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University of the Witwatersrand

Faculty of Humanities

Political Studies

Master's Research Report

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS REVIVED:

The rise of Black Consciousness thinking in South African student politics

by

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Abstract

The history of segregation in South Africa is well documented. The shadows of the apartheid system still linger in society to date, especially in the form of racial inequality, race consciousness and racial classification. Contemporary student protests and vandalism in institutions of higher education reveal deep-seated tensions that open a can of worms concerning race and equality – elements that have long been of concern in the Black Consciousness Movement and its ideology in the early 1960s and 70s. This research report assesses how Black Consciousness tenets' and rhetoric are re-emerging in the current national student movement, from the #RhodesMustFall to the #FeesMustFall movements.

Black Consciousness ideology in South Africa, as articulated by Biko, sought the attainment of a radical egalitarian and non-racial society. Amongst some of the espoused principles of the Black Consciousness Movement that defined South African youth politics in the 1970s, is that Black Consciousness emphasised values of black solidarity, self-reliance, individual and collective responsibility, and black liberation. The year 2015 witnessed the resurgence of Black Consciousness language at the forefront of student movements, most notably the #RhodesMustFall and the #FeesMustFall campaigns.

The #FeesMustFall movement and its supporters uphold that their cause is legitimate because it does not make sense for household incomes to depreciate next to escalating costs of living and rising tuition fees. It further states that the ANC fears it because its demands stand contrary to ANC-led government's interests and have accused the ANC of attempting to capture the movement – hence the declaration that #FeesMustFall is a direct critique of the entire socio-economic and political order of the ruling ANC and exposes ANC corruption and betrayal. The movement continues, though its cause tends to be diluted and convoluted, the struggle is real but so is the legacy of Biko and the spirit of Black Consciousness.

Key words: Black Consciousness, Steve Biko, #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall, Student protests, ANC.

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1. Introduction

The history of segregation in South Africa is well documented. The shadows of the apartheid system still linger in society to date, especially in the form of racial inequality, race consciousness and racial classification. Following the negotiated settlements leading to the end of the apartheid system, it looked as though whites and blacks could actually co-exist and integrate in places of work and schooling, among other institutions. However, today's lived reality of student protests in institutions of higher education reveal deep-seated tensions around race and equality. Race, especially as it affects education, has long been of concern in the Black Consciousness Movement and its ideology. This section reviews how Black Consciousness tenets and rhetoric are re-emerging in the current national student movement, from the #RhodesMustFall to the #FeesMustFall movement. This research report will focus on Black Consciousness as expressed in Steve Biko's writings and the Black Consciousness Movement in South African context. Achille Mbembe captures the context:

"The two defensive logics of black victimhood and white denialism collude and collide, often in unexpected ways. Together they gradually foster a culture of mutual resentment, which, in turn, isolates freedom from responsibility and seriously undermines the prospects of a truly non-racial future" (Mbembe, 2008:7).

Mbembe (2007:135) argues that black people had been perceived as incapable of conceiving an "independent collective identity" and had been classified as simply limited to seeing themselves through the eyes of their oppressors; however, Biko believed that this perception could be altered through critical self-introspection by the black man in order to reconstruct the humanity of black people. Fanon, committed to the disalienation of the black man, set forth that "man is what brings society into being; that progress is in the hands of those who are willing to get rid of the worm-eaten roots of the structure" (Jinadu, 1986:28). By structure he was referring to the structure of colonisation and oppression of black people by whites. In his analysis of the social and psychological effects of colonial rule, Fanon concluded that colonial rule disengaged the black man from both himself and others so as to deepen his dependency on the system; and this

disengagement was fostered by social, economic, political and cultural institutions of colonialism (Jinadu, 1986:28).

Some of the rhetoric of Black Consciousness showed the inspiration from Fanon's ideals, such as the argument about progress being in the hands of those willing to challenge the system. However, the purpose of Black Consciousness, as an ideology, was "not to trigger a spontaneous Fanonesque eruption of the masses into violent action, but rather to rebuild and recondition the mind of the oppressed in such a way that eventually they would be ready forcefully to demand what was rightfully theirs" (Gerhart, 1979:285). To a degree this has involved a repudiation of "non-racialism" as propounded in the ANC's Freedom Charter. A statement written by adherents of Black Consciousness at the fiftieth anniversary of the Freedom Charter in 2005 read: "the most ambiguous section in the Charter is in its preamble which states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it; this is not only ahistorical but illogical; the very claim that the country belongs to all removes all claim to struggle itself" (Mngxitama, Alexander and Gibson, 2008: 4). According to Arnold (1987:1) "the idea that blacks and whites can participate as equal partners in an open organisation is being questioned even by the most ardent black supporters of non-racialism". This is also evident in Thompson (2013:4) who notes that Black Consciousness distanced itself from racial essentialism by rejecting ethnic identities only to turn around and emphasise black racial identity and solidarity.

According to Gerhart (1979:261) by 1968, Biko and some fellow African students drew their African peers into discussions concerning their role as second class citizens within the National Union of South African Students (NASUS). These discussions would lead to Biko rallying support for the establishment of an "all-black movement" that would eliminate the "artificial symbol of integrated student politics and white liberal leadership" (Gerhart, 1979:261).

The concept of Black Consciousness gained significant popularity in South African student politics when its activists, notably Biko (influenced by the writings of Fanon amongst other critical writers), realised that the oppression of black people by the white supremacist government of the apartheid era in South Africa had damaging

psychological effects and saw the need for consciousness raising. The engineering of the Black Consciousness Movement from this realisation "represented the liberation movement of the mind and a psychological revolution aimed at forging Black thought and feeling into Black pride and ultimately Black unity" (Arnold, 1987:xiv). Below, Biko quoted in Arnold (1987:22) elucidates the essence of the physical and psychological emancipation of the black man:

"I think the black man is subjected to two forces in this country. He is first of all oppressed by an external world through institutionalized machinery, through laws that restrict him from doing certain things, through heavy work conditions, through poor pay, through very difficult living conditions, through poor education – these are all external to him – and secondly, and this we regard as the most important, the black man in himself has developed a certain state of alienation. He rejects himself, precisely because he attaches the meaning of whiteness to all that is good; in other words he associates good – and he equates good with white".

The Black Consciousness Movement under Biko and the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) was a product of the youth, specifically students, and founded by the same group to address racial and academic institutional inequality and this may plausibly be one of the many reasons that will explain its ideological resurgence in contemporary student protests at institutions of higher education in the country. That said, this report sets forth to highlight the similarities and differences between the Black Consciousness that is re-animated in the current student movement and that of the 1970s student movement; hence the need to trace/map Black Consciousness tenets, rhetoric and dialect, as a means of identifying Black Consciousness in present day students protests.

Magaziner (2010:130) states that the roots of true Black Consciousness centred on thinking and analysing and that "telling people what to believe was not the point"; SASO members were doing Black Consciousness not teaching it – "the emphasis was on slow, methodical work in order to help people generate analysis which then enables them to interpret and act against the roots of the situation". According to Thompson (2013:3), the Black Consciousness Movement represented "the dramatic attempt by a new generation of intellectuals" to reinvent the identity of black people through

strategies that intentionally undermined the founding principles of the apartheid system, precisely to denounce racialism.

Section four of the SASO Policy Manifesto of 1973 defines Black Consciousness as follows, Frederikse (1990: 108-9):

- Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life;
- The basic principle of Black Consciousness is that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity;
- The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by the black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically, and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness;
- That black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others;
- The message of Black Consciousness has to spread to reach all sections of the black community.

MacDonald (2006:116) asserts that Biko's understanding of race and racism was specific because he argued that non-racial politics were "illusionary in the context of white domination", whilst South African political traditions and the African National Congress took race as "a given", something true and not expected to change basically. Even Thompson (2013:20) iterates that the Black Consciousness conception of race, more often than not, contradicts what he perceives as the dominant conception of race in South Africa's political tradition, which is dynamic and progressive nationalism. This reflects tensions between class-centric socialist and liberal dialect and Black Consciousness dialect. Indeed, even today with the resurgence of Black Consciousness in the current movement, tensions and youth frustrations with the ruling party concessions are prevalent and outwardly demonstrated during protests and on social media, mostly addressing poverty, and unemployment and class inequality. Thompson (2013:6) argued that a non-racial society will remain an illusion in a country where race

and poverty remain sources of tension; he further asserts that such a society will in fact "remain multiracial rather than move towards non-racialism". This tension with the ruling party is another element with which this research report is concerned with – it is important to understand why the youth are so discontent with the compromises of the older generation – especially those of the ruling party and why race remains a source of tension.

March 9, 2015, will be remembered as the day South Africa witnessed the uprising by students of colour at the University of Cape Town. Here a protest movement that has come to be known as the #RhodesMustFall movement ensued in response to the statue that commemorated Cecil John Rhodes, a prominent imperial figure and symbol of colonialism. An article on Aljazeera by Kenichi Serino on 6 April 2015 reported that the student protest leader of the #RhodesMustFall campaign, Kealeboga Ramaru, echoed that activism against the statue was a critique of the idea of a "rainbow nation" in an institution that celebrates symbols of black oppression whilst nothing black is celebrated (Serino, 2015). The article further reported that participating students shared sentiments hostile to an illusionary rainbow nation, arguing that South Africans were too quick to accept the rhetoric of a rainbow nation amidst huge economic disparities.

On August 20, 2015, a documentary titled "Luister", about the lives of black students at Stellenbosch University went viral revealing racism in effect at the University, most notably the continued use of Afrikaans as the medium of learning; when students voiced their frustration, resistance was witnessed on the part of the institution in question and this was followed by the provocation of the race debate on social media. A new protest emerged in mid-October 2015, the #FeesMustFall campaign, which started at the University of the Witwatersrand and quickly spread across national tertiary institutions such as Tshwane University of Technology, University of Cape Town, Rhodes University and the University of KwaZulu-Natal to name a few. The movement ensued in light of the increase of registration fees at the University of the Witwatersrand by 10.5 percent.

