

# **Globalisation and Modern South African Black Political Thought: John Langalibalele Dube and Anton Muziwakhe Lembede**

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The advent of globalisation in South Africa has been a focal point around which modern black political thought has revolved. The founding moment of this capitalist integration in context of South Africa has been the discovery of minerals first in Kimberley and later in the Witwatersrand towards the end of nineteenth century. The impact of the novel experiences of industrialization and urbanisation, ushered into the social and political milieu of the black South Africans has been phenomenal. They engendered a global consciousness and an awareness by the indigenous people of their subordinate and marginal role within the global system. It is this deeply felt sense of marginality which different black political thinkers have grappled with since the beginning of twentieth century. The main contours of this political response have moved from wholesale acceptance of universalist promise of global capitalism without questioning its ethnocentrism towards nativist affirmation of African particularity and disavowal of Eurocentric capitalist universalism. What this essay would want to argue is that each of these two positions had its own merits and demerits. Dialectical thinking, which recognises the need to embrace universalism without foregoing the need to critique the ethnocentrism of the Eurocentrist universalism, has been missing in the polemical and partisan rehearsal of the two strands of political thought.

The initial key moment in the black political response to the hege-

monic colonial globalization was characterized by the unequivocal and uncritical embrace of the assimilationist and universal ideology of British liberalism. This ideology promised for the aspirant native converts an acceptance and entry into the universal brotherhood premised on British liberal values. The unquestioning acceptance of the benign influence of British colonial mission and Christian civilization were the entry points from which a colonial subject could attain an equal status with the colonial master. They therefore accepted their tutelage and guidance under British trusteeship as a necessary prerequisite towards attainment of promised equality as ‘civilized’ citizens of the world. Not only in their public persona but in their private lives they strived to emulate the British values and manners. John Langalibalele Dube founding president of South African National Native Congress (SANNC predecessor of the ANC) symbolized this trend of black liberalism as well as his peers like Sol Plaatjie, John Tengo Jabavu and Pixley ka Seme. Born in Natal in 1871, Dube was a son of a Reverend of the American Missionary Board and later went to study in USA (United States of America) where he fell under the spell of Booker T Washington’s ideas of black upliftment through industrial skills and vocational education. He came to believe that black people will attain real freedom through assimilation of Western values, and norms. In Dube’s acceptance speech as the president of SANNC presented in his absentia to his fellow native delegates he said:

Upward! Into the higher places of civilization and Christianity—not backward into the slump of darkness nor downward into the abyss of the antiquated tribal system. Our salvation is .... In preparing ourselves for an honoured place amongst the nations (quoted by Marks 1986:53).

This extract from Dube’s speech shows the premium placed on Christianity and civilization as vehicles to claim equality within the global multinational landscape. Dube had further promised his constituency that his leadership will be guided by a ‘hopeful reliance in the sense of common justice and love of freedom so innate in the British character’ (quoted by Hill in Marks & Trapido 1987:228). These words reflect a single minded devotion of Dube to the British imperial values which he construed or misconstrued as

embodying a universal and cosmopolitan ideal he and his peers have been yearning for. They also reflect a flexible conception of African identity within which other identities can be assumed and embraced, that is, a possibility to imagine that they could shift their identities with ease from being Africans to being British. We could hastily judge this as misguided and naïve optimism, from the vantage point of later events which proved that their hopes were baseless, but their clairvoyance and farsightedness which grasped the basis of identity as choice not nature cannot be easily ignored. Their conception of an African identity was not unencumbered by notions of ethnic purism.

The zeal and devotion of black intellectuals to the universal ideal was no more evident than when they crossed swords with the imperial establishment for not living up to its promises of Christian brotherhood and civilisational ethos. In a classic case of a convert becoming more Catholic than the Pope, they reflected a fervent and unparalleled earnestness in their embrace of cosmopolitanism. According to G.M. Carter: 'They sought ... to win rights for Africans ... along the lines promised—but forever left unfulfilled—by the proponents of trusteeship and liberalism' (Carter 1978:12). The enchantment and captivation of African intellectuals with British values and ethos ran deep within the African petty bourgeois consciousness and it even continued beyond Dube's generation. Several decades later, Albert Luthuli, who also was to be the president of the ANC in the 1950s, in his memories of his student days at Adams College says: 'There seemed a point ... in striving after the Western world. It seemed to be a striving after wholeness and fulfilment' (Luthuli 1962:42). The faith and patience in the eventual fulfilment of the promises of liberal universalism withstood the imperial establishment's continued refusal to realise these ideals in practice. For these native converts assimilation was not only a practice of complicity and collaboration with the colonial order but it was the only way through which they could assert their right to be recognized as equals. They had no other theoretical and ideological means to affirm their status as world citizens and escape the exoticist identity the colonial regime wanted to imprison them in.

