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#Black Lives (could) Matter: Azania as Remedy for the State of
(Dis)ease

by

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Dedication: Montshepetja boshego ke moleboga Bosele

This masters project is dedicated to you my beloved mother, Grace Manamela, as well as my dear grandmother Josephine Raesetja Manamela. You have both been instrumental in my upbringing. I am eternally grateful to the both of you for holding my hand and encouraging me to pursue all of my curiosities. The loss of my eyesight presented an unprecedented challenge to our family, and yet you remained dependable and continued to offer wise counsel. I am indebted to both of you for teaching me the value of prayer. I have weathered the fiercest storms on the strength of the prayer you have taught me. It is befitting therefore, that I thank God, our father and Comforter, the great and mighty Lion King of Judah, whose teachings continue to remind me to be grounded, measured and thoughtful, but never fearful. I wish to also dedicate this to my older brother Tebogo Manamela, my younger sister Senikiwe Manamela as well as my nephew Kabelo Manamela. Batlhaloga, this is for you. I hope in some way I have made you all proud of me, Kgotso!

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Synopsis

This study contemplates the widely accepted claim that 'South Africa' has successfully parted ways with its history of colonial conquest, settler colonialism as well as colonial-apartheid. The study deploys the Azanian philosophical tradition as an index of Black Political Thought, in order to probe the claim that the 1994 general elections, and the 1996 constitution are anticolonial victories in favour of the indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonization. The study reveals that the indigenous people are still on the exterior of the society which celebrates itself as being post-apartheid. Although much can be said about the ineptitude, corruption and maladministration of the government of the African National Congress, this study contends that the problem is in fact even more fundamental than mere incompetence. The study reveals the plight of the children born after 1994 as they are willed into occupying categories of a nation whose subjectivities have yet to come into being, this as an attempt to sustain the claim that the country is undergoing a genuine anticolonial renewal. The study further discusses the historical foundations of 'South Africa', and defends a claim central to this study, that 'South Africa' is an illegitimate state as it was formed without (and against) the indigenous people. Finally, the study reflects on the significance of the Azanian tradition as a means by which to not only understand what is wrong with living black lives, but also present foundational tenets of a liberated sociality. The principle contention is that liberation remains unfulfilled and we are all compelled to commit to the pursuit of overthrowing white supremacy.

Introduction

From 1652 in what we now know as 'South Africa'¹ began the conquering² of the indigenous people in the unjust wars of colonization.³ This was necessarily followed by the usurpation of the sovereign title to territory of the indigenous people by a people conceit with a sense of their antihuman self.⁴ This marked the beginning of settler colonialism, which consisted in part of the transplantation and imposition of the western law and legal philosophy and philosophical anthropology, in terms of which settlers initiated a mission of legitimising their questionable title to territory.⁵ The irony most central to settler colonialism, which Niccolo Machiavelli portrayed as "the paradox of conquest" is the claim by the conqueror-settlers of indigeneity to territory that the conqueror-settlers acquired in a putatively legitimate conquest, while simultaneously committing itself to the unknowing of the said conquest.⁶ However, settler colonialism has not succeeded in its attempted epistemicide which would have to be successfully accomplished for the order of conquest to become legitimated. Black resistance, contestation and provocation aimed at keeping unsettled the settler population have created a state of (dis)ease.

In identifying 'South Africa' as a state of (dis)ease we mean to convey 'state' as understood in political theory, which refers to an political entity with jurisdiction over a defined territory, a relatively permanent population, and has sovereignty which is a near-unqualified legal title.⁷The (dis)ease refers to the condition of (and the relationship between) the native and settler populations.⁸ This native-settler binary is constituted by the former, who are from time immemorial the rightful owners of the

¹ N Dladla "The Azanian Philosophical Tradition Today" *Theoria* 1-4; The inter-whitepower struggle between the Boers and the English registered political maturity as a result of the two groups acknowledging their shared belief in the inferiority of the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation. These two groups agreed to then unite to form the 'Union of South Africa' in 1910, based on an Act of the British parliament. However, it must be noted that colonisation had already been ongoing for at least the preceding two centuries.

² Y Winter 'Conquest' (2011) 1 *Political Concepts: A Critical Lexicon* 3.

³ MB Ramose "In Memorium: Sovereignty and the 'New' South Africa"(2007) 16 *Griffith LR* 310.

⁴ Ramose (N 3 above) 310.

⁵ Ramose (N 3 above) 315-316; "John Locke The Second Treatise of Government in *Two Treatises of Government* ed. – Chapter XVII "Of Usurpation" (1988) 415.

⁶ Ramose (N 3 above) 316.

⁷ R Hague & M Harrop 'Comparative government and politics: an introduction' (2013) 22-24.

⁸ M Mamdani 'When Does a Settler Become a Native? Reflections of the Colonial Roots of Citizenship in Equatorial and South Africa' Text of Inaugural Lecture, Centre for African Studies University of Cape Town (1998).

territory now known as 'South Africa', while the latter constitute the successor in title of the conqueror-settler population and is still alien and "rootless".⁹

This essay intends to recall Black radical Political Thought and formation of Azania to resist and counter not only white supremacy, but also the dominant Charterist tradition which represented concessions of (some) Africans as being colonial subjects, whose only desire was to be treated whitely in-keeping with their no-longer contested colonial subjectivity.¹⁰We speak of "Black radical ..." because it is essential to distinguish ourselves from decolonial scholars, whose understanding of oppositional Political Thought is hostile and even derisive towards our understanding of oppositional work.¹¹ Our understanding of 'Black'(ness) as a significant political and philosophical signifier is inspired by Tsenay Serequeberhan's teaching, that African philosophy (which we understand as part of the Black Radical tradition) has a dual responsibility which is, firstly, the critique of Eurocentrism -which is the belief that European life (formation) is "qualitatively superior to other forms of human life."¹² This belief has since acquired significant materiality in the manifestation of the Euro-American dominance in the spheres of culture, language, knowledge, and political life.¹³ Lastly, African philosophy is self-rehabilitation. This is to say, granted that we are aware of how corrosive Europe was in its mission to mount the top of human existence, all of what was distorted, displaced, usurped and plundered by Europe needs to be revived as an intellectual human archive on the basis of its own human and cultural authority and experience.¹⁴

Granted that the writing of this essay is set in the post-27-April 1994 'South Africa', the 1994 negotiated settlement which juridically de-racialised 'South African' citizenship through the instrumentality of the 1996 constitution will be implicated in the critique of the idea of 'South Africa' (still) being an anti-Black European world-

⁹ Mamdani (N 8 above).

¹⁰ JM Modiri 'Azanian Political Thought and the Undoing of South African Knowledges' (2021) 68 *Theoria* 60-61.

¹¹ Modiri (N 10 above) 43-44; See for example SJ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 'Africa for Africans or Africa for Natives Only? "New Nationalism" and Nativism in Zimbabwe and South Africa' (2009)*Africa Spectrum* 44, 1, 61-78.

¹² N Dladla 'Contested Memory: Retrieving the Africanist (Liberatory) Conception of non-Racialism' (2017) *Theoria* 64 102.

¹³ Dladla (N 12 above) 102.

¹⁴ Dladla (N 12 above) 102.

making undertaking.¹⁵ However, principally the primary object here is to recall the Azanian response to the event of the arrival of the white conqueror-settlers, the aim of which is to contend that Africanist thought of liberation remains an un(der)stated liberatory outlook.¹⁶ Put differently, it is ethically, spiritually and psychically impossible for Black lives to matter in 'South Africa', and at best, Black people can only carve out pockets of existence in what is still an alien state configuration.¹⁷

Statement of the Problem

The present study is an enquiry into the validity of the widely accepted claim in popular and academic discourse that the 1994 elections and the 1996 constitution represent the cessation of 'South Africa' as a white supremacist establishment, and ushered in a new (or different) polity, often referred to as the "new South Africa".¹⁸

We subject this claim to the *longue durée* test, beginning with the 1652 unjust wars of colonisation in which indigenous people were conquered and lost their title to the territory they had held from time immemorial.¹⁹ Our intention is to reveal that the 1996 constitution is a logical development of the 'South African' making project, and is naturally unable to confront the injustice that 'South Africa' still is.²⁰

Justification

In 1994 'South Africa' held elections in which its Black citizens could participate for the first time in the history of elections in 'South Africa'. This was followed by a range of transitional measures such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC),²¹ as

¹⁵ N Dladla 'Here is a Table: A Philosophical Essay on the history of race in South Africa' (2018) 150-151; MB Ramose 'The philosophy of the Anglo-Boer War' in A Grundlingh (ed) *A Century is a Short Time: New Perspectives on the Anglo-Boer War* (2005) 11-13.

¹⁶ Modiri (N 10 above) 70.

¹⁷ Modiri (N 10 above) 69-71; Dladla (N 12 above) 117.

¹⁸ DM Davis 'Is the South African Constitution an Obstacle to a Democratic Post-colonial State?' (2018) 3 *SAJHR* 366-367; Dladla (N 12 above) 102.

¹⁹ Ramose (N 3 above) 310-312.

²⁰ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. See in particular the preamble which speaks vaguely of the "injustices of the past", which designates injustices as no longer continuing; See also section 9 which proclaims equality before the law between Black and White people; We find this claim ahistorical and misleading. The invention of the Black and white human relations was to realise the superiority of white over Black. See also section 25 (the property clause).

²¹ E Christodoulidis & S Veitch 'Reconciliation and Memory as Surrender: Configurations of Responsibility and Memory' in F Du Bois & A Du Bois-Pedain (eds) *Justice and Reconciliation in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (2008) 9. The TRC's communicated mandate was to promote national unity and reconciliation. This was carried out by allowing confessed perpetrators to disclose all of what they had been responsible for on the one hand, and on the other, afford some identified victims a

well as the coming into force of the supreme 1996 constitution. This constitution is considered to be “an active form of communication”,²² and it is capable of an understanding that thoroughly endorses a severance of the racist, sexist and colonial past to embrace an economic vision compatible with dignity, equality and freedom.²³ Davis asserts that the constitution contains an augmented conception of human realisation and (by extension) that of an expansive democracy.²⁴ This grand and far-reaching vision of democracy (or what Davis refers to as “a dramatically expanded conception of human self-realisation”)²⁵ is quite the antidote to heal the past of oppression and foster a future premised on equality, dignity and freedom for all.²⁶

Davis believes that his understanding of the constitution represents a via media approach between what he calls “the binary approach to the constitution that dominates present South African legal discourse”²⁷ which he identifies as either the best constitution in the world, or the belief that the constitution perpetuates the colonial project.²⁸

Davis is supported by Cachalia on the view that the constitution contains “genuine anticolonial achievements,”²⁹ Cachalia reads the adoption of the 1996 constitution to be the “Accra moment,” for ‘South Africa’ which established a political community and a new nation – a rupture from the injustices of ‘our’ past.³⁰ We take seriously the implication of declaring a oneness of nationhood owing merely to Black people being allowed to vote, as well as the adoption of the constitution. Davis and Cachalia marshal their optimism about the constitution to “will into existence the nation” and

similar opportunity to communicate their suffering. The TRC was characterised by what Wole Soyinka refers to as a fever of atonement.

²² Davis (N 18 above) 365.

²³ Davis (N 18 above) 366.

²⁴ Davis (N 18 above) 367.

²⁵ Davis (N 18 above) 367.

²⁶ Davis (N 18 above) 367.

²⁷ Davis (N 18 above) 361.

²⁸ Davis (N 18 above) 361. For the claim that the constitution is the best in the world he refers especially to retired judge Albie Sachs; Those who share this view he calls constitutional promoters, because of their uncritical faith in the potential and desirability of the constitution. Davis refers to those who hold the colonial perpetuation view as constitutional denigrators and nativists for recreating a divide of we and them.

²⁹ F Cachalia ‘Democratic Constitutionalism in the time of the Postcolony: Beyond Triumph and Betrayal’ (2018) 3 *SAJHR* 375.