While the movement was initially a means of demonstrating frustrations with the high fees by students from disadvantaged backgrounds, supported by sympathetic lecturers,

white students and society in general, it quickly descended into partisan tensions and violence, leading to disruptions on campuses, vandalism and student arrests. Eventually, in the afternoon of 23 October 2015, President Jacob Zuma announced that there would be no increase of university fees in 2016. However, further protests were instigated.

Curriculum related protests preceded the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall protests – albeit they had a lower profile. Politicised students have been challenging the nature of curricula (this goes back to 2014) proclaiming it is still imperial in nature, calling for African-centered intellectual material and turning the discourse into what has become known as “Fallism”.

More than four decades since its popularity in South African student politics, Black Consciousness is being revived and has resurged in the current national student movement. The purpose of the research is to study specifically the factors relating this resurgence of Black Consciousness philosophy and politics in the current student movement. An engagement with the secondary literature on Black Consciousness texts by its primary protagonists, Steve Biko, Strini Moodley and Barney Pityana will facilitate the mapping of tenets and ideas of Black Consciousness and how these are being re-animated in the current movement as a political vocabulary and ideology. Therein, the question that seeks to be explored is this: **What factors are driving the resurgence of Black Consciousness in the current student movement?**

The research question is built on the observation that the student movement, politics and campaigns of 2015 and 2016 have centered on the politics, ideology and dialect of Black Consciousness. The research project aims to investigate and determine what factors are driving the rise of Black Consciousness thinking in contemporary student politics and protests. The research report seeks to contribute to the intellectual understanding of the historic events surrounding the current student politics, from #RhodesMustFall to #FeesMustFall. In this light, the paper endeavors to understand in what ways is the philosophy of Black Consciousness being revived by the current student movement in a way that is not simply a renewed application of Black Consciousness in the present, but its reconstruction, remaking, and re-invention in line

with current protests. Therefore, as important as the question of why the student movement is using Black Consciousness is the question of how the student movement is using Black Consciousness. To achieve this end, it will be imperative to engage the public discourse of the current student movement , through social and traditional media resources.

Chapter one engages with the secondary literature of Black Consciousness wherein relevant texts on Black Consciousness will be combed for the intellectual and political content of Black Consciousness. The review of Black Consciousness tenets as a philosophy and a politics is intended to help clarify what Black Consciousness is to make it possible to identify it in the current student movement.

Chapter two begins by tracing Black Consciousness dialect in the current student movement to show its content and contours. Therefore, the broad purpose of this chapter is to explore which specific tenets of Black Consciousness are being resurrected for the purpose of providing a more nuanced account of the ways in which Black Consciousness is being reborn in the current movement.

Chapter three sets out to identify, interpret and analyse what factors are driving the resurgence of Black Consciousness in the current student movement. This chapter is intended to shed light on the historic events surrounding the current student politics, from #RhodesMustFall to #FeesMustFall and new movements such as the #ScienceMustFall and #OpenStellenbosch movements.

The conclusion provides a summary of the whole project demonstrating that Black Consciousness has resurged and how exactly it is being re-animated in the current student movement. The chapter further illustrates the significance of Black Consciousness in past and contemporary student politics.

Chapter 1

Black Consciousness central tenets: Philosophy and politics

"We have to find out what went wrong – where and when; and we have to find out whether our position is a deliberate creation of God or an artificial fabrication of the truth by power hungry people whose motive is authority, security, wealth and comfort" (Steve Biko).

The 1960s saw the rise of Black Consciousness to fill the vacuum created by the banning of both the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC). This chapter will explore the literature on the political and intellectual history of Biko's Black Consciousness and its varied interpretations in South African politics. This will be followed by a look at the dominant interpretations of Black Consciousness to clarify what Black Consciousness is to make it possible to identify it in the current student movement.

Fredrickson (1995:300) suggests that the Black Consciousness Movement enshrined both the ANC's doctrine of multi-racialism – embracing a society composed of varied races and cultures, with none being dominant than others – and the PAC's confrontational militancy; it was the rejection of the 1972 governmental schemes of separate development that "established the anti-apartheid bona fides of Black Consciousness". Thus Biko stated: "we black people should all the time keep in mind that South Africa is our country and that all of it belongs to us". This exclusive black ownership stance, according to Fredrickson (1995:301), was a "conscious repudiation" of the Freedom Charter's first preamble that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white – it became visible that the Black Consciousness Movement had elements of the anti-charterist ideas of the PAC and was thus seen as a revival of it.

According to Fatton (1986:40) the Black Consciousness Movement awakened a surge of moral anger and its radicalisation fueled revolutionary activity that had started to wane following the banning of the ANC and PAC. He further asserts that "the development of Black Consciousness as a counter-consciousness, channeling the unified opposition of the black population to the dominance of the white core, became a

fundamental and necessary ingredient in the process of challenging white supremacy", because to counter the ideology of the oppressive class weakens their power over the black mind and thus propels society towards a revolution (Fatton, 1986:41). Another distinctive feature of Black Consciousness that separated it from the Pan-Africanists was their emphasis on the need for the psychological rehabilitation of the black mind as a "precondition for political resistance" (Fredrickson, 1995:302). As Magaziner (2010:16) puts it, after the making of Black Consciousness, between 1968 and 1972, Strini Moodley put it that Black Consciousness was about the "projection of beingness" and that it was not something one believed or practiced, but rather "it was something you were".

Fredrickson (1995:301) suggests that the Black Consciousness Movement diverged significantly from Pan-Africanism, more so in its definition of "black"- for Biko and other architects of Black Consciousness, those previously referred to as "non-whites", including Indians and coloureds, could identify as black, provided they themselves identified with the struggle against racial subjugation – on the other hand, they maintained that those black people who accepted and cooperated with white domination, continued to deserved the title "non-white". Discussing what being black meant under Black Consciousness, Magaziner (2010:42) writes that the SASO Policy Manifesto, agreed on in 1971, defined being black as "those who are by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society". Magaziner (2010:43) further attests that Biko clarified that SASO was not a movement for Africans, or Indians or Coloureds, but a "movement for people who are oppressed" – blackness was limited to "those without franchise", but it expanded beyond family and pigmentation. Likewise, Arnold (1987:12) highlights SASO perceptions of blackness: "being black is not a matter of pigmentation – being black is a reflection of mental attitude". In addition, a SASO leadership training paper clearly stated "black people – real black people – are those who can manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their souls to the white man" (Arnold, 1987:13).

Fatton (1986:58) argues that it would be erroneous to reduce the Black Consciousness Movement to a mere “cultural renaissance”. He further asserts that Black Consciousness recognised that white people could not, nor did they experience “first-hand the predicament of being black”. The rejection of collaboration with whites was not a matter of pigmentation but above all “it was due to their exclusive and abusive bourgeois privileges”. Therefore, “whites could not join in the struggle of the black masses”. From this premise, Black Consciousness became conscious of the impact of material conditions of existence. Blackness went further than skin colour, its determinants included the lived daily experience of oppression and exploitation of the masses, be it peasants or urban workers. The struggle was real and felt on a daily basis by blacks. As Fatton (1986:58) puts it “a white man could sympathize with a black man but the white man’s economic privileges almost inexorably kept him white; as such, he remained at best a paternalistic reformer, and at worst, a conscious exploiter”.

Gerhart (1979:262) asserts that self-reliance was at the frontline of the SASO dialect. In a policy declaration in early 1970, Biko wrote “Blacks are tired of standing at the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing; they want to do things for themselves and all by themselves”. SASO critiqued liberalism as an ideology. Gerhart (1979:265) quotes Biko’s words in the newsletter with reference to SASO’s critique of liberalism: “the liberals’ view the oppression of blacks as a problem that has to be solved; from time to time, the liberals make themselves forget about the problem; on the other hand, in oppression the blacks are experiencing a situation from which they are unable to escape at any given moment – theirs is a struggle to get out of the situation and not merely to solve a peripheral problem as is the case with liberals – this is why blacks speak with a greater sense of urgency than whites”.

Magaziner (2010:42) highlights that Pityana called for black men to be on their own. Another element of liberal ideology that SASO was critical of was the perception that exclusively black political organisations and approaches were as racist as exclusively white ones. SASO argued, according to Gerhart (1979:266), that this conception had sustained the longstanding prevention of Africans from determining “their responses to white racism”; hence Biko sustained that “one cannot be a racist unless they have the

power to subjugate". His radical stance as SASO president was noted in later articles stating "we are collectively segregated against, what can be more logical than for us to respond as a group?" (Gerhart,1979: 266).

"The essence of Black Consciousness is the realization by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bound them to perpetual servitude. This philosophy of Black Consciousness therefore expresses group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisaged self. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realization by blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Biko, as quoted in Fatton,1986:78).

For Black Consciousness architects, the affirmation of blackness as a positive identity meant freedom in spirit and a commitment to the struggle for liberation from physical oppression. As theologian Manas Buthelezi once stated, "as long as somebody says to you, you are black, blackness as a concept remains a symbol of oppression and something that conjures up feelings of inferiority. But when the black man himself says I am black, blackness assumes a different meaning altogether; it then becomes a symbol of liberation and self-articulation" (Fredrickson, 1995:305). Similarly, Magaziner (2010:46) advocates that Biko's arrival at "black modern culture" was the result of the notion that blackness "shared humanisms concern with human relationships and its desire to contribute to a universal human future"; from this perspective, black culture – and blackness more generally – liberated the black man.