The liberal promise of assimilation posed a threat to the foundation and basis of the caste colonial society. The British imperial establishment reneged on its assimilationist promises to protect the integrity of the colonial

hierarchy based on unchanging racial essences. This threat was recognized by even the most liberal of white politicians like General Smuts. He rejected assimilation as a solution to the then vexing 'native question' in this country and in one of his lectures delivered at Oxford he had remarked that: 'Assimilation, while seeming to advance equality, would destroy his (natives) African system which was his highest good' (quoted in Marks & Trapido 1987:8). For colonial authorities to allow assimilation to proceed to its ultimate conclusion was to acquiesce to the demolition of a colonial order. Through assimilation a native was guaranteed ultimate equality with the colonial master on the basis of Christian civilisational brotherhood. Hence the strategy to romanticize African difference as something to be preserved and protected at all costs *ala* General Smuts. According to Seamus Deane writing in reference to the context of Ireland says: 'The definition of otherness, the degree to which others can be persuasively shown to be discordant with the putative norm, provides a rationale for conquest' (Deane 1990:12).

Colonialism especially British, had always dreaded the implementation of assimilation to its logical and ultimate conclusion; that is equality of colonial subject and colonial master, therefore elimination of a colonial relationship. Assimilation would have deprived and disarmed the hegemonic power's ideological weapon and rationale for conquest. Therein lied the revolutionary and radical dimension of assimilation which nationalist historiography would denigrate and trivialize as collaboration. John Dube's unambiguous castigation of African pre-colonial traditions and unequivocal plea to his constituency to embrace Western values evident in his speech extracted quoted earlier should be understood in this context. John Dube's legendary patience and faith in British liberal values was evident even when in his later political career he looked towards pre-colonial traditional institutions for salvation. His vacillation and double allegiance to colonially inspired universalism and Zulu ethnic nationalism was to be well documented in the meticulous scholarship of Shula Marks (1986). The essence of Dube's ambiguity can be understood as a stubborn refusal to forego universalist liberal values even when he has been politically converted to Zulu ethnic nationalism.

The second key moment in black petty bourgeoisie reaction to global integration came in the 1940s. The disillusionment with the false promises of

assimilationist ideals of British liberalism was a key determinant in the shift of black political thought. The practical limitations of the premature utopianism of assimilationist thinkers were becoming evident in the context of new social and political environment after the Second World War. Firstly assimilationist ideals precluded the politics of mass involvement and action as the struggle for change was entrusted on the eloquence of few individuals to persuade the colonial establishment to be true to its ideals of equality and universalism. Secondly, the accelerated urbanisation and industrialisation which occurred after the war brought into the fold a mass of impatient and restive constituency which was impatient for a radical change. Thirdly, the war experience of the native auxiliaries who came back home increased the push for a better deal for the natives from the imperial establishment. They had been subjected to a war propaganda in which the war was described as a war for freedom and democracy against fascist doctrines of racial supremacy championed by Germany's Adolf Hitler. Disillusioned with the ethnocentrism of British colonial mission cloaked under a universal ideal, a section of black petty bourgeoisie began to reject the assimilationist ideals of their predecessors and contemporaries. What was then embraced was the collective 'difference' and 'otherness' of the native subjects from the colonial master. African difference was used to reject colonially-driven integration and globalization. Assimilationist predecessors had fought vociferously though sometimes ambiguously against this imposed 'otherness' as it has been observed in case of Langalibalele Dube. If there is to be a single individual who can be credited with initiating a *coupure epistemologique* (epistemological break) in black political thinking it must be Anton Muziwakhe Lembede the founder president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) who propounded for the first time in South Africa a systematic theory of black nationalism militantly opposed to any assimilationist project. He was born in 1914 in Georedale, Natal, son of sharecroppers who became a school teacher, lawyer and political philosopher. Though he passed away in 1947 at tender age of 33 he was to leave an enduring legacy in black political thought.