³⁰ Cachalia (N 29 above) 376.

subjectivities which are yet to come into being.³¹ How the territory we now call 'South Africa' came to also belong to white people is a question we take seriously, much like how injustices are said to now belong in the past.³² Davis wishes for the constitution to be contested "about its core meaning and race is less about ontology and more about social forces ...".³³ Though Davis cites Bantubonke Biko,³⁴ he nevertheless fails to grasp the significance of Black Consciousness in as far as it relates to existential ontology (being) as well as political practice, both of which "stand in a necessary symbiotic relation with each other."³⁵ The position held by Davis can best be summed up with reference to what Dladla calls the "ignorance of the significance of the socio-ontological mechanics of race."³⁶

The present study upholds the belief that constitutional law is a "fundamental constitutive apparatus"³⁷ in the processes of (continuing) conquest, dispossession, alienation of the native as well as indigenising the settler.³⁸ As Such, we wish to enquire into how the constitution can embody a decolonising vision, even though it does not deploy any liberatory vocabulary of the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation. In principle, we are not against the practice of borrowing and learning from other parts of the world. However, the 1996 constitution though drafted in 'South Africa', it is rooted elsewhere. This study will reveal that the constitution was not made with the intention of reversing (the gains of) conquest, but rather expanding the state of affairs to erect an awkward, if not half-hearted ceasefire, or what Ramose calls the exclusion of the "fact of conquest ... from the universe of

³¹ JM Modiri 'Conquest and Constitutionalism: First Thoughts on an Alternative Jurisprudence' (2018) 3 *SAJHR* 303.

³² Modiri (N 10 above) 51-61.

³³ Davis (N 18 above) 362.

³⁴ Davis (N 18 above) 360. "... drawing strength from our common plight and our brotherhood In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible – a more human face.", Davis believes Biko's Political Thought to represent what Davis calls a "clear distinction between nativism and Black Consciousness.". Davis seems to not understand Biko to have stood against what Biko called the totality of white power, but rather "Black people sought social justice where they could shape their own lives."

³⁵ M More 'Black Consciousness Movement's Ontology: The Politics of Being' (2012) *Philosophia Africana* 23.

³⁶ Dladla (N 12 above) 106.

³⁷ T Madlingozi 'On Settler Colonialism and Post-Conquest Constitutionness: The Decolonising Constitutional Vision of African Nationalists of Azania/South Africa' *Forthcoming Chapter in Boaventura de Sousa Santos* (2016) 3.

³⁸ Madlingozi (N 37 above) 3.

juristic facts".³⁹ We enjoin ourselves to those who question the legitimacy of preserving the Black and 'White' citizenry, or the settler-native binary that still constitutes 'South Africa', this notwithstanding the enthusiasm about the potential of the constitution.

Thesis

The present study contends that the 1996 constitution is a logical development of the 'South African' project, and does not contain anticolonial and liberatory potential for the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation. Second to this, our contention is that the Azanian philosophical tradition (itself a part of the Black radical Political Thought), holds the necessary though un(der)stated liberatory potential and has bearing for 'South African' jurisprudence. Finally it is our contention that Azanian Political Thought is the vocabulary of the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation, and its potential therefore may help realise the mandate by Serequeberhan about the role of African philosophy,⁴⁰ and facilitate the destruction of settler domination and settler hegemony.⁴¹

Method

The Azanian tradition stems from the lineage of those indigenous people whose response to colonial conquest, settler colonialism and colonial-apartheid was (and still is) to wage wars of resistance, as opposed to other indigenous people who chose conversion and integration into the settler-created world.⁴² This was reflective of the African's believe their own sufficiency, and a commitment to fighting for the integrity of the Black kingdoms that would be destroyed in the usurpation.⁴³ This is to say that Azanian Thought stems from the belief of fighting for independence and sovereignty, not for collaboration and gains within the settler-made world.⁴⁴ This is unlike the

³⁹ MB Ramose 'I Conquer, therefore I am the sovereign as well: Reflections upon sovereignty constitutionalism and democracy in Zimbabwe and South Africa' in PH Coetzee & APJ Roux (eds) *The African Philosophy Reader* Second Edition a text with readings (2003) 543-544.

⁴⁰ Dladla (N 12 above) 102.

⁴¹ Madlingozi (N 37 above) 1.

⁴² T Madlingozi 'South Africa's first Black Lawyers, amaRespectables and the Birth of Evolutionary Constitution – A Review of Tembeka Ngcukaitobi's *The Land is Ours: South Africa's First Black Lawyers and the Birth of Constitutionalism*,' (2018) 34:3 *SAJHR* 522.

⁴³ Madlingozi (N 42 above) 521-522.

⁴⁴ Madlingozi (N 42 above) 520-522.

responses we now call liberal⁴⁵ or critical⁴⁶ both of which did not take issue with the making of this land into a white settlement and later 'South Africa', but rather the mechanics of its governance, judicial administration, and the attainment of citizenship⁴⁷ The attempts to repel wars of colonisation, and later desire to expel settlers (expressed succinctly in the rallying cry "one settler one bullet) represents what has since matured into being called decolonisation.⁴⁸ The place of Azanian Thought in the world was on the basis of knowing itself to be a human and cultural experience on this land, and not as a mere option out of the many others. Suffice it to state that Azania was brought into the vocabulary of 'South African' struggle for liberation by Africanists (A Black radical faction of the African National Congress (ANC) since the mid-40s), before they eventually left the ANC, to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).⁴⁹ However, the ideas informing the liberatory posture of the PAC represented a contemporary register of much earlier Black Political Thought espoused by philosopher-warriors such as Kgosi Mampuru, Khosi Moshoeshoe, Inkosi uBhambatha kaMncinza as well as Kgosi Sekhukhune.⁵⁰

The Azanian Thought therefore is characterised by a range of far-reaching and even anxiety-inducing demands for all who believe in the project of 'South Africa'. It (re-)turns us to the scene of the still unforgiven and unforgettable, the deadly and corrosive injustice of the earliest staging of white supremacy on our shores.⁵¹ The demand here is that the gains for pursuing the liberation struggle is the recovery of unencumbered sovereign title to territory to go with the civil and political rights.⁵² Furthermore, Azanians insist that this land belongs to whites only illegitimately; Usurpation does not grant one any legitimate claim⁵³ and therefore Azania is a placeholder and a time stamp for the conviction that this land does not belong to all who

⁴⁵ Madlingozi (N 42 above) 522.

⁴⁶ Madlingozi (N 42 above) 522.

⁴⁷ Madlingozi (N 42 above) 522.

⁴⁸ Madlingozi (N 42 above) 522.

⁴⁹ GM Gerhart 'Black Power in South Africa: the Evolution of an Ideology' (1978) 179-180.

⁵⁰ Modiri (N 10 above) 63-70; Gerhart (N 49 above) 179.

⁵¹ Ramose (N 3 above) 310-315.

⁵² Dladla (N 1 above) 3.

⁵³ Locke (N 5 above) 415.

live in it, but only to the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation.⁵⁴

In addition to the foregoing, Azanian Thought understands non-racialism as expressed in the 1996 constitutional enterprise to be a liberal preservative for the survival of white supremacy into the 'new' 'South Africa'.⁵⁵ For Azanian Thought, non-racialism proper is an end attainable only after title to territory has been restored to the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation.⁵⁶ The Azanian tradition understands 'South Africa' to be the success and maturation of conquest and any project aimed at democratisation should by necessary implication refer to making this land African again,⁵⁷ and re-join the rest of the continent in the aftermath of the dissolution of conqueror-made polity.⁵⁸

The preceding discussion informs our hypothesis that the Azanian philosophical tradition expresses, and is expressed by, the political vocabulary preferred by sovereigns who were defeated fighting the unjust wars of colonisation. This Political Thought sees no messiah in the foreign-imposed logic, but chooses to deploy its wisdom in the liberation of the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation. The Azanian philosophical tradition through its understanding of colonial conquest as part of a war with the ends of both elimination and subjugation of the indigenous conquered people from the planet upholds that their human right to self-defence includes the killing of the conqueror. Finally, although the locale of our study is the territory labelled 'South Africa', the reach of the Azanian Political Thought has implications for global politics, because of its appreciation of how the indigenous peoples of the rest of the world who have endured encounters with white supremacy share an experiential commitment to pursue justice and epistemic freedom.⁵⁹

Structure of the study

Chapter 1: Introduction

⁵⁴ Dladla (N 1 above) 3.

⁵⁵ Dladla (N 10 above) 103-106.

⁵⁶ Dladla (N 1 above) 4; Dladla (N 15 above) 149-150.

⁵⁷ Dladla (N 1 above) 5.

⁵⁸ Dladla (N 1 above) 5.

⁵⁹ Dladla (N 1 above_ 5-6; Ramose (N 3 above) 314-316.

In chapter 1 we will introduce the study. We will set out the parameters within which we will discuss the Azanian philosophical tradition, and why we prefer this tradition for this enquiry.

Chapter 2: "Nervous Conditions":⁶⁰ When 'born frees' come of age

In this chapter we will discuss contemporary (or post-27-April 1994) 'South Africa'. We will reveal how white supremacy mutates into its next phase, and its compatibility with the register of the 1996 constitution. This is to say that the transition to the 'new South Africa' on the basis of human rights, social cohesion and nation-building, reconciliation and the supreme constitution, did not mark a rupture from the settler-colonial order(ing) of this territory. "Settler--colonial white supremacy as both a structure of power and a symbolic order continues to determine, shape and organise the South African socio--economic, cultural, political, psychic and juridical landscape."⁶¹

The materiality of this order(ing) or white domination, and its preservation into hegemony takes place in many sites. Of concern to us is the teaching of history in schools, where a generation of children referred to as the 'born frees',⁶² are taught to believe that not all white people were perpetrators of apartheid, nor were all Black people its victims.⁶³ This (mis)education of an entire generation to understand systemic oppression as having being about the (mis)conduct of individuals is yet another stratagem to "rescue settler normalcy".⁶⁴ This is carried out by the teaching of history in an apparently race-neutral manner.⁶⁵ This is to ensure that not only is history misunderstood, but that it is impossible to trace its continuity into the constitutional 'South Africa'.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ The use of this phrase is borrowed from Zimbabwean author Tsitsi Dangarembga see *Nervous Conditions* 1988.

⁶¹ JM Modiri 'The Jurisprudence of Steve Biko: A Study in Race, law and Power in the Afterlife of Colonial-Apartheid' Unpublished PHD Thesis University of Pretoria (2017) 1.

⁶² This refers to those who were born into freedom, or after oppression into democracy. This generation is used as a generational landmark to indicate the (dis)continuity of oppression into the constitutional era. C Teeger 'Both Sides of the Story: History Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa' (2015) 80 *American Sociological Review* 1175-1200.

⁶³ Teeger (N 62 above) 1175-1179.

⁶⁴ E Tuck & KW Yang 'Decolonisation is not a Metaphor' (2012) 1 *Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1.

⁶⁵ Teeger (N 62 above) 1175-1179.

⁶⁶ Teeger (N 62 above) 1176-1180.

Chapter 3: White Experiments and Black Experience: historical foundations of 'South Africa'

In this chapter we will deal with the historical problem of 'South Africa', as well as the problem that 'South Africa' itself represents. We will discuss conquest and usurpation, and reveal that the claim or desire for 'South Africa' to belong to all who live in it has no merit, even on the understanding of usurpation through the thinking of John Locke himself.

Chapter 4: Azania as Remedy: (de-)liberate Africa!