While Black Consciousness was initially inspired by Christianity and Negritude thought, its principles grew to embody class consciousness, recognising the central role of man in abolishing oppressive social structures (Fatton, 1986:56). On the other hand, Badat (1999:87) argues that "SASO viewed race as the primary line of cleavage"; he further suggests that class and gender issues were of little importance and equally less recognised. While the Black Consciousness Movement put importance on black culture, identity and self-love, these alone were not enough to overthrow white supremacy.

"The basic tenets of Black Consciousness are that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity. The black man must build his own value systems; see himself as self-defined and not as defined by others" (SASO Policy Manifesto as quoted in Fatton, 1986:80).

Badat (1999:103) argues that it became clear by the mid-1970s that a new form of thinking was manifesting within SASO. The SASO Policy Manifesto adopted in 1971 is by far the most detailed source of the true tenets of Black Consciousness and it became the single most important document of the Black Consciousness Movement. A section of the Manifesto reads: "SASO upholds the concept of Black Consciousness and the drive towards black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding ourselves of the shackles that bind us to perpetual servitude" (Fatton, 1986:70). In line with the SASO Policy Manifesto, Badat (1999:89) states that SASO proclaimed to uphold the concept of Black Consciousness, which it precisely defined as "an attitude of the mind, a way of life".

Hirson (1979:296) summarises the founding principles of Black Consciousness – self-discovery and self-realisation – as not limited to but inclusive of "liberation from psychological oppression, the building of a new awareness, the establishment of a new basic dignity, the framing of a new attitude of mind, a rediscovery of the history of the people, and a cultural revival". A more detailed explanation comes from Magaziner (2010:50) who distinguishes Black Consciousness in this country from that of the United States of America by arguing that while consciousness was "the beginning, not the end" for African Americans, the situation in South Africa was unique considering that Apartheid was inescapable and black South Africans had to respond with urgency, "this is why a philosophy of liberation mattered more than the raw materialism of economic change". In his discussion of the making of Black Consciousness under SASO, Magaziner (2010:50) advocates:

"Maturity was one step, historical and defiant blackness was another, together, these cultivated a radical consciousness, an attitude of the mind and a way of life, from which the future could be built; by naming this attitude of the mind Black Consciousness, SASO activists staked their unique claim".

Furthermore, in his extensive discussion of the making of Black Consciousness, from theory to practice and a way of life, Magaziner (2010:50) suggests that Black Consciousness became an exclusive determinant under SASO when it became a movement; however, the "movement" part was not preconceived, it was initially "mind power" and hypothetical at the time. Black Consciousness would later mature into a movement as noted in activist's language change, as with Strini Moodley's definition of Black Consciousness as "the projection of beingness", which Magaziner (2010:51) suggests was the final element of the carving of the liberating philosophy.

"While the ANC had promised freedom in our lifetime and had failed to deliver; SASO promised instead only a new way of life and attitude of the mind – and argued that awakened consciousness would prove to be the renaissance of the twentieth century. The future was far off and opaque, but SASO's language was clear. Theirs was a more immediate terrain of struggle – bounded by the space between ears – that would, in the end, shape lives. Attaining new adult selves through Black Consciousness was the first step. Until this goal was achieved, the future was unthinkable." (Magaziner, 2010: 51).

Likewise, Fatton (1986:71), distinguishing the course of Black Consciousness ideology from that of previous liberation movements, argues that the Black Consciousness Movement represented unified black resistance in the 1970s – while the ANC and PAC represented black resistance on different ends, the former being liberal and the latter radical – and predicts that its relevance and influence will continue, possibly in modified forms for future black revolutionaries. The author further suggests that while, initially, the Black Consciousness Movement represented a "diffuse tendency" as opposed to a clear and consistent ideology, it gradually developed into a neat and consistent liberation ideology. Thus according to Fatton, the Black Consciousness Movement was the "ultimate hegemony of blackness"; and it became a revolutionary theory (1986:76). Black Consciousness here is perceived to be the antithetical stage in the long and difficult process of ideological liberation – therefore, as a revolutionary movement, Black Consciousness was compelling because, as Fatton (1986:77) puts it: "a true humanity in the Black Consciousness scheme was the revolutionary and dialectical actualisation of a colour-blind and classless society".

Biko, as quoted in van Wyk (2007:156), stated that the philosophy of Black Consciousness was fashioned to enable the expression of “group pride and the determination of the black to rise and attain the envisage self”.

“Being part of an exploitative society in which we are often the direct objects of exploitation, we need to evolve a strategy towards our economic situation. We are aware that blacks are still colonized even within the borders of South Africa; their cheap labour has helped make South Africa what it is today. Our money from the townships takes a one-way journey to white shops and white banks, and all we do in our lives is pay the white man in labour or in coin. Capitalist exploitative tendencies, coupled with the overt arrogance of white racism, have conspired against us. Thus, in South Africa now it is very expensive to be poor” (Biko as quoted in van Wyk, 2007:161).

Fatton (1986:72) says that Black Consciousness activists were aware of the “black petty-bourgeoisie” that were never willing to sacrifice the material and political privileges granted to them by white capitalism. Therefore, the cause stretched to black liberation encompassing the integration of blacks “into the modified structure of a capitalist economy devoid of colour”. However, Badat (1999:100) argues that reference to capitalism under the Black Consciousness Movement was not entirely new – this is evident in SASO Newsletter articles between 1975 and 1976, where Bantustans started to be linked to white capitalist exploitation. Therefore, Fatton (1986:93) noted that Black Consciousness dialect condemned capitalist exploitation, stating “let blacks take full notice of the fact that homelands are not for our benefit but to maintain the chains that bind us into a perpetual servitude by keeping our eyes away from the pot from which the racial poison is being brewed; they are there to maintain the capitalist system of this country”.

Similarly, Fatton (1986:80) suggests that Black Consciousness had carved a sophisticated analysis of social classes to that extent; the Movement became much more than a mere cultural manifestation of a “frustrated petty bourgeois black intelligentsia”.

Chapter two

Tracing Black Consciousness in the current student movement

This chapter commences by looking at the origins of the student protests of 2015-16, from the #RhodesMustFall to #FeesMustFall, which grew into a national movement characterised by student protests in almost all universities in the country. The chapter highlights the relational character of the language of the contemporary student movement and Black Consciousness dialect. The chapter proceeds by tracing Black Consciousness discourse in the current student movement to show its content and contours.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the current student movement started in March 2015 with the #RhodesMustFall movement, following the defiling of the Rhodes statue at the University of Cape Town with faeces, an act which resulted in the growing momentum and publicity of the abbreviated #RMF on social media platforms. On October 14th, in the same year, another movement ensued at the University of the Witwatersrand, where the Student Representative Council organised a mass protest at the Braamfontein campus over the proposed 10.5 percent fee increase. In support of the mass protest, students blocked all university entrances and all classes were cancelled on that day. The unfolding of these student protests led to their comparison, by media and societal observers, to the 1976 Soweto Uprising; however, these events were in actual fact not the first student demonstrations over high fees. Tertiary institutions such as the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) in Soshanguve, Pretoria and the University of Fort Hare – which are both predominantly attended by black students – have both been protesting over high fees for years but without much media attention or government follow up.

On September 30, 2016, Nico Cloete published an article in University World News, where he argued that when Minister Blade Nzimande addressed the student fees standoff he frequently made reference to the poor and the working class as a single group, the so called “missing middle class” as another and those earning more than

R600 000 per annum as three separate groups, thereby emphasising class within the higher education debate. Cloete (2016) further argues that NSFAS beneficiaries found no offense in being labeled “poor”; that instead, it was the rich blacks posing as poor due to their skin colour that found this classification embarrassing; and, in his opinion, what was more problematic was the rich getting free education in the name of the poor.

A Wits PhD candidate in the department of education, Leigh-Ann Naidoo wrote an open letter to Barney Pityana on 14 April 2015 addressing his silence on the burning issues of the #RhodesMustFall movement at its peak. In the letter, Naidoo (2015) states that she had been following many writings on the #RhodesMustFall movement; adding that her letter was provoked by Pityana’s silence when the University of Cape Town’s management called for the end of the #RhodesMustFall movement’s occupation of the Bremner Building, later renamed Azania House by the movement – Azania was the name that was preferred by Black Consciousness protagonists for South Africa – she questions why Pityana, one of the founders of SASO and the Black Consciousness Movement, can remain silent about something so connected to his own history and legacy. Naidoo (2015) further noted in the letter that she went through Black Consciousness archives at Wits, where she encountered the importance of education in transforming society and the role of the project of conscientisation for social consciousness; from this she sets forth that Pityana knows that Black Consciousness “is necessary because white supremacy needs the antithesis of Black Consciousness before it can be transcended into non-racialism”.

In addition, Naidoo (2015) further advocates that the #RhodesMustFall movement “takes seriously Black Consciousness and Biko” and that the young activists of this movement are reading Fanon, Cabral, Nkrumah, and other literature that Black Consciousness protagonists were reading and debating back in their youth. Similarly, Tafira (2013:76) also acknowledges that political education in the form of public lectures and monthly workshops, mainly by Andile Mngxitama, were conducted in Soweto “as part of a broader objective of conscientisation”. He further points out that the classes were attended by youth comprised of children aged 10, high school and tertiary students, and even young adults – and that the content covered in the curriculum dealt

with radical black texts such as Fanon, Cabral and C.L.R. James, among others. Thus Naidoo (2015) wonders why so many Black Consciousness stalwarts, including Pityana, were unable to accept the validity of the #RhodesMustFall movement. Furthermore, Pityana was then asked to not be enmeshed into politics of the belly: “is it that you have been contorted by privilege and comfort?” she wrote; and concludes by requesting that stalwarts not watch students and their actions be criminalised. In accordance, Naidoo’s open letter goes on to suggest that people like Pityana fail to recognise that these students are playing a very central role in redeveloping relevant philosophies and “figuring out a decolonized consciousness” (Naidoo, 2015).