However it must be acknowledge that a similar kind of thinking had prevailed as an undercurrent and marginal political tendency in certain black communities (mainly Western Cape and Transkei) after First World War in form of Garveyite ideas. James Thaele in Western Cape and the self-styled

black American 'Wellington' in the Transkei were key propagandists of the Garveyite ideas in their respective communities. These ideas took a millenarian and religious character (especially with the Wellington movement in the Transkei) based on the conviction that black Americans will come to liberate black South Africans from white rule and the slogan 'Am-Amelika ayeza' (Americans are coming) became the rallying cry of Garveyite adherents. These developments indicate an untheorised and populist disillusionment with imperially driven universalist values which enabled and created a fertile ground for Lembede's later theoretical excursions. Indeed R.A. Hill and G.A. Pirio say:

The Youth League's attempt in the late 1940s at formulating a philosophy of 'Africanism' would not have been possible without the South African Garvey movement that preceded it (Marks & Trapido 1987:242).

What Lembede did was to develop a coherent and systematic political philosophy of 'Africanism' which enabled the previously subaltern and undercurrent political sentiments to gain a foothold in the mainstream black political thinking. According to GM Carter

Lembede's 'Africanism' offered prescriptions for change based on a new analysis of the South African situation .... As a first attempt to formulate a creed of orthodox nationalism for black South Africa, it initiated a tradition on which later nationalists were to build ... (Carter 1978:54).

Like all nationalisms it sought to recreate a unified black subject with an Edenic past from which there was a fall which accounts for the present misery which can be alleviated by the struggle to reclaim that lost Edenic moment. Lembede's main contention and basis of his nationalist philosophy was that the assimilationist ideal which had been pursued by his political predecessors was a European ethnocentrism disguised as universalism. Outlining his new creed of nationalism aggressively championing African uniqueness and oneness Lembede had said:

Africans are one. Out of the heterogeneous tribes, there must emerge a homogeneous nation. The basis of national unity is the nationalistic feeling of the Africans, the feeling of being Africans irrespective of tribal connection, social status, educational attainment, or economic class (quoted in Karis & Carter 1977:vol2).

This articulation of black self-determination provided a sense of agency and solid sense of community amidst a sense of fragmentation, instability and disorganization occasioned by colonial capitalist development. It was in essence an attempt to impose order and coherence to black experience by elimination and suppression of differences, ambiguities and ambivalences emanating from contradictory policies of British globalization which promised an open universal fraternity but condemned Africans to perpetual otherness. The nationalists had to forge this coherence by proposing a pre-existent and unique Africanness which is different and oppositional to the dominant imperial values and ethos.

However the dissident character of black nationalism meant it could only develop and grow by negation and rejection without transcending what it opposes. Manicheism characterised its conception of African identity which exist only in a conflictual relationship to the dominant imperial culture and other things non-African. These are the beginnings of a conception of African of worldview, philosophy and political outlook which must be programmatically bound to challenge and oppose their European counterparts and other non-African influences. As strategic essentialism this Manichaeism is understandable, but what Lembede did was to define and conceive this African difference in metaphysical terms. Oppositional terms which a subaltern nationalism has to deploy to achieve its purpose of liberation must ultimately be abolished not retained as timeless essences. As Terry Eagleton has correctly observed:

Ironically, then, politics of difference or specificity is in the first place in the cause of sameness and universal identity—the right of a group victimized in its particularity to be on equal terms with others as far as their self-determination is concerned (Eagleton et al. 1990:30).

If African difference was affirmed as a politically pragmatic strategy calculated to achieve a particular political goal as Eagleton advises a much more potent weapon for anti-imperialist struggle might have been bequeathed by Lembede to future generations. What Eagleton highlights for our context here is that the particularistic weapons deployed to challenge hegemonic ethnocentrism *a la* Lembede and assimilationist aspiration for universal identity *a la* Dube should be part of one and the same struggle which in black political thought have been conceived and experienced as two contradictory ideological currents. Lembedist nationalism in challenging the bogus universalism of British colonialism it suggested no ideal and true universalism in its place but a fixed and unchanging African essence. And this legacy was to be inherited and repeated by several generations of black nationalists in South Africa from Robert Sobhukwe in the 1950s to Steve Biko in the 1970s.

