This is on account of the ingrained belief that men are the propagators of knowledge or information and women are conditioned to simply listen and be an audience to a male propagator of information. In such instances, such male academics possess very poor listening skills and often take up all the oxygen in the room for their huge egos and patronising manner.

Equally important is that patriarchy is a system that intersects with other forms of oppression, e.g. classism, ageism, homophobia or the dominance of heterosexism, imperialism and neo-colonialism – all of which are forms of domination, control and subordination.

Such systems have become institutionalised, perpetuated and maintained in our society. The term ‘imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy’ aptly describes the interlocking political systems of domination that are the foundations of our society and world.

Patriarchy is invisible; it is like the air we breathe – we do not recognise and feel its presence, yet it surrounds us and is unconsciously (and consciously) ingrained in our thought patterns and actions.

When people think of a leader, nine times out of ten it is a male that immediately comes to mind. Similarly, when one thinks of ‘intelligentsia’ or a ‘public intellectual’, it remains a male figure who tends to come immediately to mind.

In Africa, many cultural expectations are ingrained through socialisation and unquestioned cultural customs and practices to reinforce patriarchy and gendered expectations. **Most African men (to generalise here) are consciously or unconsciously under societal and cultural pressures to conform to some notion of a ‘hegemonic masculinity’ – that is, an African man is aggressive, strong, competitive, in control, dominant and active.** These are cultural ideas that are variously expressed in the myriad of diverse cultures that make up the African continent (and globally).

I define ‘Man-Africanists’ as those male Pan-Africanists who identify as Pan-Africanists and covertly harbour patriarchal attitudes and values that are expressed unconsciously and consciously in their relations with women they interact with and yet their vision of a new Africa remains fundamentally unchanged where it comes to those relations between men and women. Consequently, **we need to develop a new revolutionary gender sensitive consciousness that eradicates patriarchy**

**in all its covert and overt forms in order to transform our current socio-economic and political realities.**

The question, therefore, is: How do we create radical conscientised African men? How do we create anti-sexist, anti-heterosexist, caring, conscious, empathetic men who will develop organisations and institutions that serve African people?

If we are to look at our history, the efforts of two radical feminist African men may inspire us. I use the terms ‘radical feminist’ to describe Amílcar Cabral and Thomas Sankara – though I am aware they did not use such terms to define themselves.

By ‘radical’ I take the definition given by the organic intellectual and activist, Ella Baker, who said in 1969:

“I use the term radical in its original meaning – getting down to and understanding the root cause. It means facing a system that does not lend itself to your needs and devising means by which you change that system.”

Thomas Sankara was committed to socio-economic and political change in his country, and had the courage to state that the waging of revolution would also “upset the relations of authority between men and women and force each to rethink the nature of both.” He was also correct in declaring that “... the revolution cannot triumph without the genuine emancipation of women.” Equally, I would like to argue, that the revolution cannot triumph without a transformation in the thinking, mentality, attitudes, or consciousness of African men/ boys. And for that to happen, we need to address male domination in African societies.

Harsha Walia, a South Asian activist living in Canada, argues: “Some male allies feel they are not capable of sexism; but simply believing in gender equality does not erase male privilege.” As Chris Crass points out: “Far too often, activist men [and male intellectuals] support feminism in their public life and retreat into male privilege at home.”

Masculinity embodies socially valued traits whereby men should aspire to be strong, active, aggressive, dominant, competitive and in control. Femininity embodies the less socially valued traits of: weakness, passivity, irrationality, receptiveness, emotion, nurturing and subordination.

These traits are not biologically determined but are socially and culturally constructed as the biological difference between male and female rooted in their genital differences. These socially constructed stereotypes or gender types are constraining and oppressive to both men and women and create a culture of domination. They create destructive stereotypes of the ‘angry black female’ and males who demonstrate emotion as effeminate or ‘sissy’.

Harsha Wali states that: “Transforming gender roles is not about guilt or blame; it is about a lifelong learning process to effectively and humbly confront oppression.”

Revolutionary male feminists are made, not born, and therefore need to be created. There is no blue-print for this other than learning from feminist theory and praxis in the struggle to build Pan-Africanism and eliminate capitalism, imperialism and neocolonialism.

### Ending Patriarchy

How do we address working towards ending patriarchy? My proposals on the way forward are by no means exhaustive but are a necessary start.

**FIRST**, we need to acknowledge that patriarchy exists as a political and social system; it is a systemic problem and not one of identifying a few ‘bad apples’ i.e. a few ‘bad’ patriarchs.

**SECOND**, it is necessary to have a “a mass-based educational movement to teach everyone about feminism [since] we allow mainstream patriarchal mass media to remain the primary place where folks learn about feminism, and most of what they learn is negative”.

In order to create new African men, a process of consciousness raising, or the journey of men increasing their self-awareness of patriarchy or male domination, is one that has to operate on a number of levels.

**THIRD**, we also need to train men and foster the attitude in men that they should be proactive in addressing patriarchy. Men need to have the courage to openly, and at times privately, challenge other men on their patriarchal/sexist ideas and practices, whether in an institution (i.e. the church, mosque, trade union, school, university, etc.) or in the private realm.

It takes courage for such men to take action and make decisions that affirm an anti-sexist position, for it is going against the grain and usually there is ostracism among men who take an anti-patriarchal position by patriarchal men. These radical men who stand against patriarchy in their actions act as new role models for other men and boys. They embody a different kind of masculinity, an authentic humanity that has the courage to be critical in a way that seeks to genuinely change the behaviour of other men.

**FOURTH**, we need to teach boys and men how to authentically communicate their emotions and listen empathetically to others. From an early age, few people encourage boys to express their emotions, and many try to encourage boys to hide them. Hence, boys grow up wearing masks and mature into adult males wearing masks. In Western societies, this mask-wearing is not only leading to an increase in mental health problems among men but also suicides.

Revolutionary praxis must challenge the toxic impact of patriarchy, not only in political movements but in institutional cultures.

bell hooks writes: “*Visionary feminism is a wise and loving politics. It is rooted in the love of male and female being, refusing to privilege one over the other. The soul of feminist politics is the commitment to ending patriarchal domination of women and men, girls and boys. Love cannot exist in any relationship that is based on domination and coercion.*”

Finally, if we are to reinvigorate the Pan-African movement to develop organisations and institutions committed to serving African people, we need new men who are anti-sexist, anti-heterosexist, empathetic, connected to a radical political concept of self-awareness, and guided by an ethical sense of equality, justice and freedom for all.

The great revolutionary Ché Guevara once said: “The true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality.”

\* Dr Ama Biney is an activist, historian and political scientist, and former editor-in-chief of Pambazuka News, living in London.

This is a combined edited version of an article published in UMTAPO’s *Speaking Truth to Power, The Steve Biko Transformative Education Project* online newsletter, Volume 1, Issue 2 April 2017 and an article that appeared in Pambazuka News, *Letter to Man-Africanists on International Women’s Day*, March 9, 2017.