In this chapter we will present Azania as that Black Political Thought with our locale being 'South Africa', but mindful of its far-reaching impact on world politics. We would have revealed in especially chapter 2 the systemic erasure of African Thought, we will therefore join the effort of those who are still committed to liberation from white supremacy, and reveal the liberatory potential of the wisdom of the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation. We will review academic and scholarly literature, liberation struggle songs etc. We hope to not only reveal the existence of complex ideas on statecraft, but to also highlight the deceptive notions of multiracialism, liberal non-racialism and even the belief in the need for minority rights.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: *Kodumela moepathutse ga go lehumo le tswago kgaufsi*⁶⁷

We conclude our study with this instruction-encouragement, to be diligent in our pursuit. For us treasure is liberation and the overthrow of white supremacy in favour of recovery of unencumbered sovereign title to territory. We will therefore heed the

⁶⁷ JRD Rakoma 'Marema ka Dika tsa Sesotho sa Lebowa' 7th Edition (1978) 160. This proverb is both an instruction and encouragement to '*kodumela*' which denotes one who is stooped in the attitude of hard work, '*moepathutse*' one who is digging/searching, '*ga go lehumo*/wealth/treasure le tswago kgaufsi/easy/nearby/within easy reach. In other words: persevere/work hard, treasure is never within easy reach.

call and *kodumela* and add our weak shoulders to the weighty demands of (de-)liberation.

Chapter 2 "Nervous Conditions":68 When 'born frees' come of Age:

2.1 Introduction:

In this chapter we aim to discuss contemporary 'South Africa', which is a time and space whose most constitutive feature is a commitment to the unknowing of the present being shaped by its still persisting past of racial(ised) domination, with the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation still on the margins of society. Our aim is to reveal how white supremacy has mutated and matured into its next phase, and its compatibility with the register of the 1996 constitution. This is to say that the transition to the 'new South Africa' on the basis of human rights, social cohesion and nation-building, reconciliation and the supreme constitution, did not mark a rupture from the settler-colonial order(ing) of this territory. The making of the 'new South Africa' takes place in many sites such as the media, universities and high schools.⁶⁹ We will however limit our discussion in this chapter to the teaching of history in high schools, particularly former 'whites only' schools,⁷⁰ the aim of which will be to reveal that unjust wars of colonisation, settler colonialism and colonial-apartheid all get presented as belonging in the past and (at any rate) as having being about the (mis)conduct of individuals rather than having being systemic. Our focus upon history education as a site of study is because history education both formal and informal is one of the most acute arenas in which a society develops national and historical consciousness and forms its citizens. Our implicit understanding is that if history education is really mis-education where education is understood as a quest for the revelation of truth in service of not only understanding but human liberation then history mis-education presents a serious obstacle to the accomplishment of true liberation.

2.2 The "colour-blind" Rainbow Nation

The post-1994 socialisation at schools assumed great significance in the purportedly new society. Teachers and learners alike came to confront (or evade) the history of

⁶⁸ Dangarembga (N 60 above).

⁶⁹ Teger (N 62 above) 1175-1200.

⁷⁰ Teger (N 62 above) 1175-1176.

how 'South Africa' came about,⁷¹ and for the first time, this was taking place with both the descendants of the indigenous conquered people and the successors in title of their conquerors attending the same school. Teeger contends that the teaching of history education in high schools equips learners with "colourblind ideologies"⁷² which become a means by which the history (and political ontology) of unjust wars of colonisation, settler colonialism and colonial-apartheid are diminished to the point of insignificance.⁷³ This is carried out by what Teeger calls the telling of "both sides of the story".⁷⁴ Learners are taught that different people made choices, and it is the individual choice which was either bad or good.⁷⁵ This prohibits an understanding of benefits and disadvantages that accrued (and continue to accrue) to individuals as a result of their racial group.⁷⁶ More telling is the finding by Teeger that teaching "both sides of the story ..." did not form part of the official teaching curriculum, but it was rather an invention by teachers used in order to minimise conflict amongst students, ensure that teachers retain their position as authority figures as well as shield white learners from feeling guilty about their heritage of domination through conquest, colonialism and colonial-apartheid.⁷⁷ Equally disturbing is that learners of the indigenous conquered peoples are dissuaded from establishing the connection between their proximity and availability to death and dying, as well as their comparatively poor quality of life with their racial group membership.⁷⁸

It is no longer controversial to state that the juridical cessation of racism does not end racism.⁷⁹ Nor is it an unwarranted obsession with the past to contend that the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation are still worse off owing to the endurance of colonial-apartheid power dynamics, structures and mindsets.⁸⁰ Furthermore, deploying (the) law as the primary medium of pursuing

⁷¹ Teeger (N 62 above) 1175-1176.

⁷² Teeger (N 62 above) 1176.

⁷³ Teeger (N 62 above) 1176; Modiri (N 61 above) 41.

⁷⁴ Teeger (N 62 above) 1178.

⁷⁵ Teeger (N 62 above) 1179.

⁷⁶ Teeger (N 62 above) 1178.

⁷⁷ Teeger (N 62 above) 1178.

⁷⁸ Teeger (N 62 above) 1179-1180.

⁷⁹ Teeger (N 62 above) 1180; Modiri (N 61 above) 40-41.

⁸⁰ Modiri (N 61 above) 40.

change and justice has proven to be woefully inadequate.⁸¹ Cachalia reads 'South Africa' to be a "complex society" made more so by its colonial history.⁸² Therefore human rights and constitutionalism are necessary to provide a regulated "field of contestation".⁸³ Cachalia concedes that even in what he terms a "field of contestation", the contestation itself will be shaped by the power dynamics in society.⁸⁴ The issue for us, however, is that whites are a socially dominant group in 'South Africa', and their over-representation in socialisation sites such as schools reproduces a worldview of which we contend should be abolished.⁸⁵ Learners being groomed to believe that colonial-apartheid is a thing of the past, and that it was as a result of the (mis)conduct of individuals creates a spectacular confusion for a disoriented generation. These teachers are not neutral umpires whose job is to facilitate the learning experience at schools,⁸⁶ nor do they stand before their learners as hollow historic vessels. They are always already pre-occupied with the awareness of their positionality and investment in the 'South African' landscape. Therefore their teaching/s on racism and racial justice will reflect either their nervous conditions and existential insecurities, or a commitment to the reading of history they believe is least troubling.⁸⁷

Our claim is that teachers will always already reflect the need to nurse their nervous conditions or (at any rate) articulate their commitment to cleansing the political ontology of colonial conquest and colonial-apartheid, not so much as a project of justice, but to erase the need for any meaningful enquiry into the past and its afterlife.⁸⁸ Ramose's contention that the "fact of conquest ..." does not form part of

⁸¹ Modiri (N 61 above) 40-41; Teeger (N 62 above) 1177.

⁸² Cachalia (N 29 above) 381-382.

⁸³ Cachalia (N 29 above) 382.

⁸⁴ Cachalia (N 29 above) 382.

⁸⁵ The fieldwork forming the bedrock of this chapter was conducted in two top performing former model-C schools: Glenville and Roxbridge High. Although they are both racially diverse, in Glenville White learners account for 5% of the learner population, and 50% in Roxbridge High. The teaching staff was mainly White in both schools, with all History teachers at Roxbridge being White, and three out of five teachers at Glenville being White. Glenville experienced what Teeger calls internal segregation. This stems from the choice a learner made regarding their second language: Afrikaans or Zulu. Zulu classes were made up exclusively of Black learners, and Afrikaans classes had both Black and White learners. Roxbridge did not experience this since all learners took Afrikaans as their second language. Notwithstanding the differences in educational experience, 'both sides of the story' was the analytical tool used in both schools. See Table 1 and 2 in Teeger (N 62 above).

⁸⁶ Teeger (N 62 above) 180.

⁸⁷ Teeger (N 62 above) 1181.

⁸⁸ Modiri (N 61 above) 40-41; Teeger (N 62 above) 179-181.

“the universe of juristic facts”⁸⁹ in conqueror South Africa is how we can best sum up this predicament. Learners are prohibited from acquiring a political vocabulary with which to understand themselves as well as to understand the other with whom they share not just a classroom but the world. By so doing teachers set in motion the project to “will into existence the nation ... and (therefore) attempts to fill the empty category of the nation with subjectivities which have yet to come into being”.⁹⁰ A school is supposed to nurture learners and equip them with all the necessary analytical tools with which to probe the(ir) world. Therefore, the introduction and imposition of the finish *en klaar*⁹¹ syndrome in history education is as anti-intellectual as it is anti-democratic – which is ironic on both fronts.

In addition to the foregoing, there is a concern that the official curriculum for history education remains unexplored, this as teachers improvise on, and reconfigure it, in order to present knowledges they consider legitimate.⁹² This however is not to say that the official curriculum is ideal.⁹³ Flowing from the fever of the TRC wherein individual apartheid enforcers and members of the various resistance organisations were expected to apply for amnesty for human rights violations they committed during apartheid,⁹⁴ a moral equivalence was created between apartheid operators and apartheid resisters.⁹⁵ By so doing the TRC created a strange, and though temporary, foundational union of apartheid beneficiaries and victims to jointly stage their public outrage against perpetrators.⁹⁶ This fever is what drives history education in schools. Apartheid pain and suffering is presented in a way that compels everyone to share in both the horror apartheid was, and similarly in its condemnation.⁹⁷ The situation then becomes that apartheid was a crime, and yet it does not have (clear) victims or perpetrators.⁹⁸ Notions of meritocracy and industriousness are thrust into learners,

⁸⁹ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

⁹⁰ Modiri (N 31 above) 301.

⁹¹ ‘finish en klaar’ is a South African slang made up of both the English and Afrikaans word for finish. It is often used to emphasise the finality to, say, a discussion or probe.

⁹² Teeger (N 62 above) 1181.

⁹³ Teeger (N 62 above) 1181.

⁹⁴ Christodoulidis & Veitch (N 21 above) 9; Teeger (N 62 above) 1821-182.

⁹⁵ Christodoulidis & S Veitch (N 21 above) 9-10; Teeger (N 62 above) 181-182.

⁹⁶ Teeger (N 62 above) 1183.

⁹⁷ Teeger (N 62 above) 182.

⁹⁸ Christodoulidis & Veitch (N 21 above) 9-11.

such that Black kids accept that they (and others like them) are where they are because their elders somehow did not work hard enough,⁹⁹ and similarly white kids who always already in the main enjoy a superior quality of life, were favoured by chance to be born of studious and hardworking parents.¹⁰⁰ The spectacular scene of ultra-poverty and excessive wealth is never understood to originate from any past which still lives on to date. Such is the predicament of the colourblind nation, a nation that sees no colour, and yet it is mobilised in search of a rainbow, itself a colourful thing. It is small wonder the rainbow remains unseen!

We contend that Blackness is a serious signifier and not just an associational demographic category. Blackness at once already suggests a particular orientation regarding Political Thought on (South) Africa. Although this aspect will be explored fully in chapter 4, for now we wish only to highlight that contrary to popular belief, the presence of 'Black people'¹⁰¹ in 'former' white spaces is a necessary but wholly insufficient form of change.¹⁰² This is made all the more poignant by experiences of 'Black' teachers, some of whom, though know better, nonetheless participate in this exercise of intellectual dishonesty by teaching history as an event from the past.¹⁰³ It must be noted that we do not at all wish for 'Black' teachers to have taken upon themselves to teach honestly about 'South Africa' and its still persistent history of colonial conquest, colonial rule and apartheid. We only wish to underscore that the claim that teachers must retain their status as adults and figures of authority in the school is rather ironic.¹⁰⁴ Nothing screams their inferiority complex louder than their coerced consent to prohibit the learners born of the conquered indigenous from understanding their past, and its contemporary afterlife.¹⁰⁵ These 'Black' teachers participate in the making of rainbow nationalism, even though they have experiential knowledge that their lessons only serve to further disorientate the descendants of the

⁹⁹ Teeger (N 62 above) 1180-1181.

¹⁰⁰ Teeger (N 62 above).

¹⁰¹ Our reason to encase 'Black people' is to distinguish this use from what we contend is a more serious philosophical signifier.

¹⁰² Modiri (N 10 above) 59-70.

¹⁰³ Teeger (N 62 above) 187.

¹⁰⁴ Teeger (N 62 above) 175-178.

¹⁰⁵ Modiri (N 61 above) 39-41; Teeger (N 62 above) 187.

conquered indigenous. Ever so dutiful, these teachers 'stoop to Conquer',¹⁰⁶ and so a search for belonging is suspended - perhaps even nullified.