The anti-assimilationist African nationalism opened the floodgates for mass participation to the previously elitist and hitherto intellectualist pre-occupation of black politics. The rhetoric of nationalism provided a sense of fulfilment and wholeness which could be claimed by all classes and sectors while earlier generation had sought it in the British universalist ideal which could only accommodate the anglicized black elite. A person who was to symbolize this dramatic turn from elitist politics of assimilation towards mass politics of heady nationalism was a young man freshly demobilised from the native regiment of the South African army by the name of Potlako Leballo. He was inspired by this kind of nationalist ideology and came to be its most ardent and loyal disciple. Leballo born in Free State in 1924, son of an Anglican priest was to symbolize the impact and influence the nationalist ideas had on the masses beyond their sophisticated and suave intellectual origins. He had joined the British war effort during Second World War after absconding from school in Lovedale and was involved in a mutiny over the colour bar regulations in the army. After the war this embittered and malcontent ex-soldier came to settle in Johannesburg where as a teacher he fell under the spell of A.M. Lembede's and A.P. Mda's novel nationalist ideas. According to G.M. Carter:

The Youth League had attracted Leballo on his return from the war, for it mirrored his own disillusionment and frustration and did not

mince words in identifying whites as the enemies of African freedom. Politics as such attracted him ... his real appetite was for combat per se, and politics offered him a boundless field of battle (Carter 1978:139).

In character, temperament, psychology and political outlook he was the exact opposite of the assimilationist-inclined and highbrow black intellectuals both of his era and of the preceding generations.

The nationalist ideology portrayed the liberation struggle in black and white terms which appealed to his militaristic, anti-intellectual and activist inclined character. As a natural rebel and non-conformist evidenced by his expulsion from Lovedale and involvement in army mutiny he found in nationalist teachings of Lembede a political ideology which confirmed and validated his predisposition for heroic action and brazen defiance of authority. Carter describes Leballo's approach to politics as follows:

What Leballo lacked in intellect or originality of thought he more than made up in stamina, physical courage and single minded devotion to the political line handed down from Lembede and Mda .... If Mda's place was in the back room or the platform before 'highbrow' audiences, Leballo's calling was to the streetcorners and the hustings where intellectual principles became transformed into the slogans and emotionalized appeals of a would-be mass movement (Carter 1978: 139).

What this political profile reveals is a dramatic change and approach in black politics which was enabled by adoption of orthodox black nationalism. A character like Leballo would have had no place in the assimilationist politics of John Dube, Sol Plaatjie and Dr. Xuma. Certainly that kind of politics would not have attracted a political persona of Potlako Laballo's temperament either. Exhibiting no gentlemanly manners and diplomacy of many black intellectuals of his era he approached politics with fervour and fanaticism of a religious zealot. His political career started as a chairman of Orlando East branch of ANC and concluded as the Acting President of the PAC dogged by controversy from beginning to the end. He was an uncompromising radical who spoke straight from the heart unimpressed by

niceties of rational argument so much beloved by his peers. Perhaps one may hazard to say his emergence and attainment of political prominence represents the beginnings of an embryonic anti-intellectualism and valourisation of an activist culture in black political experience.

The 'nationalist' rejection of assimilationist ideal had negative and positive aspects. There was no theoretical advance from the dilemma their assimilationist predecessors were locked in. They retained the same formula and merely inverted it. Everything assimilationist politicians valourised they reacted by demonizing it. Everything that was previously demonized was valourised. Importance of acquiring education was highly valued by the politicians of assimilationist era and was considered on its own be part of the struggle. But the Africanist conception and view of education became instrumentalist and utilitarian. According to Robert Sobukhwe in a famous speech he made as a student leader at Fort Hare University he exhorted his fellow graduates that education should mean 'a service for Africa'. Education thus valued only in so far as it propelled the struggle for freedom forward. This instrumentalist view of education was to be taken further by young activists of the 1970s and 1980s in their slogan 'Liberation first, education after'. Education was to be seen as a hindrance which can be dispensed anytime so that due attention can be paid to the overriding national political commitments. Politics were thus conceived narrowly as activism as opposed to intellectual work which assimilationist politicians recognized as part of their struggle to uplift black people.