This discussion has begun with Naidoo’s article, first because it sets forth that indeed Black Consciousness was being revived from the emergence of the #RhodesMustFall movement; secondly because it maps how this was done via public protest and then by revealing what students are reading as an inspiration for their movement; and, third because she touches on how and why students see value in reading what Black Consciousness activists read and what they took from those writers and their texts. Naidoo’s views about the presence and importance of Black Consciousness in the student movement are similar to that of Xolela Mangcu, whose article “A chink in the ANC’s armour” in New Africa in February 2016, argued “indeed, the influence of Steve Biko’s Black Consciousness philosophy was evident in the language of decolonisation that students were using during protests” (Mangcu, 2016). Similarly, Ndlovu and Vraagom (2016) engaged the current student movement in an article on the Daily Maverick on 25 October 2016.The authors set forth that the movement was “built on the principles of Black Consciousness” and included elements of intersectionality, that together these ideologies attempted to disrupt multiple systems of oppression that black people tackle on a daily basis (Ndlovu and Vraagom, 2016).

Among the issues that shaped and defined the student protests at one point or another was the colour conflict and lack of transformation at institutions of higher education. Identity interests and differences between white and black students were exacerbated by the apparent ousting or rejection of white liberals in the name of protecting the cause and as the movement radicalised, so did this separation, going as far as the public

rejection of both black and white liberals in the student movement and protests. Not only was this evident in media reports but it was equally prevalent in student blogs, articles and interviews.

"A class is formed when persons who perform the same function in the production process become aware of their common interests and unite to promote them against the opposing class. Thus in order that a group of people can bring about change there must be an identity of interests which they seek to protect and promote. I submit that any identity of interest between black and white is effectively stifled by the colour conflict" (Barney Pityana as quoted in Fatton, 1986:83).

On April 1st, 2015, in an article on The Daily Vox by Raeesa Pather, during the second week of the occupation of the Bremner Building at the University of Cape Town, Pather (2015) spoke to three protesting students concerning the apparent "rejection" of white liberals in the course of decolonising education and why the term "decolonisation" was given preference to "transformation". The author, Pather (2015) reported that her findings revealed that the #RhodesMustFall movement was drawing on Black Consciousness principles, resulting in the campaign limiting the involvement of whites "to ensure that black people remain leaders of the movement and to safeguard it against white liberalism". Pather (2015) goes on to highlight the movement's mission statement:

"For a long time the black has been listening with patience to the advice he has been receiving (from whites) on how best to respond to the kick. With painful slowness he is now beginning to show signs that it is his right and duty to respond to the kick in the way he sees fit."

Following interviews she conducted at the University of Cape Town, Pather shared some of the responses she received from white students regarding their reasons for not joining the #RhodesMustFall movement. Among the respondents, a 21 year old Nic Summers expressed that he felt the struggle was worthy but "it's not my fight". The business science student went on to elaborate that this is a "non-white fight" therefore it requires leaders of colour because it would go against what the movement stands for if the face of it was white and suggested that white participation in his opinion would imply that things only become legitimate once there is white involvement and that it should not

be so in this day and age (Pather, 2015). On the other hand, 26 year old Cole Noble stated that he did not feel strongly enough about the movement and that he would not join because of the constant feeling of having to apologise for being white but maintained that he was open to what students were saying about the Rhodes statue.

Pather (2015) reported that the movement rejected transformation as a "superficial phrase", adding that one of the interviewees, Ramapha Ramaru, emphasised that there was never an attempt to decolonize the institution, from the time of its inception. According to Pather (2015), Ramaru further declared that it was not the black student's duty to "conscietise" white students: "if we are going to take up that role, we are compromised by virtue of the power dynamics that exist and its exhausting trying to explain yourself to someone who is not willing to understand". In their relentlessness to occupy the Bremner Building, the organisation of the #RhodesMustFall movement centered on the establishment of six subcommittees, including but not limited to: education; the movement's literature comprised of texts by Biko and Fanon, literature on radical action – including protests – creative expression, media relations and support; these were organised in the effort to sustain the movement (Pather 2015).

Far more pressing than the colour conflict – but closely intertwined with the issue of transformation – was the need for the decolonisation of education. While the calls for free education were the primary reason behind the widespread support for the student movement, the calls for the decolonisation of education were key in securing academic support, along with that of campus staff. Not only that but it was discussions surrounding this matter that exposed the perceived racist and classist views of the government and university managements. The following accounts by Brian Kamanzi and Shaeera Kalla capture these sentiments.

On November 3, 2016, Brian Kamanzi wrote an article that was published on Al Jazeera about the decolonisation of education. In the article the University of Cape Town Masters student argues that student protests are nothing new, that they have been a way of life in historically black universities and colleges. He adds that what makes the student protests of 2015-16 distinct is that they are playing out at historically white privileged institutions that retained their colonial foundations post-apartheid (Kamanzi,

2016). With the opening of the doors of these previously white institutions and the growing intake of other races, the demands for the decolonisation of curriculum started growing and was galvanised when the #RhodesMustFall movement commenced and brought into question the lack of transformation at the University of Cape Town. In addition, Kamanzi (2016) further notes that students collaborated with campus staff because they too have been affected by institutional operations such as outsourcing which has reportedly decreased wages and worsened working conditions – to this end, the collaboration proved fruitful in institutions such as the University of South Africa, which won an insourcing agreement for their institution.

In accordance, on 12 November 2015, Fin Week's Jana Jacobs interviewed Shaeera Kalla who was the outgoing Wits SRC president when the #FeesMustFall movement started. On the question of how Kalla perceived government's commitment to addressing higher education long-term issues and demands, the respondent cautioned that without adequate funding from the government, these protests were likely to become "perpetual in nature as they already are at some campuses" – making reference to TUT, who have long been protesting but because the institution in historically black, their strikes were not taken seriously by either the government or traditional media. However, Kalla argued that because Wits is a historically white institution, attention was instantaneous, arguing that this reveals "how university managements and government prioritise issues in a classist and racist manner" (Jacobs, 2015).

Following the announcement of the zero percent increase in 2016, Jacobs (2015) reported that Kalla seemed unimpressed with the settlement, arguing that it was a short-term solution and that it did not address structural and systemic issues concerning university operations and management in a broader sense. The respondent further elaborated on her views asserting that the no fee increment further "shifts all blame away from universities to the government, which downplays the fact that universities run with almost complete autonomy and have failed dismally at ensuring they are accessible and empowering for the most marginalised in society" – hence the

#FeesMustFall movement was not backing down. Thus Kalla added that the movement remains about free and quality education, and the end of outsourcing on campuses.

Furthermore, movements such as the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall have inspired newer movements such as #ScienceMustFall. On April 25, 2015, Dr. Chanda Prescod-Weinstein wrote an article titled 'Decolonising science reading list' on medium.com, which addresses the relationship between colonialism and modern science. Prescod-Weinstein (2015) challenges the narrative that physics began with Greeks and was later adopted or inherited by Europeans; the Dr. therefore argues that "Greek" is actually the umbrella term for Egyptians and Mesopotamians under Greek rule, which means physics is not so European after all because the Egyptians and Mesopotamians are of African descent. He further suggests that this misinterpretation thus complicates "both racist narratives about people of colour and innovation as well as discourse around whether science is fundamentally wedded to Euro-American operating principles of colonialism, imperialism and domination for the purpose of resource extraction".

The views of Prescod-Weinstein in this article highlight that modern science could possibly be a manifestation of racist and capitalist narratives that were intended to enrich colonisers. Thus, Dr. Prescod-Weinstein's concluding argument is that the discourse around "diversity, equity and inclusion" in science has to be viewed as a "reclamation project" for people of non-European decent (Prescod-Weinstein, 2015).

Far more pressing than the issue of science potentially serving the interests of people of European descent, is that of race. The race debate is nothing new regarding race relations in South African but the growth of the student movement also witnessed the intensity of black victimhood and white denialism, and the prominence of Fallism within the student movement.

On the question of race, Siya Khumalo (2016) responded to Sidley's blog article "I know I'm not supposed to ask but are we still welcome here?". The respondent says that the question posed insinuates that black people have the power to decide white people's fate and are ever ready to use that power violently. He radically notes that such a

question downplays white people's economic power in this country – therefore, it is not a question of accountability in Khumalo's view but rather that of white victimhood. As an example of white people playing into victimhood, an article on News24 by Helen Zille, titled "Stop blaming whiteness", highlights that most humanities faculties in South African institutions of higher education seem to have accepted that "whiteness is the biggest barrier to black advancement"; hence she asserts that this attack on "whiteness" comes close to a new form of tyranny in South African politics (Zille, 2016).

"Some people who should know better do not know that powerlessness is never commensurate with racism. Without power black people can never be racists, let alone practice it" (Sono as quoted in Tafira, 2013:196).

Thus, Ngcaweni (2016), writing in The DailyVox, argued that the essence of Fallism in the 2015-16 student protests is that "they acknowledge the doomed existence of the black body" in the event that power and knowledge systems are not decolonized; hence they have taken it upon themselves to deconstruct colonial legacies in institutions of higher education "for a future liberated South Africa" because these are premises that have retained colonial legacies even after the fall of apartheid. Ngcaweni echoes what the SASO Policy Manifesto states, as quoted in Fatton (1986:80) that "the basic tenets of Black Consciousness are that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity." Fallism, in this instance emphasises one of the firm tenets of Black Consciousness whilst also drawing from the Fanon, as did Black Consciousness protagonists like Biko where Fanon referred to action as "mandatory generation responsibilities" (Ngcaweni, 2016).