2.3 When 'Born frees' Come of Age:

The current author was born in 1994 and therefore belongs to the 'born free' generation. He likewise was taught to understand 'South Africa' as discussed above. However, for this author what seemed acceptable to teachers did not seem to make sense at all. The celebrated victory of the present being triumphant over the past was similarly hollow. This realisation created an existential dilemma, not least because we do not even have a vocabulary with which to express our proximity to death, disease and nothingness. One thing was made clear by the critical examination of the author's experience though, that the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation remain on the exterior to the "hegemonic society that celebrates itself as "post-apartheid"."¹⁰⁷ The possibility that perhaps the past has not passed spurred the author forward in search of not just a political lexicon, but a home where indigenous people do not have to live "in the shadow of a more successful society.",¹⁰⁸ and so the author probed!

Returning to the history lesson, teachers spoke derisively about the PAC, not only as being an unruly pack that left the ANC, but as also being representative of how the indigenous people were also perpetrators in the apartheid system.¹⁰⁹ The formation of the PAC was born of the realisation that Black people needed to take charge of their own affairs relating to their liberation. The PAC institutionalised the idea that all whites, regardless of their personal prejudices, were perpetrators and beneficiaries of the apartheid system, which became the underlying rationale for its exclusively Black membership.¹¹⁰ In addition to this, the PAC's military wing attacked actual whites, a fact which teachers used to distinguish the PAC from the ANC which teachers believed

¹⁰⁶ We borrow this phrase from the eighteenth century Playright by Oliver Goldsmith.

¹⁰⁷ Modiri (N 61 above) 42.

¹⁰⁸ A Stubbs 'I Write what I Like: Steve Biko. A Selection of his Writings' (2005) 31.

¹⁰⁹ Teeger (N 62 above) 1187-1189.

¹¹⁰ Teeger (N 62 above) 1182-1183.

to have held a moral high ground during the struggle.¹¹¹ They based this claim on the slogan of the PAC 'one settler one bullet', and this was evidence of how some Black people were also perpetrators of the apartheid system.¹¹² Teachers distinguished the political posture of the PAC from that of the ANC on the basis that the latter's military wing was believed to target non-human beings – or "soft targets".¹¹³ Teachers claimed that killing was equally wrong regardless of the reason/s for the killing.¹¹⁴ This view was countered by some students, who indicated that if members of the resistance movements kill, they do so in self-defence, and in pursuit of their freedom.¹¹⁵ Unlike the apartheid operators whose killing of the indigenous people was in service of white racism, or what Bantubonke Biko calls "the real evil in our society".¹¹⁶ This common sensical rebuttal was met with indignation and hostility from teachers.¹¹⁷ The view that the indigenous people could fight and kill in search of their freedom was taken by teachers to merely be a ploy to irritate them; They actually make it a point to state that holding this view is indicative that one is not thinking straight.¹¹⁸ Thinking straight is to dutifully regurgitate the 'both sides of the story'¹¹⁹ narrative and not counter it. The imposition of one view in service of both teaching and learning, as well as the project of democracy is rather dishonest, as both come alive only when contestation takes place.

Finally, teachers are concerned that Black learners will be angry if history were taught differently.¹²⁰ The author naturally thinks that Black learners should be angered. The anger should be embraced as not only a natural response to the institutionalised dehumanisation of Black people, but also as a basis to anchor their conviction to want liberation for themselves in order to live as citizens whose humanity is second to none in quality. The anger is also indicative of the healing that is due to all the indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation. Not allowing the anger to come to

¹¹¹ Teeger (N 62 above) 1187.

¹¹² Teeger (N 62 above) 1186-1189.

¹¹³ Teeger (N 62 above) 1188.

¹¹⁴ Teeger (N 62 above) 1188.

¹¹⁵ Teeger (N 62 above) 1188.

¹¹⁶ Stubbs (N 106 above) 31.

¹¹⁷ Teeger (N 62 above) 1188.

¹¹⁸ Teeger (N 62 above) 1186.

¹¹⁹ Teeger (N 62 above) 1175-1190.

¹²⁰ Teeger (N 62 above) 1182-1187.

the fore, is akin to wrapping a bandage around a poorly treated wound. A successful and honest teaching on apartheid should anger especially Black learners, but also their white counterparts who claim that they sympathise with what Black people went through.¹²¹ Black learners should be angered such that they deploy their faculties in pursuit of a way out, a way to a home for which their restless souls yearn. They should be angered by Mr Nelson Mandela's claim that he fought against white domination in similar fashion to how he fought against Black domination.¹²² This anger should compel a serious enquiry into where and when there ever was Black domination, domination over whom, and if indeed the great Tata Madiba fought against this Black domination in whose favour was he fighting? Their anger should drive them beyond the reach of the rainbow nation, at which point they may attempt African philosophy to continue the struggle for (de-)liberation, and begin to hope for a life that truly matters.

White learners should indeed feel ashamed of what their forefathers did to the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation. Much like the Black learners cannot evade the anger resulting from centuries of subjugation, whites should bear the burden of shame and take up the role of fighting white supremacy in their white communities. Their point of departure might well be to enquire into why the National Party(NP) was repeatedly voted into power, and yet white people still want to claim that they did not really know about apartheid.¹²³ Failure to seriously and meaningfully oppose this evil of our society, is the reason they cannot escape metaphysical guilt.¹²⁴

2.4 Conclusion:

In this chapter we sought to highlight the plight of the 'born free' generation. We indicated how this generation is willed into the performance of subjectivities which have yet to come into being. We take seriously the assertion that "The past is not done with us; It is not past; It will not leave us in peace until we have reckoned with

¹²¹ Teeger (N 62 above) 1185-1188.

¹²² Teeger (N 62 above) 1188.

¹²³ Teeger (N 62 above) 1188.

¹²⁴ Christodoulidis & Veitch (N 21 above) 21; Stubbs (N 106 above) 30.

its claims to justice ...".¹²⁵ We have indicated how categories of Black and white are presented as hollow historical placeholders, and thus do not at once already preserve the past, as well as determine the future.¹²⁶ We make the finding that for this generation of 'born frees' to have any chance at life, they ought to take seriously the implications of all the silenced perspectives and the over-representation of a minority group from Europe. The 'colourblind' discourse should be understood for what it is: a tool to disorientate Black learners, as well as to shield whites from taking any responsibility for their rich heritage of being oppressors. Deploying this apparently race neutral ideologies helps to underscore our contention that the cessation of de jure racial discrimination has not interrupted or terminated relations of racial oppression of whites over Black people.¹²⁷ We contend that the making of a national identity has to be based on a frank acknowledgement of the still ongoing history of white supremacy as the foundational logic for what we now know as 'South Africa'. We will not avail ourselves to the finding of being "guilty of the arrest of progress ..."¹²⁸ merely because we chose to participate in the making of a rainbow nation. As we will reveal in chapter 4, pursuing liberation is integrally linked to one's purpose and integrity, and this is why we consider ourselves duty-bound to reject the 'colourblind'¹²⁹ discourse.

¹²⁵ Daniels v Scribante and Another 2017 ZACC 13 para 154.

¹²⁶ Modiri (N 61 above) 43; Teeger (N 62 above) 1175-1180.

¹²⁷ Modiri (N 61 above)20-42; Teeger (N 62 above) 1175-1177.

¹²⁸ Stubbs (N 106 above) 24.

¹²⁹ Teeger (N 62 above) 1175-1176.

Chapter 3: White Experiments and Black Experience: historical foundations of 'South Africa:

3.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 we discussed how the 'new South Africa' is a logical development of the project of further entrenching a political ontology borne of conquest, colonial rule and colonial-apartheid. The primary aim was to show how a fight for equality and justice is forever deferred by the teaching of history education in a way that places colonial-apartheid as a relic from the past whose reach has no bearing on contemporary 'South Africa'. In this chapter we discuss the historical foundations of the making of this land into a white man's country. In other words, we will discuss conquest and usurpation, as well as settler-colonialism as possibility condition for making the 'South Africa' of today. We will then lay a basis for our claim (explored fully in chapter 4) that this land therefore does not belong to all who live in it, but only to the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation. Our aim is to establish that the project of 1994 democratisation is consistent with the conqueror-settler's desire to retain land and power acquired from and through the unjust wars of colonisation, and necessarily preserves South Africa as the polity imagined by European colonisers.

3.2: European colonial ego and the falsity of invention

A superiority complex fuelled Europe's will to empire, and this manifested in many parts of the world.¹³⁰ In what we now know as 'South Africa', European desire for empire began to take form concretely in 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck arrived on our shores and gradually began to take land away from the Khoikhoi people who had been living in the Cape of Good Hope.¹³¹ A dispute arose between Van Riebeeck and the Khoikhoi people, stemming from Van Riebeck's cattle taking up too much grazing land to the detriment of the Khoikhoi people.¹³² The Khoikhoi approached Van Riebeeck in order to find an amicable solution to what was fast becoming an existential

¹³⁰ Ramose (N 3 above) 311. By this we mean to convey that the West set out to impose its version of truth, justice, civilisation and knowledge on non-western people.

¹³¹ N Dladla 'Not Yet Ubu-ntu: Towards an African Critical Philosophy of Race' Unpublished PHD Thesis University of Pretoria (2021) 35-36.

¹³² Dladla (N 131 above) 66.

threat. Van Riebeeck responded to their attempts by stating that if the Khoikhoi received their land back there would not be enough land for the two nations.¹³³ The Khoikhoi countered by saying that perhaps the right cause would be to prevent Van Riebeeck from acquiring more cattle, and at any rate, if the land is not enough, who should make way between the invader or the rightful owner from time immemorial?¹³⁴ Van Riebeeck stated that the Khoikhoi had lost their land in war, and should expect to be further deprived of it moving forward.¹³⁵ Van Riebeeck claimed that the country had fallen into their hands, having being justly won in defensive war, and they intended to retain it.¹³⁶

Van Riebeeck arrived traveling in a caravan of three ships, and land did not form part of his cargo.¹³⁷ However, in response to the Khoikhoi's attempt at mediation, he claims that he has won the land justly in defensive war.¹³⁸ He does not seem bothered by the fact that he had nothing to defend, and therefore whatever war he has just fought was unjust.¹³⁹ As it turned out, Van Riebeeck and his descendants had enough force to defeat the indigenous people and conquer them in unjust wars of colonisation, and establish an entire political, economic and social order on the back of their conquest. In this way their conquest in the unjust wars of colonisation may be considered a successful foundational and determinative moment.¹⁴⁰ In other words, conquest is a framework and basis for the legal and political formation of what would much later be marked as 'South Africa'.¹⁴¹ Conquest and settler colonialism, itself a marker of the afterlife¹⁴² of conquest, are not mere events from the past. Rather, they are the structuring dynamic for social, legal and political organisation.¹⁴³ The unjust wars of

¹³³ Dladla (N 131 above) 66-67.

¹³⁴ Dladla (N 131 above) 66.

¹³⁵ Dladla (N 131 above) 66.

¹³⁶ Dladla (N 131 above) 66.

¹³⁷ Dladla (N 131 above) 66.

¹³⁸ Dladla (N 131 above) 66.

¹³⁹ Locke (N 5 above) "Of Conquest" 403; Dladla (N 131 above) 67.

¹⁴⁰ Winter (N 2 above)

¹⁴¹ Modiri (N 31 above) 302-303.

¹⁴²We use the temporal metaphor of afterlife to denote the survival of the constitutive features of conquest, white supremacy racism and the systemic and systematic subjugation of the indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation. It is to be distinguished from "aftermath", which denotes a successful rupture of the past and the arrival of the new dawn, after which all what is left is to clear the rubble and rebuild. See Modiri (N 61 above).