The nationalists over-valourised the strength and capacity of the masses to initiate and sustain a revolutionary transformation of society with pure ideology. They therefore undermined the importance of strong political organization and structures to guide and direct spontaneous actions of the masses. The patient building and creation of structures which characterized the approach of the assimilationist politicians was considered gradualist and moderate hence its cavalier disregard by radical nationalists. The assimilationist politicians have always doubted the readiness and capability of the masses to initiate and sustain a transformative programme of society hence their reliance on international diplomacy to garner support for the African cause. Another positive feature of black assimilationist aspiration was the recognition and awareness that black political experience operated within a global context over-determined by the will of powerful global

players. The assimilationist predecessors were enabled by their pragmatism to recognize that they operated within a global environment and that as colonial subjects in a dependent state they do not yet have a full and unencumbered sovereignty over their political destiny. They may be faulted for overestimating this power of international diplomacy but they recognized that international global environment has a bearing on their aspirations and they directed their political energies accordingly. The nationalists on the other hand confused their aspirations for self-determination with reality. Because they failed to understand the rules of the global game which earlier generation of black intellectuals clearly understood, they overestimated the capacity of the masses people to determine their destiny within a global environment where national political choices are limited by the whims of imperial powers. This might have been motivated also by nationalist romanticisation and lionization of the 'people' which led them to harbour political misconceptions about the spontaneous and unguided revolutionary potential of the masses which only needed to be sparked by brave and dedicated leaders. Another misconception which came with nationalist school of thought was to give politics a metaphysical essence predicated on unbridgeable gap between whiteness and blackness. The contingent character of politics as a conflict of interests was grounded and burdened with spiritualism and metaphysical essences. Hence flexibility and change of strategy in light of new developments was frowned upon by the radical nationalists. They acquired a reputation of being intransigent and uncompromising. Their steadfast adherence and commitment to programme and strategy irrespective of its untenability has become legendary.

Disregarding the revolutionary side of assimilation thereby losing sight of its potential to shake and subvert the foundations of colonial order, radical nationalists failed to advance the black political thought despite the boldness of their insights, and pioneering ideas. Unreflective denigration of the elitist and self-preserving character of liberal leadership of the ANC led the nationalists to display a cavalier attitude to their own safety with impetuous bravado and heroic adventurism. Because it emerged out of disillusionment it failed to provide an alternative universalism to the one advocated by proponents of liberalism and remained within the cocoon of rabid particularism devoid of any imagination of a different world from the present and a vision of an utopian future beyond the limitations of the status

quo. The thralldom with the past and present obscured a vision of an alternative future and different world.

In the unqualified valourisation of African difference colonial project was unwittingly perpetuated which sought to confine the native to a static and fixed identity mythically impervious to global and modern influences. John Dube, Sol Plaatjie and others understood how disempowering was the strategy of British colonial policy of 'indirect rule' which glorified and romanticized African difference as a virtue. Lembede and Mda and their ardent disciple Potlako Leballo abandoned this aspect of the struggle and chose to perceive African otherness as an unambiguous and unproblematic weapon of anti-imperialist struggle. But to their credit they conceived of African particularity not along tribal lines dictated by colonial policy but as monolithic African identity based on common historical fate of colonial subjugation. They however, overlooked the fact that any project which opposes a hegemonic globalization without an alternative form of global solidarity is doomed. Hegemonic capitalist globalization can only be challenged effectively and meaningfully by an oppositional ideology which is equal and proportionate in breath and global reach to the very system it seeks to displace.

The double dichotomy reflects the two sides of the *modus operandi* of colonialism and imperialism. On one hand colonialism sought to assimilate the colonial subject to the ways of the colonial master as way to control and contain aspirations of equality which can never be realised in practice. The black separatism or withdrawal from the universalist ideal reflected a need to break free from the thralldom with false universalist ideal of colonial mission and build an alternative and realizable community. On the other hand colonial mission sought to keep the colonial subject in permanent otherness which can never be remedied or alleviated by either education, religious conversion or acculturation. The black aspiration for assimilation reflected a need to negate this aspect of colonialism which sought to use the difference as a prison and as a restriction and potent weapon of control. According to Richard Werbner the relationship between colonialism and traditionalism in Africa is one of complicity rather than conflict contrary to what is normally assumed. Werbner says:

With the colonial period came a conscious determination on the part of colonial authorities and missionaries to combat what they saw as

untraditional chaos by tidying up the complexity. The main thrust of their efforts was towards new rigidities, the creation of stabilized, well defined tribes, the reifying of custom in inflexible codes, the tightening of control over subjects less able to negotiate their own identities (Werbner 1996:23).