While some observers have argued that the student protests were out of hand, lack orderliness, and that they could have been carried out in a logical and civilized manner, Nordlinger (2016), writing in the National Review, argued "don't be silly, students don't have the time or patience for that now". There is certainly some truth to this, as stated earlier, the movement does lack organisation and structure, purposefully so. For instance, Ntokozo Qwabe, who led the anti-Rhodes movement at Oxford, is a South African law student at Oxford but what brought ire to his situation was that he is a

beneficiary of the Rhodes scholarship whilst simultaneously trying to defame the Rhodes legacy. As can be expected, Qwabe has been criticised for hypocrisy but he remains radical and unapologetic for his stance, arguing “I am not a beneficiary of Rhodes but a beneficiary of the resources and labour of my people which Rhodes pillaged and enslaved”. Thus, Nordlinger (2016) suggests that in Qwabe’s mind, he is taking back what is genetically his by virtue of being black.

As previously mentioned, the cause of the student movement grew to feature the struggles of university staff that were simultaneously fighting outsourcing. Writing in the Workers World News’ December 2015 issue, Leigh-Ann Naidoo engaged the #FeesMustFall strategy of building a movement through cross-class solidarity. Being a Wits student and staff member herself, although having advanced to middle class, Naidoo (2015) spends time struggling with the workers and students involved in the movement at Wits and writes that it is an unbearable experience as one gets a preview of the hidden and painful lives of the poor black students and outsourced workers. From this insight, the author notes that students’ support for the workers grew, “protests grew, and the demand was clear: we have to fight to end this dehumanising system”; she marvels at the amazing solidarity witnessed between students and workers as they became aware that their struggles are “connected and gain strength from each other” (Naidoo, 2015). Finally, she concluded by affirming that the power of this aligned movement is that “it is experimenting with a new way of struggling that calls upon all to participate and reflect more consciously” (Naidoo, 2015).

It became apparent that outsourcing, just like the increase of tuition fees, was becoming a national problem within institutions of higher education. For example, Brian Kamanzi (2015), also writing in Workers World News – concerning the conception of a decolonized society – expressed that outsourcing must be done away with for the effective implementation of “dignified living wages”, adding that this “coupled with the call for free and quality education, speaks directly to a demand to restructure the very basis under which our economic logic functions”. The author emphasised the need for principled and radical solidarity across the country to perpetuate non-partisan politics.

There have been cross-border comparisons between the current student movements' alliance with workers and that of the Black Consciousness Movement with the worker's strikes in Durban in 1973. Leonard Gentle (2015) captures this comparison when he argues that while the Black Consciousness Movement was complemented by the 1973 workers strikes it was further heightened by the 1976 Soweto Uprisings. On the other hand, the contemporary movement started with communities, followed by workers and now tertiary students – however, the pattern is there and its very visible – as Gentle (2015) puts it "like a biological organism in which different components grow faster than others at different times and in which rapid change can occur in strata that were formerly passive". Indeed, even Kamanzi (2015), in his concluding remarks, suggested that, as it stands the current movement is being compared to the era of the mid to late 1980s, thus he argues that to counter history from repeating itself, efforts must be doubled and an "engagement in intergenerational conversations and dialogue" is essential in the struggle towards a decolonized society.

While it has been highlighted that the movement represented and tackled issues concerning, but not limited to, free education, race relations, the lack of transformation and the decolonisation of education, it was not without internal struggles. While the movement enabled students to voice out the various forms of oppressions that they encountered within their individual campuses, the growth of the student movement opened it up to external influences, ultimately exposing cracks within what started off as a unified course. Below, Leonard Gentle elaborates on how dynamics came to light and how they played out at different stages of the #FeesMustFall movement, leading to the movement publicly challenging the ruling party's leadership.

Gentle (2015) proposes that the course to defy white supremacy in historically white institutions enabled students to introspect various forms of oppressions that they encounter individually be it patriarchy, sexism, homophobia or heteronormity – hence, looking within themselves, students became aware of how "capitalism reproduces so many kinds of oppression" to divide and conquer the oppressed. Reflecting on the footsteps on the movement, the author evinced that he found it interesting that in the initial phases of the student movements, both the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall

movements received positive coverage from all sections of the media. However, this galvanizing of the student movement nationally also opened it up to vulnerability to political parties as they all started to claim stakes, especially in the #FeesMustFall movement towards late 2015 (Gentle, 2015).

Undeniably, the student movement has not been without cracks. As Gentle (2015) suggested, the growth of the student movement did open it up to vulnerability from external actors, most notably political parties. However, despite political party interference, students soldiered on and regrouped, and thereafter proceeded with the march to Luthuli House where the ANC Secretary General's response broadly shifted the blame to universities. However, as Gentle argues, upon realising that shifting blame was not fruitful, the ANC then lobbied its youth organisations to "join the protests and provide leadership" – a strategy to further divert attention away from the ruling party failures. These interferences indeed succeeded in causing internal divides within the movement related to gender/queer alienation amidst protests and political party divisions – evident in the movement's reaction to Nompendulo Mkatshwa's appearance on the cover of Destiny Magazine as the face of #FeesMustFall movement, simultaneously representing the ruling party – and even a divide between liberal and radical black students. In its initial stages the movement was supported by both radical and liberal black students but by mid-2016 this unity was compromised. This divide became mostly evident with escalation of vandalism and police brutality in efforts to shut down campuses nationally.

However, not all was lost of the movement, the experience of these externally perpetuated divides led to students reuniting and making efforts to oust alliance groups, mostly because observers were starting to question the course of the movement once violence and vandalism escalated. It further became apparent from media reports that there has been broad consensus that the decision to agree to the fee increment was a sell out by the SRC without mass consensus (Gentle, 2015).

What the ANC and perhaps most obvers did not anticipate was that the regrouping of the #FeesMustFall movement would result in a united front that would take on the ruling party in ways it had never been challenged before.

Amidst all these shenanigans, Gentle (2015) sets forth that students have “looked to ideologies such as Black Consciousness to understand the continuity of white power even though a black majority is in place”. Likewise, students are not blind to the tendencies of the ruling party to point fingers to the country’s past when the odds do not favour them; thus students have outright challenged the leadership of the ruling party and university management’s failure to ensure transformation in tertiary institutions since 1994.

It is worth noting that Black Consciousness is not the only intellectual source of motivation for the contemporary student movement. There are other influences, for example, student blogs and social media posts reveal that some students at Wits have been engaging Frank Wilderson’s Afro-Pessimist theory. However, Black Consciousness does appear more universal – in the sense that the ideology is more widely used – even though it does not exhaust all other ideologies within the movement. It is also important to highlight that the Black Consciousness we see today to a certain degree differs from that of the early 1970s. For instance while principles such as black pride have been revived, other ideas such as blacks taking responsibility for their own lives through self-reliance, economic and cultural self-sufficiency and not depending on others for the attainment of these, has largely disappeared from the rhetoric and discourse of the Fallists.

Black Consciousness seems to have provided a reference point for the movement as they perceive the ANC government as “carrying out neoliberal policies on behalf of white bourgeoisie order” and the elite. Similarly, Gentle (2015) argues that the ruling ANC “chose to save capitalism” and embrace neoliberalism, thus “we face white supremacy and patriarchy today”. The author concludes by suggesting that choices made by the ruling party and its alliances are summarised by these approximations such as transformation, colonialism and corruption – and these are choices that were made in the name of the struggle against apartheid (Gentle, 2015).

Chapter three provides a more in-depth discussion of the root cause of the tensions between the student movement and the ruling party.

Chapter 3

Reasons behind the resurgence of Black Consciousness in the current student movement

"Change in the colour of the occupier does not necessarily change the system" _Biko as quoted in Thompson (2013:37).

The emergence of the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall movements garnered massive support from students, academics, society and even traditional media through calls for free and quality education as espoused by the Freedom Charter on 26 June 1955 in Kliptown. This evidently exposed the myth behind umbrella terms such as "rainbow nation" and "born frees". However, as stated in the previous chapter, internal divides have surfaced, especially in the #FeesMustFall movement, for several reasons, including but not limited to: external political party interference, gender discrimination and differences between black liberals and radicals concerning the alienation of whites and LGBT people, and campus shutdowns. However, what is of importance here is whether the student movement is a result of the lingering legacies of colonialism and apartheid to date; or the result of the perceived ruling party's continued pursuit of neoliberal policies on behalf of the elite in the midst of failed transformation, high unemployment rates and continued racial divides in the South African society.

In this defining and historical moment, in the midst of both support and condemnation of their actions and objectives, students have voiced out their anger, frustrations and disappointments with the outcomes of more than two decades of democracy – and they have used various platforms to state that they look to ideologies such as Black Consciousness and Pan-Africanism to help them understand the persistence of white superiority at a time when a black majority government is in place. To this end, student leaders from different organisations such as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) have come out to challenge the ruling party, accusing ANC policies of serving bourgeois white order. More than the political agendas at play, generational struggles are also

apparent in the movement. It appears the youth are not content with the settlements of the older struggle veterans and the ruling party.

This chapter sets out to identify, interpret and analyse what factors are driving the resurgence of Black Consciousness in the current student movement. Precisely, the chapter is intended to shed light on the historic events surrounding the current student protests and campus shut downs, from #RhodesMustFall to #FeesMustFall and new movements such as #ScienceMustFall and #OpenStellenbosch.

To begin, generation differences in terms of the struggle against white rule are neither something new nor born out of the current movement. Even during the 1970s such differences were evident between Black Consciousness leaders and those of the ANC and PAC. Therefore, it is important to venture into the past briefly in order to make sense of the present, precisely leading to the revival of Black Consciousness after so many years.

Gerhart (1979:281) states that political veterans in the continent observed SASO efforts and activities in its first few years with a blend of “admiration and condescension” towards the innocence and exuberance of their youth. To the older generation, it sometimes came across as though the youth were “again trying to march barefoot against the enemy, as in the time of Xuma, not only without a strong organisational base but also compounded by the lack of any historical sense of the political struggle and failure which had preceded their own recent political short-comings”. However, she highlights that the observations of the older generation were not too far-fetched, for in actual fact, SASO leaders only started attempting a detailed study of black political history from 1970-71; before this period there was little awareness among the organisations architects of events preceding their own political recollections, with the exception of political knowledge from the late 1950s (Gerhart, 1979:281).