¹⁴³ Modiri (N 31 above) 303.

colonisation and settler colonialism fostered a basis for the conqueror-settlers to ascend to the zenith of human experience by instituting legal and political governance over the affairs of the indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation.¹⁴⁴ The latter would be reduced to dispensable lives whose value lies in service of their masters; Whose affairs are in the hands of an imposed trustee and tutor. Most importantly, their lives would be spared only if they committed to not challenge the authority of the conqueror.¹⁴⁵

Patrick Wolfe states that territoriality is settler colonialism's specific irreducible constitutive element.¹⁴⁶ In addition to this, we wish to state that the very coherence of 'South Africa' is founded upon brutal violence against the indigenous conquered people and their resulting ultra-poverty, social and symbolic degradation, and epistemicide. The aim of the epistemicide was (and still is) two-fold: firstly, to disorientate the indigenous conquered population by forcefully incorporating them into a new and alienating life formation such that they truly become nobodies of nowhere; secondly, it aims to erect a new colonial society because as Wolfe puts it: "settler colonisers come to stay:".¹⁴⁷ Wolfe further states that settler colonialism is a structure and not an event.¹⁴⁸ The most basic but far-reaching tenet of this structure is that it must appear ancient and therefore permanent, natural and inevitable.¹⁴⁹ Such is the cultural context for colonisation.

The European zeal to be the best was not based on any sound comparative study pursued with fellow human beings from other parts of the world, the aim of which ultimately would have been to benefit grater humanity. Rather, its cultural context and the urge to conquer neglected the confines of intellectual labour, and simply decided to declare Europe the best human civilisation, which at once was understood to mean the only human civilisation. Other parts of the world were rendered

¹⁴⁴ Modiri (N 31 above) 303.

¹⁴⁵ Winter (N 2 above) 1-11; Locke (N 5 above) "Of Conquest" (403-410; Modiri (N 31 above) 303; Dladla (N 131 above) 45-53.

¹⁴⁶ P Wolfe 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native' (2006) 8:4 *Journal of Genocide Research* 388.

¹⁴⁷ Wolfe (N 146 above) 387.

¹⁴⁸ Wolfe (N 146 above) 387.

¹⁴⁹ Modiri (N 10 above) 43-50; Locke (N 5 above) "Of Usurpation" 416; Wolfe (N 146 above) 388.

invisible,¹⁵⁰ a threat to Christianity,¹⁵¹ or simply empty tracks of land (terra nullius).¹⁵² Therefore the world would be (re)invented, using only this lens of ignorance.¹⁵³

This lens of ignorance was shaped by the drawing of the line between reason and unreason.¹⁵⁴ Ramose states that one of the major thinkers of ancient Western philosophy (Aristotle) further entrenched this line by his definition of man as a rational animal.¹⁵⁵ This refers to those animals whose distinctive characteristic includes reason is man (or human being).¹⁵⁶ By necessary implication, any animal that appears to be like man but lacks reason (according to the arbitrary criteriology devised exclusively by the European conqueror) is not man but an animal without reason.¹⁵⁷ Ramose contends that over an above the separation of reason from unreason, the drawing of the line was about the demarcation of rights, benefits, competencies and obligations.¹⁵⁸ This was to cement the associational life category of human beings. Belonging to this associational category imposed rules and standards by which to interact with each other, as well as how to interact with everything else left outside of the line.¹⁵⁹ This construction appointed Europeans lord and master to preside over the rest of the world, and this appointment came to bear when they encountered the African.¹⁶⁰ Given that the African was believed to fall outside the line it was acceptable and even necessary that they be conquered.¹⁶¹

Having configured the realm of being human, the European employed their lens of ignorance to unilaterally declare themselves to be civilised, and for them to maintain the said civilisation it was natural that the conquered indigenous people be positioned to only ever be in service of the civilised European-conqueror-settler.¹⁶² Likewise with God, or the idea of the sacred, Europeans needed to entrench their interaction with

¹⁵⁰ Modiri (N 31 above) 302-304; Dladla (N 131 above) 35-66.

¹⁵¹ Dladla (N 131 above) 35-39.

¹⁵² Dladla (N 131 above) 35-37; Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁵³ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁵⁴ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁵⁵ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁵⁶ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁵⁷ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁵⁸ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁵⁹ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁶⁰ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁶¹ Ramose (N 39 above) 544.

¹⁶² Ramose (N 39 above) 546.

the sacred such that they destroy other forms of interacting with the sacred.¹⁶³ This destruction was necessary because the survival of other religions, or different ideas of and about the sacred were deemed to be a threat to Christianity.¹⁶⁴ We find this fear to be rather strange. If indeed only the Europeans belonged to the realm of the human, which at once stages them above all of creation, they should not be threatened by the presence of the non-human. The non-human surely is not coherent and sophisticated enough to be of any material threat to the superior human. Their self-assumed superiority lays bare their fragility¹⁶⁵ in the face of the complexity of creation. They employ their lens of ignorance precisely because they need to remain committed to forgetting that they are wrong about humanity, and possibly wrong for humanity as well.

3.3 At International Law and Legitimacy: the Just War doctrine

War formed part of the accepted culture both internal and external to Europe.¹⁶⁶ Internally it determined how Europeans interacted with each other regarding their invented zeal to dominate, and externally, war shaped how Europe viewed and encountered other people and their territories.¹⁶⁷ Regarding the latter our discussion has thus far revealed that Europeans shared at least one belief, that they were superior and therefore entitled to lord over all of creation outside of Europe, and to do so in service of Europeans. We now wish to discuss the right to self-determination as well as the Just War doctrine, the aim of which is to substantiate our claim that 'South Africa' is an illegitimate state, one which is still in need of liberation.

The Just War doctrine holds that even when the lust for war is raging, there are laws governing the waging of war (*ius ad bellum*), which must be complied with before war may legitimately ensue.¹⁶⁸ *Ius in bello* then regulates the conduct of combatants once war is underway.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, war may be said to be just when it is initiated at the behest of the sovereign; It is initiated in pursuance of a just cause (*iusta causa*); and

¹⁶³ Ramose (N 39 above) 546.

¹⁶⁴ Ramose (N 39 above) 545.

¹⁶⁵ R DiAngelo 'White Fragility' (2011) *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy* (3) 54-70.

¹⁶⁶ Ramose (N 39 above) 546.

¹⁶⁷ Ramose (N 39 above) 546.

¹⁶⁸ Ramose (N 39 above) 546.

¹⁶⁹ Ramose (N 39 above) 547.

there is the right intention (intention recta).¹⁷⁰ Ramose asserts that although there is a provision that only a sovereign may declare war, the right to self-determination¹⁷¹ as well as humanitarian intervention¹⁷² undermine this position.¹⁷³ The requirement that there be a just cause for war to ensue implies that war may legitimately be initiated to ward off a pending attack (ad repellendas injurias), or gain restoration after an offence (ad vindicandas offensiones).¹⁷⁴ If the war is unjust, the aggrieved state-party may invoke the principles of vindicatio and recoverability in order to reverse the gains of unjust conquest.¹⁷⁵ This is so because war may only be declared to do good and not evil,¹⁷⁶ but even more importantly, no leader or government has the authority to pursue evil, which is why they may never legitimately use the authority of their office to be in a state of war against others – no one enjoys that kind of authority.¹⁷⁷ However, seeing as human beings from Europe are quite creative, they have set out to put themselves in a state of war,¹⁷⁸ against the racialised innocent others of the world.¹⁷⁹ In other words, the various unjust wars of colonisation which eventually led to the formation of what we much later call 'South Africa', were a flagrant violation of standards of human interaction even in terms of the dictates of European culture and its philosophy. This is the basis for our ceaseless use of the long phrase: "indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation", because the wars of colonisation were not between two warring groups of human beings. Rather, those wars were a manifestation of a particular culture fuelled by the desire to

¹⁷⁰ Ramose (N 39 above) 547.

¹⁷¹ A right to self-determination according to Leninism is the right of the oppressed peoples of dependent countries and colonies to complete secession. M Pheko 'South Africa: Betrayal of a Colonised people : Issues of International Human Rights Law' (1990) 92-93.

¹⁷² Humanitarian intervention is the growing justification, in international affairs, for a state to intervene (often militarily) in the affairs of other states, to protect the citizens of the latter from abuse and death, often at the hands of their own government. This has implications for the realist understanding of state sovereignty and state security. See A Haywood 'Global Politics' (2nd ed) (2014) 310. As can be expected, humanitarian intervention has been misused and abused on a number of occasions, such as the intervention in Libya, which campaign led to the killing of Muammar Gaddafi by NATO allies. For a criticism of this intervention, see Kuperman "Obama's Libya Debacle. How a well-meaning intervention ended in failure" in *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2015 issue.

¹⁷³ Ramose (N 39 above) 547.

¹⁷⁴ Ramose (N 39 above) 547.

¹⁷⁵ Ramose (N 39 above) 568.

¹⁷⁶ Ramose (N 39 above) 547.

¹⁷⁷ Locke (N 5 above) "Of Conquest" 403.

¹⁷⁸ Ramose (N 3 above) 311; Ramose (N 39 above) 545; Dladla (N 131 above) 35-40.

¹⁷⁹ Ramose (N 39 above) 545-546.

dominate.¹⁸⁰ Europeans, whether by claiming to invent or discover, were inhumane and corrosive.¹⁸¹

3.4 Cementing Victory and Defeat: Forming the Union of South Africa

Earlier in this section we referred to the exchange between the invader Jan van Riebeeck and the Khoikhoi people, regarding the former taking over more and more of the latter's land. In response van Riebeeck stated that it was their intention to retain the land, land which he claimed to have obtained through just victory. We have already discussed that it was deceit and injustice that drove him to believe that declaring war on the Khoikhoi people was acceptable. In this section we discuss the realisation of his wildest dream, to permanently retain the land and make of it a white settlement. Necessarily, the making of a state requires a politico-economic machinery, we will now discuss the politico-economic duality central to the structuring¹⁸² of settler colonialism.

Since 1652 to 1994 there has been four politico-economic systems at play in 'South Africa'.¹⁸³ Terreblanche posits that capitalism always needs a political authority (the state) in order to function.¹⁸⁴ This assertion challenges the position held strongly by neo-classical economists, who contend that capitalism is a natural and self-operational system, which exists independent of political authority and should be left unregulated.¹⁸⁵ Similarly, the state cannot operate without the financial support provided by the economic system.¹⁸⁶ This is how the dual politico-economic system is created: with capitalism representing the economic side, and the state (whether democratic or not) representing the political authority.¹⁸⁷

In the history of 'South Africa' a number of capitalist corporations identified successfully with the states, such that the former could (and did) undermine the authority of the latter.¹⁸⁸ In fact, there has never been a political authority which was coercive (or powerful) and representative enough to adequately interact with the

¹⁸⁰ Locke (N 5 above) "Of Conquest" 406.

¹⁸¹ Wolfe (N 146 above) 388-390.

¹⁸² Wolfe (N 146 above) 389-390.

¹⁸³ SJS Terreblanche 'Lost in Transformation' (2012) 37.

¹⁸⁴ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 37.

¹⁸⁵ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 37.

¹⁸⁶ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 37.

¹⁸⁷ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 37.

¹⁸⁸ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 37.

capitalist establishments.¹⁸⁹ The capitalist corporations were so triumphant that the authority of the state became whatever was convenient, functional and acceptable to capitalism.¹⁹⁰

(i) 1652-1795: The Period of the VOC:

The VOC established a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652.¹⁹¹ The fortified provision station eventually developed into a colony – though this was not the intention of the VOC.¹⁹² Despite its vast resources, the VOC did not care for the wellbeing of the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, rather, it focused exclusively on profit maximisation.¹⁹³ The VOC had the power to wage war, enter into treaties, and construct fortresses – it was a state within a state, much like it was law unto itself.¹⁹⁴ For nearly two centuries, the Boer Commando was an instrument for political authority of the white Afrikaner pastoral farms.¹⁹⁵ They would wage attacks against indigenous populations, and share the bounty arbitrarily amongst themselves, with no care for the plight of the indigenous conquered people.¹⁹⁶ This was the earliest making of both racial identity and class in 'South Africa' which Pheko captures by saying that in 'South Africa' "race is class and class is race".¹⁹⁷

(ii) 1795-1910: British Colonialism

Britain captured the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch in 1795 when the former realised that the Cape could be strategic in helping them gain access to Asia and Australasia.¹⁹⁸ Britain was an already advanced capitalist and industrialised country at the time, the primary task for its colonial administrators after the capture of the Cape, therefore, was to turn the Cape into a means by which British corporations and settlers could benefit.¹⁹⁹ The British empire's usurpation of 'South Africa' was marked by brutal

¹⁸⁹ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 37.