Genuine and veritable cosmopolitanism cannot afford to ignore the fact that universalism has always been central to any imperialist agenda seeking to make the whole universe after its image from ancient Roman times to the current era of American hegemony. Founding moments of cosmopolitan idea have always been motivated by a particular ethnocentrism which upholds itself as a universal standard against which all other different identities are not only denigrated but must be subordinated to it. But this universalism is always an illusion which others can only emulate and imitate but can never completely attain. Hence the difference must be valorised and romanticized to keep intact the cultural hierarchy and imperial relationship. Universalism and difference are two contradictory but constituent aspects of any ethnocentric imperialism disguised as a universalism.

The way out of this dilemma that imperialist globalization has put majority of the Third World people in is to rightly reject ethnocentric universalism it entails *ala* Lembede, Mda, Sobukhwe and Biko. They had an insight to avoid premature utopianism and recognize that the hegemonic universal brotherhood was a relationship not of equality but a ruse for imperialist domination. But unlike them we need not forego our rightful claim to global citizenship as their assimilationist predecessors have correctly charted the way *ala* Dube, Plaatjie, and Xuma. Indeed as Terry Eagleton has aptly observed:

Emancipatory politics exist to bring about the material conditions that will spell their own demise and so always have some peculiar self-destruct device built into them .... There will be no temple in the New Jerusalem, so the New Testament informs us since ecclesiastical apparatuses belong to a history in conflict, not to the realm of freedom beyond that history's extreme horizon (Eagleton et al. 1990:26).

The two strands of black political thought reflect the contradictory tendencies inherent in any utopian project. Firstly, how to deal realistically

with the challenges impeding the realisation of utopian ideal, how to be grounded in the present reality in order to deal with it effectively. Secondly, how to transcend the current reality and keep one's focus on that utopian ideal without getting trapped in the present realities. Nationalism reflects the first option and assimilationist thought reflects the second option. What the paper wants to contend is that these options are two necessary moments and dimensions of any worthy utopian project. They both involve risks which could throw the struggle for change astray. As Terry Eagleton has observed: 'Any emancipatory politics must begin with the specific, then, but must in the same gesture leave it behind' (Eagleton et al. 1990:30). The dialectical thinking construes what appears to be antithetical strategies to be necessary moments of a singular process. Coming to grips with how things are is the necessary first step towards achieving a state of how things might be. The risk involved is that in concentrating on one aspect we may neglect the other necessary and mandatory aspect of the same process. According to Fredric Jameson (2007) 'The fundamental dynamic of any Utopian politics (or of any political Utopianism) will therefore always lie in the dialectic of Identity and Difference ...' (Jameson 2007:xii). The utopian project must be grounded in realities of the present to be feasible and realisable, yet it must transcend the current reality by retaining its conception of an alternative and different order.

Recent trends in South African public debate have reflected a desire for the abandonment of racial categories as a *passé* in a post-apartheid dispensation. Jonathan Jansen for example contends that a post-apartheid government should not use these categories as the basis of its public policy. Jansen says:

South Africa needs leaders who are not imprisoned by racial hurt or racial inferiority; men and women who can define their interests, and that of the country, not in terms of race and ethnicity but in terms of ambitions such as hope and change (Jansen 2009:6).

What Jansen reflects is that the very categories which had been useful in the past have become a liability and hindrance in the present. He reflects impatience with the continued thralldom with the idea of fixed racial categories. However, Jansen's argument lacks a dialectical aspect which is

advocated by this essay. The utopian project needs not only to assert its radical difference with the present like Jansen is doing but it needs to be also grounded in the present for it to be feasible and realisable.

In conclusion, there is a need to challenge at present ethnocentrism of the dominant idea of globalization in vogue but also there is a need to imagine a new global space which is genuinely egalitarian, non-hegemonic and truly universal. In that way it's possible to transcend the colonially imposed limitations by affirming the oneness of humanity without pandering to any form of hegemonic ethnocentrism. A world in which genuine cosmopolitanism unsullied by any 'will to power' and 'desire to dominate' is both possible and feasible.

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