Gerhart (1979:284) further reveals that there were precedents that every politicised African became aware of, making visible the generational struggles between SASO, ANC and PAC. Specifically, SASO avoided any direct identification with the older “illegal” movements; however, despite this attempt, SASO was publicly accused of

reiterating the policies of the PAC. If SASO had taken any lessons from the experience of the PAC, Gerhart (1979:284) suggests they were negative because the PAC's failure was never a question of ideology but rather that they "recklessly rushed into confronting the enemy at a time when the circumstances did not favour black victory". A SASO newsletter, in June 1970 stated "it is very important to rid ourselves of impatience which yields disillusionment in the face of lack of success". Black nationalism gradually transitioned from being a "contrived psychological device to an article of faith, a semi-religious one at that" (Gerhart, 1979:285). It is perhaps for this reason that SASO's embodiment of Black Consciousness was viewed as more of an intellectual construct than that of faith (Gerhart, 1979:285).

Examining Black Consciousness as an ideology, Fatton (1986:57) argues that the Movement "directed great attention to the problem of superstructure". To this end, Black Consciousness was bent on effecting the intellectual and moral reform of the masses' conception of life, politics and economics. Furthermore, Fatton (1986:66) sets forth that the Black Consciousness Movement was a manifestation of the "inadequacies of multiracialism distorted by the weight of white supremacy" .By this, the author appears to insinuate that Black Consciousness ideology was a situational philosophy, meaning it was born of the limitations of multiracialism.

While Gerhart, above, examined the development of the Black Consciousness Movement in the country. Fredrickson (1995:315) examines factors leading to its defeat in the late 70s and early 80s. He suggests that Black Consciousness "failed to exert sufficient pressure to disrupt the apartheid system", and was thus repudiated by a movement that replaced the message of black pride and solidarity with non-racialism, referring to the ANC. As a result, Fredrickson (1995:316) suggests that charterists thereafter superseded Black Consciousness ideology in the 1980s by appealing to the "world's conscience" by advocating non-racialism.

More than four decades later, throughout the duration of the student protests, students have publicly come out to criticize the ruling party via social media, blogs, interviews and traditional media articles, amongst other platforms. The emergent pattern from the views expressed on the various media platforms is that the ANC has failed to uplift

black people and transform the South African society and institutions of higher education to reflect and represent equality, diversity and multiracialism. Moreover, most of the expressed criticism centers on the ruling party's perceived tendency to serve the elite and disenfranchise the poor.

Among some of the writers who have expressed their views and criticised the post-apartheid regime was Prof. Mashupye Maserumule of TUT, who argues that the youth of today are attracted to Biko's Black Consciousness because black people did not attain "their envisaged self which is a free self in 1994" – otherwise born frees would not be attracted to a philosophy that emphasises black pride in a democratic country, let alone question the very concept of freedom (Maserumule 2015). The ANC was also brought under the spotlight when the professor argued that the post-apartheid government "unwittingly" administers apartheid colonial social order.

Lerato Lephatsa, in an article titled, "The ANC's capture of #FeesMustFall", argues that the ruling party has always been good at "imposing heroes" on South Africa – making reference to former president Nelson Mandela after the fall of apartheid and Nompendulo Mkatshwa at the height of the #FeesMustFall movement in 2015. Lephatsa (2016) further states that the ANC does not take kindly to challenges to its legacies or rule. Therefore, due to its position as the government, the ANC perceived the calls for free and quality education by university students as "questioning its moral authority as leader of the people, and therefore, its legitimacy". The author further submits that the student movement is feared because more than two decades into democracy, this young generation of activists has come out and challenged the ruling party's "hegemony in ways it never imagined" and this validates the #FeesMustFall movement as a threat to the ANC's legacy and legitimacy to serve the people, especially the poor and disadvantaged who constitute the masses due to the missing middle class.

However, Lephatsa (2016) deduces that #FeesMustFall is not the only thing shaking the grounds of the ANC; suggesting that it is also the emergent sequence of youth movements at institutions of higher education nationally challenging political status-quo. In the statement below, Lephatsa (2016) emphasises and highlights Biko's enduring

legacy and the influence and relevance of Black Consciousness on the student movements:

"However, the past few years have seen a political imagination marked by and steeped into Steven Bantu Biko's enduring legacy of black dignity, land ownership and a value's system reflective of the aspirations of the majority of the black people in this land. So #FeesMustFall at the backdrop of another Black Consciousness inspired movement: #RhodesMustFall at the University of Cape Town, the Black student movement at Rhodes University and #OpenStellenbosch, is and has been a direct descendant of Biko's enduring legacy. It had dared to not simply demand an immediate ceasing of the perpetual increment of tuition fees, but the total scrapping thereof, meaning a facilitation of a free, quality and socialist education, together with the unconditional ending of outsourced labour in universities. These demands stand contrary to ANC-led government's interests: privatised education, exploitation of black labour through brokers, and to have the majority of our society, especially the youth, disenfranchised and left in the periphery" (Lephatsa, 2016).

Towards the end of 2016, the student movement's radical tactics sparked speculations concerning its revolutionary potential. It was also during this time that the movement displayed provocative tactics such as challenging the ruling party and engaging in physical confrontations with the police and campus security. Below, Thandolwethu Sipuye provides an account of the reasons behind the #FeesMustFall movement transitioning to such tactics from its initial peaceful protests.

Thandolwethu Sipuye (2016) writing on consciousness.co.za on November 14th, 2016, argues that the ANC views the #FeesMustFall movement as a threat to the state due to its revolutionary potential. Adding to that, she highlights that all socio-economic and political revolutions have historically featured or were led by young people, "including students who face and understand their contemporary struggles" through engaging revolutionary literature and this is motivated by their own individual and lived experiences (Sipuye, 2016). Furthermore, Sipuye (2016) notes the tendency of post-colonial regimes to function as "appendages" of former oppressors. This leads to the extension of white power by former liberation fighters who become "arrogant and power hungry elites" who forget where they come from and who put them in their leadership

positions, and yet when voters voice their needs, they start to fall on deaf ears and corruption takes precedence.

Sipuye (2016) goes on to assert that the #FeesMustFall movement does not just end with university fees, increments and outsourcing – it touches on deeper societal issues that others dare not say out loud in this country; it speaks of broader issues such as curricula, socio-economic inequalities, structural racism, neo-colonialism, and the land issue. #FeesMustFall is therefore a direct critique of the entire socio-economic and political order of the ruling ANC. In addition, Sipuye (2016) states that the movement exposes the "bloated arrogance and implicit complicity of the current government" in its failure to transform universities – the same universities that are actual existing extensions of the colonial project – hence they "inflict the most dangerous form of violence on black students and youth" because they destroy black minds by excluding black contributions to human development via scientific and technological innovations.

Amongst student writers, bloggers, academics and professional journalists that continuously backed the movement was Onyekachi Wambu. Discussing the rhetoric behind the #RhodesMustFall movement and symbols of colonialism, he also explains how this had an impact on the emergence of the #FeesMustFall movement, whose narratives shifted from statues to the ANC's corruption, and the apparent attempts by the state to capture the movement.

Wambu (2015) argues that during the #RhodesMustFall protests it became clear that the preservation of colonial structures such as statues was part of the negotiated settlement with the apartheid government, and this, he argues, reveals how South Africa never really rid itself of its colonial structures in both economic and cultural senses. Wambu (2015) further notes that this lack of transformation became suffocating for black people and this is one of the reasons that the #RhodesMustFall movement gathered revolutionary momentum and support from those affected by the lingering reminders of a painful past, and opposition from those who benefit from existing structures. The emergence of the #FeesMustFall movement according to Wambu (2015) "replaced the statue narrative with one that addresses ANC corruption and betrayal" which attracted opposition political party support and their ulterior motives. The

author concluded by questioning whether or not these opposition parties had a better plan in place or whether students were being exploited as was the case with the Arab Spring. “This is a pregnant moment” he states.

As previously mentioned, internal divisions in the #FeesMustFall movement started becoming visible, mostly due to political party affiliations and biases by movement leaders. Lephatsa (2016) pointed out that a decisive moment in the #FeesMustFall movement unfolded with the march to Luthuli House. He argues that Nompendulo Mkatshwa, Shaeera Kalla and Mcebo Dlamini, due to the affiliations with the ANC, Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) and the ANC Youth League (NACYL) diverted attention away from the ruling party as the “enemy”. This is how the ANC captured the #FeesMustFall movement the same way it “high jacked the PAC’s Anti-Pass Campaign” years ago.

Sentiments that #FeesMustFall was captured by the ANC seem to be widely shared by other student organisations that were fully behind the calls for free education in 2015. For instance, the black-first-land-first-student-movement (BLF-SM) maintains the call for “free black-centered socialist education” and, therefore, openly rejects the Fees Commission. The BLF-SM further claims that their maintenance of the call is “rooted in the liberation of black people” and crushing the oppression of this people and calls for the student and worker alliance to use any means possible to bring about decolonised education in a “colonised country”. In addition, BLF-SM incorporates the land issue into that of decolonising education because they believe it has the potential to change “colonial patterns of ownership from white to black”. Last but not least, this movement claims to operate within the Black Consciousness/ Pan-Africanist block in mobilising students and workers alike to ensure ideological clarity to “prevent us from falling into the same traps – the no fee increment settlement – that the #FeesMustFall movement encountered last year” (http://blf.org.za/tag/feesmustfall).