¹⁹⁰ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 37.

¹⁹¹ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 40.

¹⁹² Terreblanche (N 183 above) 41.

¹⁹³ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 41.

¹⁹⁴ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 40-41.

¹⁹⁵ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 41.

¹⁹⁶ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 41.

¹⁹⁷ Pheko (N 171 above) 101.

¹⁹⁸ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 41.

¹⁹⁹ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 41.

violence, land dispossession of the indigenous conquered people the aim of which was to reduce them to being dependent on the alien imposed economic and familial structures.²⁰⁰ The indigenous conquered people slaved under oppressive labour laws, whilst they simultaneously battled various frontier wars.²⁰¹

Although the Cape of Good Hope lost its strategic value as a gateway to Asia and Australasia as a result of the opening of the Suez canal in 1869, the British settlers and corporations nevertheless continued to thrive after the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886.²⁰² The British imperial government gave extraordinary support to its corporations to extract these minerals, which in turn helped Britain resolve some of its balance of payment problems.²⁰³ This support from the mother colony further helped the settlers and corporations create a system of accumulation known as the Mineral Energy Complex (MEC)²⁰⁴ where accumulation is to date still dominated by (and dependent upon) a few industries centred around mining and energy.²⁰⁵ The MEC was central to the ('South African') economy, not only because of its economic activities, but due to its determinative power in the intertwined affairs of state and economy.²⁰⁶ In other words, the MEC has been determinative in the shaping of capitalist development for the country we have today. The discovery of minerals fuelled the settler's zeal to not only dispossess the indigenous conquered of land, but it also necessitated the latter's violent incorporation into an economic model wholly not of their making.²⁰⁷ Ultra-exploitative labour regime and African migrant labour system became the order of the day, in order to rapidly loot the resources of the country.²⁰⁸

The mining industry rapidly grew in importance to the British empire and coupled with the organisational pressure of the Chamber of mines (and the MEC) Britain was prepared to wage bloody wars against the two Boer Republics.²⁰⁹ We indicated above

²⁰⁰ Wolfe (N 146 above) 394; Terreblanche (N 184 above) 40-41.

²⁰¹ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 41.

²⁰² Terreblanche (N 183 above) 42.

²⁰³ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 42.

²⁰⁴ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 42.

²⁰⁵ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 41.

²⁰⁶ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 42.

²⁰⁷ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 42.

²⁰⁸ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 42.

²⁰⁹ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 42.

that there has been four politico-economic systems in place: the other two run from 1910-1961 at which point 'South Africa' becomes a republic, and the fourth and final phase is the 1948-1994 period, also known as apartheid.²¹⁰

We now wish to discuss the Anglo-Boer war. The Anglo-Boer war represents a perfect example of whites' entitlement. The war broke out between the two groups of European descendants regarding who should lord over this territory, as though these two groups had any legitimate claim to begin with.²¹¹ Both the English and the Boers only thought of the indigenous conquered people as part of the prize for whoever wins the war, rather than as agents who still have the only legitimate entitlement to (re)claim this territory.²¹² The cultural background of the two warring groups being the posterity of the conqueror-settler population is necessary in light of the Just War doctrine we discussed earlier. They both identified with the European lens of ignorance with which they deployed their colonial mentality²¹³ to declare this war, and similarly their mutual colonial understanding is how they realised the futility of their war and chose to refocus their collective effort on the subjugation of the indigenous conquered people.²¹⁴ The war proceeded on the basis that force could be used freely in our land.²¹⁵

When the Dutch lost the Cape of Good Hope to the British, they moved inward to capture more territory and fashioned republics for themselves, as they could not stomach living under English rule.²¹⁶ These republics were the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek and the Orange Free State.²¹⁷ The English controlled the Cape and Natal. Each of these two settler groups claimed unlimited title acquired from conquest, and pursued sole sovereignty over it.²¹⁸ These settler groups understanding of sovereignty was informed by their ability to coerce²¹⁹ the indigenous people, the aim of which was to institute compliance and obedience from the conquered indigenous

²¹⁰ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 42.

²¹¹ Ramose (N 15 above) 11.

²¹² Ramose (N 15 above) 11.

²¹³ Ramose (N 15 above) 11.

²¹⁴ Dladla (N 15 above) 151.

²¹⁵ Ramose (N 15 above) 15.

²¹⁶ Ramose (N 15 above) 16.

²¹⁷ Ramose (N 15 above) 16.

²¹⁸ Ramose (N 15 above) 16.

²¹⁹ L Daniel 'The History and Theory of International Law: The Right of Sovereignty' (2021) 20.

people.²²⁰ This is what Wolfe refers to as the positive dimension of settler colonialism,²²¹ which is when settler colonisers construct a home for themselves in order to appear ancient.²²² Although this way of instituting a social order in which one is sovereign owing to their capacity for coercion, and therefore entitled to demand compliance is based on brute force, it remains a helpful analytical lens for how 'South Africa' later gets formed.²²³ The settler colonisers knew that they could never count on loyalty and affection from the indigenous people, because the former's existence is a living and deadly threat to the latter. The settler colonisers accepted that all they required from the indigenous people was a publicly observable, reliable and continuous submission.²²⁴ Therefore, though sovereignty can both be an empirical concept of force, it is also a normative idea of right.²²⁵ The Anglo-Boer war is foundational for 'South Africa' exactly because it was a contention of right between two groups both of whom believed themselves to be human proper, and therefore could enjoy dominium over this land.²²⁶ This is even more evident in how the war was resolved, with the two groups realising that notwithstanding the prejudices they harbour about and against each other, they remain equal human beings, who share one irrebuttable civilisational belief in the inferiority of the indigenous people. They reunited as civilised human beings and agreed to the formation of 'South Africa' under the banner of non-racialism.²²⁷ In other words, the early use of non-racialism marked the maturation of inter-group white relations between the English settlers and the Afrikaaners, doing away with their superficial ethnic differences.²²⁸ This was born of the acknowledgement that their survival in 'South Africa' required wholesale inter-group cooperation in order to institute and sustain their lordship over the indigenous people.²²⁹ From then on, if there was ever any doubt, settlers colonisers had indeed come to stay, and the country they were building belonged to them who lived in it:

²²⁰ Daniel (N 219 above) 20.

²²¹ Wolfe (N 146 above) 389-390.

²²² Wolfe (N 146 above) 389-390; Daniel (N 220 above) 20-21.

²²³ Daniel (N 219 above) 20.

²²⁴ Daniel (N 219 above) 20.

²²⁵ Winter (N 2 above) 3; Daniel (N 219 above) 21.

²²⁶ Winter (N 2 above) 3-5; Ramose (N 15 above) 12-16; Ramose (N 39 above) 544-545; Daniel (N 219 above) 21.

²²⁷ Dladla (N 15 above) 151-153.

²²⁸ Dladla (N 15 above) 152.

²²⁹ Dladla (N 15 above) 152.

the English and the Boer.²³⁰ Though the indigenous people were under the authority of this state, they were not party to it.²³¹ The indigenous people were mere territory-bound subject population, who formed part of the gains of war, or as Biko puts it, a perpetual pupil.²³²

The desire for a united white rule under the banner of 'South Africa' began in 1858 when the settlers in the Orange Free State sent a petition to Sir George Grey, proposing that unless the different colonies united, the potential to be over-run by the indigenous was a material threat to all whites.²³³ Another motivation for the formation of 'South Africa' was that it would establish peace for the various colonies – nothing could be further from the truth.²³⁴ The indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation are yet to know peace. The migrant labour system destroyed African familial arrangements and its adverse ecological externalities remain incalculable.²³⁵ The omnipotent MEC sponsored the South African Native Affairs Commission in 1903, whose responsibility was to investigate why the indigenous people were not prepared to work in the mines.²³⁶ The report of this Commission led to the 1913 Land Act, which further entrenched the displacement of the indigenous people.²³⁷ In this regard, we wish to cite one of Africa's greatest sons, composer, singer, song writer and an exceptional trumpeter Hugh Masekela (Bra Hugh). His seminal work, *Stimela*, captures the sentiment of the destruction of Black family structures, the corrosive white political economic machinery, and the dehumanising living conditions of Black men who were conscripted to work in the gold mines of 'South Africa'. He states:

“There’s a train that comes from Namibia and Malawi
There’s a train that comes from Zambia and Zimbabwe
There’s a train that comes from Angola and Mozambique
from Lesotho,

²³⁰ Ramose (N 15 above) 13-17; Wolfe (N 146 above) 390-392.

²³¹ Modiri (N 10 above) 43-70.

²³² Stubbs (N 106 above) 27.

²³³ Pheko (N 171 above) 18-19.

²³⁴ Pheko (N 171 above) 22.

²³⁵ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 43-50.

²³⁶ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 43.

²³⁷ Terreblanche (N 183 above) 43.

from Botswana,

from Swaziland,

from all! The hinterlands of southern and central Africa

This train carries young and old African men who are conscripted to come and work on contract
in the gold and mineral mines of Johannesburg

and its surrounding metropoli

sixteen hours or more a day

for almost no pay.

Deep deep in the belly of the earth when they are digging and drilling for that shiny mighty
evasive stone

Or when they dish that mish mash mush food into their iron plates with ...

Or when they sit in their stinky funky filthy flea-ridden ... hostels

They think about the loved ones they may never see again because they might already have
been forcibly removed from where they last left them

Or ...

We are told, they think about their lands and their herds that were taken away from them

with a gun

and a bomb ...²³⁸

That we have reduced this seminal work to a mere text might already be a transgression enough. We only wish to succinctly sum up a white man's making of Africa into Europe: either by settler colonialism such as in 'South Africa' and Zimbabwe, or into a bottomless pit of treasure both inventions aimed at the singular purpose to buttress whites to the zenith of human life.²³⁹ We borrow this passage from Bra Hugh to also underscore our claim that whites pursued their campaign at all cost. The indigenous peoples were mere tools at their disposal. It is this basic tenet that encourages us to maintain that the developments of 1994-1996 cannot possibly be taken to be a redeeming moment for the crimes stemming from having conquered the

²³⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n4Bb7p9gggc> accessed 12 December 2022.

²³⁹ Modiri (N 10 above) 42-70; Wolfe (N 138 above) 388-391.

indigenous people in unjust wars of colonisation. The guilt of whites, and the illegitimacy of the 'South African' state constitute a "complex knot which was first tied at the moment of conquest and has held firm ever since."²⁴⁰ "

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we sought to investigate the historical foundations of the territory now known as 'South Africa'. We further discussed the role of conquest, and the Just War doctrine as an instrument of human hypocrisy central to the dehumanisation of human beings arbitrarily declared to not be human. Our intention was to substantiate the claim central to this study, that Black lives do not (and cannot) matter in the current state configuration. This because 'South Africa' truly still belongs to the white who invented it. 1994 brought about many changes, but neglected the one most important change, state succession, and not just government succession.²⁴¹ The preoccupation with apartheid made some people to believe democracy was sufficient. However, our contention in this chapter is that the problem remains the undisturbed continuity of white supremacy, which has developed and mutated a number of times to be compatible with whichever political authority was in place. This is why and how it survived its juridical cessation in 1994. Black people were once again incorporated into a system not of their making, and one that does not speak liberation.

Chapter 4: Azania as Remedy: (de-)liberate Africa!

