#### 'PATRIOTIC BLACKNESS' AND 'LIBERAL/ANTI-PATRIOTIC' WHITENESS: CHARTING THE EMERGENCE AND CHARACTER OF AN ARTICULATION OF BLACK/WHITE RACIAL SUBJECTIVITY PECULIAR TO POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

AFRICA.
Ву
Molemo Ramphalile
0608894e
Supervisor:
Dr Antje Schuhmann
A Research Report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts (Political Studies).
University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg
February 2011

#### <u>Acknowledgements</u>

dr antje schuhmann for expert supervision, for always showing faith in me when I did not have any faith in myself, for assisting in my 'intellectual' nurturing and for her all round coolness, much thanks

antje's supervisee support group members: dasantha pillay, kate joseph, emily craven, sherona, lyle prim and especially nicola cloete not only for serving as a last minute proof-reader but also for making use of her exceptional baking skills to feed the support group, much thanks

mrs gillian renshaw for her continued support and for generally making life easier, much thanks

the wits university politics department for allowing me to pursue my studies and providing a free and relaxed environment that permits students like myself to function, much thanks

family, friends, lovers, muses, acquaintances, strangers, sounds, sights, memories, textures, substances, dreams, tastes, smells... everyone and everything that had an input or acted as inspiration directly or indirectly, much thanks

### **Declaration**

I declare that this is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts (Political Studies) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Name: molemo ramphalile Signature:

15 February 2011

## Table of Contents

# Introduction:

Hypothesis and Research Question	1
Methodology: Cultural studies	2
Discourse analysis	3
Discourse theory	4
Brief overview of chapters	8
Some clarifications	9
Chapter One:	11
Racial identity and political frontiers	11
Equivalence and difference	13
Black Consciousness, frontier creation and 'othering'	14
Race and modernity	16
Conclusion	19
Chapter Two:	20
Dislocation	20
Sharpeville dislocation and Black Consciouness	22
76 dislocation and charterism	28
Conclusion	32
<u>Chapter Three:</u>	34
Non-racialism and blackness	34
The 'patriotic bourgeoisie'	38
Africanism and Mbeki	40
Nativism and cultural nationalism	42
Patriotic blackness and authenticity	46

Racial reasoning and the limits of black solidarity	50	
'Patriotic blackness' and floating signifiers	53	
Conclusion	53	
<u>Chapter Four:</u>	55	
The constructed 'liberal'	55	
Reconciliation as clean slate	58	
Genesis of a whiteness	61	
'Liberal/anti-patriotic' whiteness	63	
Crime and the moaning whites	65	
Patriotic blackness' and the white critic	69	
'Liberal/anti-patriotic' whiteness: the hardening of an identity	70	
Conclusion	71	
Conclusion:	73	
Brief summary	73	
Alternative subjectivities, alternative realities	75	

# <u>Endnotes</u>

## References