Furthermore, BLF-SM argues that the capture of the #FeesMustFall movement was facilitated by a trap to “co-opt the struggle by formations aligned to the ANC”, namely: PYA, ANCYL, South African Students Congress Organisation (SASCO) and the Young Communist League (YCL), leading to what they perceive as a sell-out agreement – the

no fee increment for 2016 settlement – without the consent of the collective backing the movement. Furthermore, BLF-SM rejects the Fees Commission because it was set up by the governing party; on top of that, the Commission was set to announce its findings on the feasibility of free education in October 2016 but have now postponed to May 2017. In addition, this movement claims that while the minister of higher education has met with SRC leaders, these are the same leaders that "sold out their constituency owing to insidious relations to the government as well as university management". The argument is that this exacerbated student frustrations leading to the South African Union of Students (SAUS) calling for the national shutdown of tertiary institutions. BLF-ST contends that there is still much manipulation because even SAUS is primarily comprised of the same SRC leaders that sold out #FeesMustFall (http://blf.org.za/tag/feesmustfall).

The #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall movements not only mobilised students and workers but also academics. A collective statement from academics at South African institutions of higher education on October 22, 2015, on the Mail and Guardian read:

"We have seen students act with extraordinary discipline and moral purpose. This commitment and self-control has gone unseen by many university managers, government leaders and the media who have misinterpreted students as uninformed, irresponsible or irrational. Protesting students have faced and overcome potentially divisive tensions within their tertiary institutions; above all, they have required us to confront a grievous national problem: the persistent exclusion of those who are black and poor from institutions of higher education, and from the opportunities that higher education makes possible" (http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-22-academics-support-student-struggle-democratise-higher-education-now).

Academic support for the movement further involved panel discussions at the University of Cape Town, comprised of various distinguished academics that came together to discuss the decolonisation of higher education. Speaking among a panel of distinguished academics as well as students involved in the #RhodesMustFall movement at the University of Cape Town, Professor Zine Magubane, visiting Chair from Boston College, spoke about disciplines as forms of colonial knowledge stating "we must acknowledge that universities emerged in and through the colonial project";

she further echoed sentiments that universities were erected and constituted as forms of colonial knowledge and that this therefore suggests that these institutions were "predicated upon a search for knowledge that was part and parcel of the colonial project". Prof. Magubane further suggested that in this light, decolonisation must be a project of recognition and a project that permits the conversation to happen – as part of the process of recognition, deconstruction and reconstruction of a decolonised society, along with its institutions of learning – because "one of the main ways colonialism operates is to continually deny its own presence" (http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9126).

Likewise, another panelist, Associate Professor Pumla Gqola, of the University of Witwatersrand, argued that the decolonisation of universities requires that "we answer the question of how we free the imagination instead of disciplining it" (http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9126).

On 13 March 2015, Barney Pityana wrote to Professor Gqola on the University of Cape Town's #RhodesMustFall page on Facebook regarding her views on the defiling of the Rhodes statue, along with her opinions on the transformation or lack thereof at the university. Pityana questioned whether Gqola thinks it would be best if all Afrikaner generals be decapitated at the Union Buildings; he additionally posed that Gqola should be looking at deeper problems such as that of a human being carrying faeces and all the hazards that may pose health wise; and thereafter suggested that the "university authorities cannot be faulted for addressing the unlawful actions of the protestors" (https://m.facebook.com/Rhodesmustfall/posts/1554660161476147 6143).

In response to Pityana, Prof. Gqola declared that she does not see a place for colonial structures in a free country and that the throwing of the faeces was a refusal by the student, of the sanitisation of such colonial structures because they did more than throw excrement on Africans; the statue, in her opinion, validates everything Rhodes did. In her concluding paragraph, Prof. Gqola highlighted that Pityana, as a young revolutionary, "co-founded a movement that taught us something indispensable to freedom, but that it is frighteningly absent from much other racist thought – you taught us that as black people we are never just bodies – you taught us that psychological

violation and psychological liberation are not only real but central to any project of freedom, and we believe that unconditionally". In addition, Gqola affirmed that black rage is a mechanism of "black defense" and further alluded that the university is not the apartheid regime and that if Pityana and his fellow comrades had the courage to take on that regime at their age, then why blame contemporary students for utilizing the "wonderful tools you bequeathed us to free all of us from Rhodes?". Finally Prof. Gqola argued that there is no deeper analysis regarding this situation than Black Consciousness and feminism.
(https://m.facebook.com/Rhodesmustfall/posts/1554660161476147 6143).

From this public display of differences of opinions on the #RhodesMustFall movement and transformation at the university between Pityana and Gqola, most of the posted comments were in favour of Gqola's views, with many questioning how Pityana, a founding protagonist of the Black Consciousness Movement, has become so assimilated that he is defending the very system he and Biko and fellow Black Consciousness activists fought against. Most importantly, that so many people were in favour of the removal of the statue, does in fact symbolise that a lot of people were indeed affected by it, hence the movement that emerged from that singular historic act by Maxwele garnered the amount of support it did and thus inspired the emergence of preceding movements such as the ongoing #FeesMustFall.

According to a News24 article on 18 October 2016 by Puleng Tsimong, the ongoing #FeesMustFall movement, internal politics aside, still has substance because the cause is directed at real issues that affect all members of society who struggle financially. Tsimong (2016) argues that she supports the movement because the rhetoric behind it is that there is no logic in basic household incomes increasing by only 3 percent while university fees escalate by 8 percent in 2017 – despite student protests throughout 2015 and 2016. The core of this argument is that while students are challenging fee hikes amidst staggering income gaps between the rich and the poor, the 8 percent increase is the government's way of maintaining status quo. Thus Tsimong (2016) states that people should understand this before focusing on the cracks of the movement.

This argument holds substance in terms of explaining why the movement received the support it did when it started. When household incomes depreciate next to escalating costs of living, the cost of education no longer affects just students but parents and society at large, especially with the existing gap between the rich and the poor in this country. Furthermore, with intensifying rates of youth unemployment, state corruption and the lack of institutional transformation, factors such as these must have compounded leading to the historic student protests of 2015 and 2016.

Msila (2016) believes that the student demonstrations at Wits during the registration period beginning of the year 2016 were “demonstrations of their parents’ frustrations” because most households live from hand to mouth after sending a child to university. In addition, frustrations are further deepened by the reality that more than twenty years after apartheid the poor are still struggling to educate their children in hope of a better future, while the rich get richer and their children get quality education. Thus Msila (2016) deduced that #FeesMustFall ideals “have always been in parents’ prayers and wishes”.

While Tsimong (2016) felt the need to declare that she does not support the act of vandalism, she however argued that student’s civil protests were ignored and this frustrated students leading up to the damaging of premises to get government and university management’s attention. In addition, the author calls on funding programmes such as the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) to re-evaluate their selection criteria because there are plenty of students with parents that can afford to pay tuition but they are on the scheme at the expense of those in real need; and therefore suggests that the struggle does not end with the call for fees to fall – there is a further struggle of getting employment. Thus she writes “fees will fall, if not now, eventually!”.

From this perspective, it seems students feel that they have to fight for education and that still the challenge of unemployment awaits them after #FeesMustFall; the mood is anything but optimistic about future prospects and this potentially feeds into the tensions with the ruling party pertaining to youth unemployment.

As previously mentioned the validity of the student protests came under scrutiny when the movement started employing violent tactics. Student activists such as Ntokozo Qwabe voiced out their opinions on such scrutiny, while Raeesa Pather took to the field to get an insight into student's individual perceptions. Ntokozo Qwabe posted an article in the Mail & Guardian during the third week of the #RhodesMustFall movement on March 26, 2015, addressing what he deems "useless responses" to the movement by students and the media who were against it. Qwabe (2015) argues that those who say the late Mandela would not have approved of the movement need to stop assuming that his views represented those of all living black people. In his response to sentiments that the student movement does not appreciate the struggle against apartheid by fighting statues, the author noted that institutional racism and symbols of colonialism are part and parcel of racism in its entirety. To those opposing the movement because they feel the "white vs. black" struggle is outdated, he highlights that the struggle is about institutional racism against black students and therefore it cannot turn a blind eye to colour when the root cause is economic and colour variations. Finally to those taking offense at Rhodes being compared to Hitler, he responded that they should open history books and familiarise themselves with what Rhodes thought of, and did to black people, prior to embarking on a moral debate without facts (Qwabe, 2015).

On April 1, 2015, Raeesa Pather posted on article addressing some of the reasons behind why some students at the University of Cape Town chose not to join the #RhodesMustFall movement. One of the respondents, Simukai Gwata, 24, stated that while he agreed that the statue should go, he was not involved due to his priorities, stating "my studies come first and I want to graduate" ; he further suggested that while the movement addressed race and separation, he did feel the racism even though it is not always visible and that South Africans should be bothered more by the fact that statistically, whites comprise 9 percent of the population but they control more than 80 percent of the national wealth. This, to Gwata, is more pressing and painful than the issue of statues; to him race takes precedence to statues.

That said, Pather (2015) reports that a 22 year old Rama Afullo affirmed his support for the movement mainly because he had observed that for things to get done at the

university “you have to be loud”. However, he did not participate because he feels that joining has the implication that one must “agree with everything that they say, you have to stand behind, even if you do not agree with it” and that he was not in favour of the “militant and communist approach employed by the movement’s leadership”.

There were also articles that focused on the cracks of the movement such as that of Rebecca Hodes, who was less optimistic about the movement’s cause, validity and lifespan. Rebecca Hodes, who wrote an article in the Daily Maverick on August 20, 2015 where she argued that the #RhodesMustFall movement “never garnered unanimity among students, staff or even its own members”. Rather, what the movement did do was uncover a pit of anger and rage over the lack of institutional transformation at the University of Cape Town and South African academia which led to national debates concerning sensitive issues such as decolonising curricula, race-based admissions, and the most “controversial” being identity and authority, which she perceives as the determinants of who is permitted to talk and who should in turn be silenced.