4.1 Introduction

We have thus far discussed both the contemporary 'South Africa' as well as the history of wars of colonisation, conquest, settler- colonialism and colonial-apartheid. Our aim was to reveal how we have come to have this persistent white supremacy, even after the *de jure* cessation of formal legal discrimination. We further indicated that the indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation are at the nadir of social configurations out of necessity for the survival of political ontologies of conquest and settler colonialism. In this chapter we explore an un(der)stated liberatory outlook: the Azanian philosophical tradition. As suggested by our subtitle, we believe Azania is a

²⁴⁰ E Cavanagh 'History, Time and the Indigenist Critique' (2012) 3729 *The Arena Journal* 16-17.

²⁴¹ Ramose (N 15 above) 16-17.

remedy for this disease that 'South Africa' is. We aim to challenge the accepted claim that the present is both ideal and victorious over the nothingness in quality of life for the indigenous conquered peoples. Our understanding of (and desire for) liberation is neither accommodated by the vocabulary prescribed as the present, nor are we inspired by its possibilities. We will therefore recall the wisdom of those who fought to the bitter end, and hopefully show that the 'new South Africa' is new only in name, hence our contention that the territory it maps out is still in need of liberation.

4.2 Defying the line! Africans are human second to none

In chapter 2 we probed Tata Madiba's claim that he fought against Black domination. We now wish to explicitly state Madiba did not fight against such a domination because it does not exist – and has never existed. At the time of Madiba's use of white domination, what we now know as white supremacy, it referred to a system of social, cultural and economic control by whites of their racial others. It therefore follows that "black domination" would be a racial inversion of this system, and importantly, Madiba's use of "black domination" is a much earlier use of 'both sides of the story' discussed in chapter 2. Blacks are a creature born of the defeat from the unjust wars of colonisation.²⁴² Blackness is therefore a cloak worn by those conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation, to initiate and maintain their proximity to death and dying, as well as their submission to this nothingness.²⁴³ Blackness is a reminder to be fearful of whites.²⁴⁴ This is the ultimate humiliation, the unwillingness to retaliate in the face of degradation merely out of the internalised fear of what whites are capable of unleashing as a form of retribution.²⁴⁵ Blackness at once already signals what Biko calls perpetual inferiority.²⁴⁶ The phrase Black domination is therefore an oxymoron of note!

²⁴² Dladla (N 132 above) 51.

²⁴³ Dladla (N 131 above) 52.

²⁴⁴ Dladla (N 131 above) 52.

²⁴⁵ Dladla (N 131 above) 52,

²⁴⁶ Stubbs (N 106 above) 31-40; Dladla (N 131 above) 52.

Although Tata Madiba did not fight any domination, many others did.²⁴⁷ These are the philosopher-warriors such as Kgosi Sekhukhune, Kgosi Mampuru, Khosi Moshoeshe as well as Inkosi uBhambatha kaMncinza.²⁴⁸ Their political consciousness and political action is what much later comes to be termed the Azanian philosophical tradition – a placeholder for a liberated Africa.²⁴⁹ This tradition principally germinates around figures such as Anton Lembede, Mangaliso Sobukwe, as well as Bantubonke Biko.²⁵⁰ Although the mentioned kings and philosopher-warriors were ultimately defeated, the foresight of their genius has assumed a prophetic timbre which haunts the ‘new South Africa’. Waging wars of resistance was not only the foundation for confronting what was an immediate injustice in the form of invasion and conquest, but it also became a basis upon which a liberatory future could be imagined.²⁵¹

We feel and hear the ‘new South Africa’ to be haunted because its indigenous people remain the example of how not to lead a human life. Their purported freedom was negotiated in corridors of compromise and at the tables of abandoned ethics in favour of feasibility.²⁵² This ‘new South Africa’ is rooted in the pursuit of the easy and convenient, or what Delpont terms politics of the possible.²⁵³ The Azanian tradition therefore stems from that initial defiance, and survives as an historic memory of imagining a post-conquest polity, rather than the current configuration of inclusion into a white creation.²⁵⁴ The tradition then defies the line arbitrarily drawn by Europeans, the line of reason and unreason, of order and disorder/chaos, and of subjects and objects.²⁵⁵

4.3 What is Azania? Historic memory of the past and liberated future

We have stated above that Azania was introduced to the vocabulary of the struggle for liberation by the PAC under the leadership of Mangaliso Sobukwe.²⁵⁶ It was used

²⁴⁷ Dladla (N 1 above) 3-6.

²⁴⁸ Dladla (N 1 above) 5.

²⁴⁹ Dladla (N 1 above) 5.

²⁵⁰ Modiri (N 10 above) 52-65; Gerhart (N 49 above) 39-42, 99-113.

²⁵¹ T Delpont ‘Asazi Ukuthi Iyozala Nkomoni: Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe Historical Imagination of the Future’ 50 *Psychology in Society* (2016) 50-51.

²⁵² Delpont (N 251 above) 48-49.

²⁵³ Delpont (N 251 above) 48-49.

²⁵⁴ Modiri (N 10 above) 42-43; Delpont (N 251 above) 48-50.

²⁵⁵ Modiri (N 10 above) 43; Ramose (N 39 above) 545-547; Delpont (N 251 above) 35-50.

²⁵⁶ Modiri (N 10 above) 55-61; Dladla (N 131 above) 72.

to capture the philo-praxis of the wars of resistance, as well as the marking out of 'South Africa' as itself a historic and philosophical problem.²⁵⁷ Identifying 'South Africa' as a problem meant that the territory remains a fundamental challenge for human liberation, peace and justice.²⁵⁸ This far-reaching condemnation of white supremacy on ethical, legal political and metaphysical grounds made the Azanian tradition a subject of much historic erasure, caricature and silencing,²⁵⁹ all this done in favour of a more broad and moderate church of the Charterist tradition.²⁶⁰ The Azanian tradition has derisively been referred to as victimological, unrealistic, nativist, reverse racism (this said with no sense of irony), or at any rate, essentialist.²⁶¹ The Azanian tradition therefore invokes all manner of existential anxieties due to its unforgiving and relentless pursuit of the end/s of 'South Africa', the aim of which is the restoration of political, legal, metaphysical and epistemological sovereignty of the indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation.²⁶² In other words, this territory has to be(come) African again. The Azanian conception of liberation does not conceive of this place continuously marking itself to be the other, based in Africa but not a part of Africa. This problem is apparent in labels such as 'African food', 'African attire', 'Africans' et cetera.²⁶³ This othering reaches a painful zenith at least once a year where indigenous people are allowed to wear their traditional attire to work and schools – on 24 September – known as Heritage day. The day itself, like other post-1994 holidays is an obscene historical joke repeated in the face of the indigenous conquered people annually having been memorialised as Shaka Zulu Day in memory of a once existent and to be regained sovereignty prior to 1994. Unfortunately, many of the indigenous conquered people dutifully accept this invitation: an invitation to stage a public spectacle that they are indeed nobodies of nowhere. All these are of course markers of alterity, and bear testament to the basic foundational tenet of 'South Africa', which was to establish a European outpost at the southern tip of Africa.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁷ Modiri (N 10 above) 43-44.

²⁵⁸ Modiri (N 10 above) 43.

²⁵⁹ Modiri (N 10 above) 43.

²⁶⁰ Modiri (N 10 above) 42-43.

²⁶¹ Modiri (N 10 above) 42-43; N Dladla 'The Liberation of History and the end of South Africa: some notes towards an Azanian historiography in Africa South' (2018) 34:3 *SAJHR* 415-416.

²⁶² Dladla (N 261 above) 416.

²⁶³ Dladla (N 261 above) 417.

²⁶⁴ Dladla (N 261 above) 417-418.

Azanian philosophical tradition espouses the wisdom of our forefathers and philosopher-warriors who refused to accept a colonial reality constituted by their unfreedom as the only possibility condition to preserve their lives.²⁶⁵ In other words, waging and sustaining wars of resistance was (and still is) integrally linked to one's sense of purpose and integrity.²⁶⁶ These people lived for the day of confrontation and overthrow of the insidious colonial rule, the aim of which was the revival of the lives of the indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation.²⁶⁷ Their approach to the struggle for liberation birthed a conceptual distinction between the realists and themselves (the rebels).²⁶⁸ Realists were those settler colonisers would consider to be the ideal native. The reason for this is that they did not challenge the legitimacy of the colonial establishment, but rather the ethics of its administration and management.²⁶⁹ For the realists, the goal was to acquire entry into the settler-made world: this was done by acquiring Western education, mastering the English language, and then understand their disorientation in the world to result from a lack of civil and political rights.²⁷⁰ Rebels on the other hand understood themselves to be born of – and born into - a particular history and heritage which predetermines (or signals) their orientation in life. Their desire to pursue a revolution stems from knowing that peace and liberation for the conquered indigenous will not be attained in a settler-made world.²⁷¹ The rebels are aware that they are a people who in their own right are capable of making history.²⁷² This is precisely why their demands are unsettling!

These rebels (or Azanians) maintain that 'South Africa' is predicated upon the violent land dispossession and the subjugation of the indigenous conquered people, the socioeconomic (or racial capitalism) machinery that forcefully extracted labour from the indigenous people as a means to both create a higher quality of life for whites, whilst simultaneously institutionalising death and dying for, and the nothingness of, the indigenous people.²⁷³ This is why their vision for liberation is predicated upon the

²⁶⁵ Dladla (N 131 above) 99.

²⁶⁶ Gerhart (N 49 above) 39-42; Dladla (N 131 above) 35-99.

²⁶⁷ Dladla (N 131 above) 98-99.

²⁶⁸ Gerhart (N 49 above) 42-43.

²⁶⁹ Gerhart (N 49 above) 42-43.

²⁷⁰ Gerhart (N 49 above) 43.

²⁷¹ Dladla (N 131 above) 98-99; Dladla (N 261 above) 423-425.

²⁷² Dladla (N 261 above) 424.

²⁷³ Modiri (N 10 above) 59-61.

objective to recover unencumbered sovereign title to territory this to give meaning and expression to the accoutrements of civil and political rights.²⁷⁴ This demand remains unfulfilled under the 1996 constitution, which not only does it declare itself to be supreme and foundational, but also ahistorically claims on account of its existence Black people and white are equal before the law.²⁷⁵ We have already stated above that Blacks are born of war and injustices of colonisation, on account of founding the political category of whiteness. It is therefore scientifically untenable to merely command (over three centuries later) that there be equality between these two political categories. The 1996 constitution facilitates the continuation of conquest, as it is predicated upon the unchallenged necessity for the indigenous people to assimilate into a long-standing brand of democracy.²⁷⁶ We are quite aware that the making of 'South Africa' as a white supremacist laboratory, spans a long periods of trial and error. The project was not static and linear, it evolved as and when necessary for its preservation.²⁷⁷ The 'new South Africa' requires that Black people successfully mimic white people and forego any contentions around the legitimacy of the state, but rather focus on its governance. This is why many changes have occurred, and yet, the debt of colonial conquest remains outstanding. The superior quality of life manifested by the social domination of whites, as well as the domination of Western culture/s remain unchallenged, which is why it becomes inevitable for Black people to be willed into seeking a white baptism.²⁷⁸

Second to the immediately preceding paragraph, the Azanians insist that title to territory itself belongs exclusively to the indigenous people.²⁷⁹ In a country whose social, socioeconomic and political economic foundations are invented by (and for) whites, coupled with the collaboration of some members of the indigenous group, this demand simply triggers unimaginable insecurities. Whites are by design intended to lord over their racial others, it is incomprehensible to then state that they in fact do not even belong here.²⁸⁰ Mamdani instructs that settlers and natives belong

²⁷⁴ Modiri (N 10 above) 62; Dladla (N 131 above) 102.

²⁷⁵ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. See in particular the Bill of Rights in chapter 2.

²⁷⁶ Modiri (N 10 above) 59-61.

²⁷⁷ Modiri (N 10 above) 59.

²⁷⁸ Modiri (N 10 above) 59; Also see the discussion in chapter 2 of this study.

²⁷⁹ Dladla (N 131 above) 101.