Hodes (2015) further suggests that when race is the “primary and decisive” factor for determining intellectual value, the outcome cannot be positive. She quotes a statement by an academic at the University of Cape Town’s faculty of humanities who stated “there is a conservative way to teach Fanon and there is a radical way to teach Chaucer” and notes that from her own experience senior staff academics at the institution are “mostly disorganized and exhausted old lefties”, contrary to popular assumptions that they are racists perpetuating a colonial legacy and exclusionary agendas – and therefore asserts that the “ideological demonisation” of the #RhodesMustFall movement exemplified the “reductiveness to which both supporters and critics of #RhodesMustFall have resorted” (Hodes, 2015).

Indeed, the internal politics of both the #RhodesMustFall movement and those of the ongoing #FeesMustFall movement have resulted in some students questioning the direction of these movements. While there is no doubt concerning their initial reasoning, with time, in both cases, support started to wane and some started wondering whether the struggle was still about economic and institutional justice for the poor or whether it

has turned into a power struggle based on the ulterior motives of movement leaders. Doubts were spurred by various factors including the condemnation of campus vandalism, from those with multiracial friends feeling uncomfortable with having to exclude their white friends from the movement, to those who supported the movement but also wanted to continue with classes and finish their academic year, among other complexities.

Writing on The Con on November 1, 2016, Nathan Geffen argues that the #FeesMustFall movement began disintegrating for a number of reasons but mostly points out that the movement struggles with the lack of a concise strategy. Geffen (2016) sets forth that the movement is not organised "it is an amorphous collection of rapidly changing sometimes formal, sometimes informal groupings and people" and this creates room for too many uncertainties, including the question of who currently leads the movement between Mcebo Dlamini, Shaeera Kalla and Masixole Mlandu. Similarly, while Geffen (2016) claims to understand the movements' reasons for rejecting structure and the election of leadership and acknowledges that the movement has no faith in democratically elected leaders, citing the legacy of President Jacob Zuma and that he and his administration have failed the country; the author highlights that this lack of structure within the movement has perpetuated the lack of accountability.

The #FeesMustFall movement is said to have demonstrated recklessness, for instance, because no one is accountable; Mcebo Dlamini's "reckless" actions and views (such as his opinion that South Africa would be better off if took the Zimbabwe route) have gone uncriticised – equally so, no one took responsibility for the burning of the bus in Braamfontein, despite the incident being so public – instead, due to this structurelessness, according to Geffen (2016) what takes precedence is members competing for positions of prominence within the movement. The author therefore points out that while the movement continues to blame external forces and not take responsibility for all the injustice that has taken place during protests, the whole movement has been blamed for violence and disruptions and especially the burning of the University of KwaZulu-Natal's library – these acts, which Geffen (2016) views as "civil disobedience" have led to its shrinking support from the public, media and fellow

liberal students – in addition, the author states that the continuous disruption of classes and clashes with the police lacks substance, arguing “it cannot be overstated what a delusion it is to think that the current #FeesMustFall tactics are winning broad support and becoming revolutionary in nature”.

Conclusion

"Steve Biko returns and continues to illuminate the post-apartheid social order. Black Consciousness is not simply an idea, a philosophy. It is a spirit. Like all spirits it never dies but lives, as an emotion and a motion that finds new meaning with each generation" (Tafira, 2013:391).

While the Black Consciousness Movement's momentum may have waned in the 1980s, this research report has attempted to highlight that the spirit of Black Consciousness has lived through generations to date, leading to its significance in this historic moment and its re-animation in the current student movement. Black Consciousness as an ideology directed great attention to the problem of superstructure and was thus determined to give effect to the masses' intellectual and moral reform of life, politics and economics. Not surprisingly, these are the sentiments espoused by the current student movement – while these students may not be reviving all tenets of Black Consciousness, they have employed the ideology as an attitude of the mind and have shown black pride in the struggle for free and quality education for the impoverished masses.

In line with what Hirson (1979:296) summarised as the founding principles of Black Consciousness: self-discovery and self-realisation, which are not limited to, but inclusive of liberation from psychological oppression, the building of a new awareness, the establishment of a new basic dignity, the framing of a new attitude of mind, a rediscovery of the history of the people, and a cultural revival – these are values we see resurging mostly on the intellectual platform of the movement. What started off as the display of frustrations with symbols of the past gave birth to a movement that challenges the status quo on a political, economic and ideological front like never before since 1994. Moreover, the student movement dares to confront daily struggles that affect not only students but their parents and society at large.

Undeniably, the movement has faced opposition and criticism; this was further exacerbated by the emergence of internal rifts within the #FeesMustFall movement, which exposed the movement to external interference from political parties and other

stakeholders. In addition, violence and vandalism became the business of the day, leading to fellow students, society and the media questioning the motives of the movement, inter alia waning support, along with the strains inflicted by political party affiliations by movement leaders. However, despite the complications, the cause continued and protestors have sworn not to yield or be further deterred from the main struggle, which is the call for free and quality education for all.

With reference to the guiding question of this research report, there are various factors driving the resurgence of Black Consciousness in the current student movement, the most obvious being escalating tuition fees in institutions of higher education, enlisting the enemy as the management of universities. However, the content of this research reveals that deeper grievances come from frustrations with the ruling ANC and its allegiance to neo-liberalism. From the onset, leaders of the #RhodesMustFall movement stated that they have limited the space for white involvement to protect the cause from being captured by white liberals; a decision that resembles that of SASO when it branched off from NASUS. Similarly, interviews conducted by Raeesa Pather at the University of Cape Town with students revealed that black students felt the need to safeguard the #RhodesMustFall movement from white liberals while white students too felt that white participation entails that change is only inevitable with white participation, hence they saw it fit to let the movement be led by black students for it was their fight.

Throughout the student protests, university managements and the government have been accused of prioritising issues in a classist and racist manner. This is backed by the fact that historically black universities have long been tackling issues concerning the affordability and quality of education without much response or attention from both government and traditional media, yet when the protests took root in historically white and privileged institutions, the government, the media and society at large paid attention instantaneously. It is perhaps not surprising that student interviewees reportedly felt that for one to be heard noise must be made – hence students have resorted to radical measures to be taken seriously by stakeholders. Furthermore, the movement's call for the decolonisation of curricula has garnered support from intellectuals who feel that the academic space is narrow and due to the lack of transformation, space has not opened

up for the colonised to formulate their own solutions to their own problems. Likewise, modern science has been challenged for upholding paternalistic strategies of development, racist narrative and principles of colonialism, imperialism and domination for the purpose of resource extraction by colonisers and their descendants.

As well as can be expected, white people have come to defend themselves, with prominent figures such as Helen Zille calling on black people to stop blaming whiteness for black problems. Zille publicly stated that she perceives this attack on white as a new tyranny ion South African politics – black intellectuals responded by arguing that one of the main ways colonialism operates is to continually deny its own presence. Similarly, black student bloggers echoed sentiments of white victimhood having the tendency to downplay white people's economic power in this country; a problem that Biko addressed when he said change in the political without change in the economic, would entail a mere change in the colour of the governing class. Indeed, students are not blind to the tendencies of the ruling party to point fingers to the country's past when its legacies are challenged; instead, they have outright challenged the leadership of the ruling party and university management's failure to ensure transformation in tertiary institutions since 1994.

The contemporary student movement, from its inception, has openly declared that it enshrines principles of Black Consciousness and that it views the ANC government as carrying out neoliberal policies on behalf of white bourgeois order and the elite, a stance very familiar to the sentiments of EFF leader Julius Malema. They blame the ruling party for present day white supremacy and patriarchy, pointing to the negotiated settlement of 1994. A clear pattern emerged in the dialect of media articles and blogs by conscious students concerning the ANC's responses when challenged. There appears to be consensus that the ANC does not take kindly to challenges to its legacies or rule, and that it views the movement as questioning its authority and ability to serve the people – against which students have fearlessly stated that the ruling party has failed the people that put it where it is today. Therefore, the movement argues that the ANC fears it because its demands stand contrary to ANC-led government's interests, namely,

privatised education, exploitation of black labour through brokers; and to have the majority of society, especially the youth, disenfranchised and left in the periphery.

The ANC has indeed come under the spotlight. The youth not only challenged it through the movement but also by redirecting their votes, with some choosing not to cast a vote at all during the 2016 local elections; this shook the party as it lost three major metropolitan cities: Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni. Nelson Mandela, at the Cosatu Conference in 1993 said “if the ANC does to you what the apartheid government did to you, then you must do to the ANC what you did to the apartheid government”. The student movement appears to be doing just by his words – media reports revealed that student protests were being met with police brutality, a tactic that the ANC government has adopted from the apartheid government and uses, thus students have stated that violence begets violence.

On ANC tactics, students have openly accused the ANC of capturing or at least trying to capture the #FeesMustFall movement the same way it captured the PAC’s Anti-Pass Campaign, the same way Frederickson argued it captured the spirit of consciousness from the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1980s by appealing to the world’s consciousness and advocating non-racialism. However, despite the attempt, the movement soldiers on and its supporters argue that the course is still legitimate and holds substance because it does not make sense for household incomes to depreciate next to escalating costs of living and rising tuition fees. The movement upholds that in this light, the cost of education no longer affects just students but parents and society at large, especially with the existing gap between the rich and the poor in this country. Therefore, #FeesMustFall is a direct critique of the entire socio-economic and political order of the ruling ANC and exposes ANC corruption and betrayal.

Biko lives and so does the spirit and legacy of Black Consciousness with the resurgence of the philosophy in the student movement, the possibilities for social, political and perhaps even economic change gain validation. The movement continues, though its cause tends to be diluted and convoluted, the struggle is real and time will tell what becomes of it in revolutionary terms, and whether or not it will birth a more

rigorous and organised movement that challenges the dissatisfaction with the post-colonial black elite.

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