²⁸⁰ Modiri (N 10 above) 59-60; Dladla (N 131 above) 100.

together.²⁸¹ The termination of the existence of a settler is possibility condition for the freeing of the conquered, but naturally, settlers have no desire to cease to exist and are therefore heavily invested in the maintenance of the disorientation of the conquered indigenous.²⁸² As a statement on loyalty, settlers are rootless as they are always in motion but to nowhere in particular.²⁸³ This is our understanding for why they are ultra-possessive in their attempt to fashion a life for themselves. We stated with reference to Wolfe that in its positive dimension, settler colonialism busies itself with the making of a home and the staging of belonging.²⁸⁴

The Azanian critical philosophy further rejects multiracialism.²⁸⁵ Believing in multiracialism endorses the European imagination that there are inherent fundamental differences between the various members of the human species, such that in fact some human beings must arbitrarily be evicted from the realm of humans. Azanians contend there is only one race, to which all human beings belong.²⁸⁶ Similarly, Azanians reject the liberal conception of nonracialism which in practice is the initiation of making permanent the state of 'South Africa'. In other words, whites must remain white, without even having to deploy the vocabulary of white supremacy.²⁸⁷ This will have the implication of ensuring that whites continue to enjoy a greater political and legal status, in charge of a political economic establishment whose sole existence is to guarantee their comfort and thus insulate them from the vulnerabilities of the indigenous population.²⁸⁸ Correlatively, Blacks will have to remain black,²⁸⁹ valuable only as labour to buttress whites while they remain homeless (literally and otherwise), disposable and dispensable.²⁹⁰ Azanians therefore pursue the abolition of every aspect of all the affairs of the settler-made world, instead of mere internal reforms and democratisation.²⁹¹

²⁸¹ Mamdani (N 8 above).

²⁸² Mamdani (N 8 above).

²⁸³ Mamdani (N 8 above).

²⁸⁴ Winter (N 2 above); Mamdani (N 8 above); Wolfe (N 146 above) 390-391; Daniel (N 220 above) 21-23.

²⁸⁵ Dladla (N 131 above) 100.

²⁸⁶ Dladla (N 131 above) 102-103; Dladla (N 12 above) 101-107.

²⁸⁷ Modiri (N 10 above) 60.

²⁸⁸ Modiri (N 10 above) 61.

²⁸⁹ Modiri (N 10 above) 61.

²⁹⁰ Modiri (N 10 above) 61.

²⁹¹ Modiri (N 10 above) 61-62.

Moreover, Azanians recognise 'South Africa' in its various guises to be an ethically untenable European creation, created without and against the indigenous people.²⁹² They therefore posit that the reordering of the structures of society based on a different ethics, governance, and intellectual orientation is the foundation for liberation.²⁹³ Finally The Azanian tradition has implications beyond the borders of 'South Africa'.²⁹⁴ Its aim is to re-join the rest of the continent, and be an example to all the indigenous conquered peoples of the world, on how to participate in the discourse of post-conquest socialities.

Our treatises thus far inspire us to seriously consider how to imagine something in this world that is worth starting, if at once by starting we will have to swim against the tide (if at all we are able to swim).²⁹⁵ Our sphere of concern is the very foundations of our existence. As discussed in chapter 2, we are willed into existence in order to uphold a state remodelling whose subjectivities are yet to come into being. Our submission to this technology of change leaves us incomplete and incoherent, whilst our refusal to conform similarly leaves us disoriented. What then can we make of our lives such that they matter not merely as a rhetorically attractive statement, but as a signal that the wars of resistance have borne some fruit? We contend that indeed Black lives could matter, but they would have to become lives again, they would have to escape the clutches of defeat and the subsequent relegation to nothingness. The declaration that Black lives matter at once is an acknowledgement that black lives are marginal to life and society.²⁹⁶ Necessarily then, what should follow is the imperative of de-constitutionalising, and constitutionness²⁹⁷ both of which are the prerequisites to post-conquest enlivening socialities.

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) itself an index of the Azanian tradition, compels us to forge an itinerary of becoming alive by mobilising political consciousness

²⁹² Modiri (N 10 above) 61-62; Dladla (N 132 above) 103.

²⁹³ Dladla (N 131 above) 103; Gerhart (N 49 above) 67; Modiri (N 10 above) 62.

²⁹⁴ Dladla (N 131 above) 103.

²⁹⁵ J Sexton 'Unbearable Blackness' *Cultural Critique* 90 (2015) 163.

²⁹⁶ Madlingozi (N 37 above).

²⁹⁷ Madlingozi (N 37 above).

and political action towards self-reliance, as opposed to being recipients of white handouts.²⁹⁸

The 1996 constitution is not culturally or civilisationally reflective of the customs and values of the indigenous people, and because it is supreme, it nullifies everything it deems inappropriate, this through the instrumentality of the constitutional court – the Squealer²⁹⁹ of the 'new South Africa'. Seeing as we believe in the adequacy of our lives, unqualified by the prefix of Black, we are compelled to reject Thabo Mbeki's understanding of nationhood, as espoused in his famous speech: "I'm an African". Mbeki states:

"I owe my being to the Khoi and the San ... they who fell victim to the most merciless genocide our native land has ever seen, they who were the first to lose their lives in the struggle to defend our freedom and independence and they who, as a people, perished in the result today, as a country, we keep an audible silence about these ancestors of the generations that live, fearful to admit the horror of a former deed, seeking to obliterate from our memories a cruel occurrence which, in its remembering, should teach us not and never to be inhuman again.

I am formed of the migrants who left Europe to find a new home on our native land. Whatever their own actions, they remain still, part of me."³⁰⁰

Mbeki conflates migrants with invading, conquering and settler colonising Europeans, and nonchalantly brushes past "whatever their actions". We are uninspired by how Mbeki can believe himself to bear (and his being indebted to) the identity of a conquering people, whilst having committed his life in pursuit of what he believed to be the struggle under the ANC. We indicated in the opening chapter that the Azanians charged the ANC of having abandoned the struggle, and that charge is certainly lent much support by this stanza.

The purpose of citing Mbeki was not to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the speech, but to merely underscore that we share no aspiration to belong with whites –

²⁹⁸ More (N 35 above) 23-26.

²⁹⁹ We borrow the use of this name from the 1945 allegorical Novel, *Animal Farm*, by George Orwell. Squealer was the mouthpiece for the tale of animals who rose to independence by overthrowing the human masters, with the view of governing themselves. It was not before long when they turned on each other, and Squealer held the office of declaring right from wrong as he saw fit for the ruling class.

³⁰⁰ Thabo Mbeki 1996.

the posterity of the conquering metropole. Mbeki conjures up a romantic pathway by which to escape the atrocities and injustices of the past which live on to haunt and shape the present.³⁰¹ He does this as an attempt to fashion a guilt-free national future whose oneness is made up of perpetrators and victims, beneficiaries and the impoverished so that he may reconcile what came before with (and simultaneously dissolve it into) the present.³⁰² 'South Africa' is not just a place where conquest and settler colonialism happen to have just happened: but it is the very product borne of the conquering and dispossession of its indigenous people.³⁰³ Therefore, 'South Africa', taken apart from, or as part of the world, awaits a redeeming destruction as surely as we believe the conquered indigenous to be waiting for justice, and rehumanisation.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we sought to highlight briefly what the Azanian philosophical tradition entails. Although our modest project focuses on the political philosophical imagination in the adoption of the name Azania, we are aware that the name has serious contending and contentious etymological, historical and archaeological origins and foundation.³⁰⁴ However, the exposition of these various contentions falls outside the scope of our study. We merely discussed the basic foundational tenets of this critical philosophy to begin to think differently about liberation, (Black) lives, and the possibility conditions for the eventual defeat of 'South Africa'. We likewise did not employ the discourse on decoloniality as we have a rich history and intellectual heritage of our own, which Africans have deployed and developed since the early wars of resistance.³⁰⁵ The advocates of decoloniality rather simplistically posit that by employing post-colonial as the demand and objective of liberation we imply that colonialism is over. Whilst they still recognise the aftershocks of colonialism through what they call coloniality of being, epistemology, culture and knowledge.³⁰⁶ A flaw central to decoloniality is firstly its inability to divest itself from Western epistemological proximity whilst maintaining a critical dialogue with it. Secondly,

³⁰¹ Modiri (N 61 above) 22-25; Cavanagh (N 240 above) 17.

³⁰² Cavanagh (N 240 above) 17.

³⁰³ Cavanagh (N 240 above) 28.

³⁰⁴ Dladla (N 131 above) 55-99.

³⁰⁵ Dladla (N 131 above) 103.

³⁰⁶ Dladla (N 131 above) 104.

proponents of decoloniality conflate and confuse the legacies of settler colonial structures with proof of their permanence.³⁰⁷ Decolonialists have been generating valuable material under this banner since early 2000s, and this has helped create an additional index for global politics against white supremacy racism.³⁰⁸ We however have no desire to abandon a heritage which speaks and was spoken by those who have laid the foundation for the work we wish to continue. It would after all make no sense to pursue the restoration of our sovereign title to territory in relation to our physical world while voluntarily surrendering our intellectual sovereignty to others whether they be Europeans or Latin Americans. The Azanian philosophical tradition is therefore a depository of life, which positions the indigenous conquered people second to none in status. As many anthropologists have established, African culture is largely xenophilic and thus happy to commune and learn from others, this does not however mean the abandonment of the responsibility and human capacity of thinking for ourselves. It is worth noting that that Africans (in the PAC's time) and Blacks (in the BCM's time) thinking for themselves was precisely one of the things which established the unique difference of the Azanian tradition from the Charterists in the former case and white liberals in the latter case. From this point of view the primary reliance upon the African experience as well as the knowledge which has grown out of it in dialogue with other may be considered a central tenet of the Azanian philosophical tradition.

³⁰⁷ Cavanagh (N 240 above) 27.

³⁰⁸ Dladla (N 131 above) 104.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Kodumela moepathutse ga go lehumo le tswago kgaufsi³⁰⁹

We conclude our study with this instruction-encouragement, to be diligent in our pursuit. For us treasure is liberation and the overthrow of white supremacy in favour of recovery of unencumbered sovereign title to territory. We will therefore heed the call and *kodumela* and add our weak shoulders to the weighty demands of (de-)liberation. We are aware that in the bigger scheme of things, this work is rather modest, hence we wish for it to be understood as our exordium to the facility of theory building.

In the course of the study we have established the intergenerational mission of whites to lord over the indigenous conquered peoples, and through the collaboration of a non-white government Black kids are deployed to embrace subjectivities which have yet to come into being. This disorientation is nearly impossible to address given that we do not have the critical political vocabulary with which to see ourselves and the world differently. The Azanian philosophical tradition suffers systemic erasure and silencing, which at once evicts us from any path of seriously contesting the idea of 'South Africa' as still being an antiblack establishment.

We further established the ethical untenability of the claim that 'South Africa' belongs to all ... by indicating that this land belongs exclusively to the indigenous people conquered in unjust wars of colonisation. Whites have no claim whatsoever to this part of the world, as they arrived to stage a dehumanising programme which nearly four centuries later remains unresolved. Finally, We established that the indigenous people have a history and heritage with which they waged wars of resistance, and similarly imagined a liberatory future beyond the possibilities conceivable under white rule. We therefore set out to *kodumela* to re-enliven the disoriented so-called 'born frees', because Black lives indeed could matter. This study briefly explored some of the tensions and contentions which have come to give potency to Europe's desire to found the political category of whites, and fashion humanity as their exclusive domain.

³⁰⁹ JRD Rakoma 'Marema ka Dika tsa Sesotho sa Lebowa' 7th Edition (1978) 160. This proverb is both an instruction and encouragement to '*kodumela*' which denotes one who is stooped in the attitude of hard work, '*moepathutse*' one who is digging/searching, '*ga go lehumo/wealth/treasure le tswago kgaufsi/easy/nearby/within easy reach*. In other words: *persevere/work hard, treasure is never within easy reach*.

We likewise identify the Azanian philosophical tradition as a depository for the Black Political Thought we believe has the potential to remedy the state of dis(ease) – a plight of all the conquered indigenous people.

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