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University of the Witwatersrand

Johannesburg

THE MAKING OF THE BLACK SUBJECT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF ANTON M. LEMBEDE

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Dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Studies

Graduate school of Humanities and Social Sciences

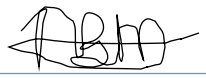
UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

19th February 2020

Declaration

I do solemnly declare that this dissertation is my original work. It has never been submitted by one for the award of another degree. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no other material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text of the dissertation.

Full Legal Name: Nomvuyo Mashile

Signature 

19th February 2020

Dedication

To you my Gogo Joyce (maternal granny); a formidable black lady that I have had the pleasure of knowing since the day I came into this world. Your presence in the form of consistency is seen through the emotional, spiritual and physical support you have given me during every phase of my life. All of this has been so attractively overwhelming that sometimes, I believe I am undeserving of it.

Nonetheless your sweet sense of self will never go unnoticed.

Acknowledgement

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the way in which Anton Lembede analyses the concept of the black subject. Through the lens of the contextual method, it evaluates Lembede's primary texts in reference to three major themes in his work: (1) the question of Black Poverty, (2) Class and (3) African Nationalism. In the first theme, on the question of black poverty, I argue that Lembede identifies multiple reasons for black poverty and some, but not all of these are rooted in the colonial experience. His reasoning for African destitution is thus complex and interesting. The second theme that Lembede engages with is the question of class. Here, Lembede argues that class as a category should be understood in the context of colonialism but is also a consequence of the predicament of tribalism which is evident in the social structure of black society. Lembede believes that both tribalism and colonial society through its segregationist policies has profoundly contributed towards the undermining of the evolution of the black subject. Third, Lembede provides an account of African Nationalism which he assesses through the lens of religion. Lembede believes that religion is important in so far as establishing a functional concord which promotes the ideals of African Nationalism. He thus analyses the question of the black subject using Christianity as an important tool for the creation of the ideal black subject. Ultimately, I argue that Lembede provides a multilayered perspective on the making of the black subject through a non-secular conceptual analysis. This is because Lembede does not simply equate all black suffering to the colonial malaise but engages with the concept of the black subject in a multi-dimensional approach. Finally, the above ideas have important currency for the manner in which we think about the black subject until the present day because some of these questions have important meaning in present day South Africa.

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Chapter one

1.1. Introductory Item

This research topic aims to contextualise the historical writing of Anton M. Lembede in relation to the making of the black subject. The underrepresentation of black thought is prevalent within South Africa's intellectual landscape. Western literature continues to dominate political and theoretical discourses. Although black thinkers have attempted to generate texts which respond to their particular political, social and historical contexts; there is a perception that within black intellectual history there lacks a sense of theoretical originality. Furthermore, it is the case that western political thought has a tendency to dominate black epistemologies. Therefore, it seems almost vital to try to uncover as well as to further explore the existing literature that come from black thinkers themselves. This particular kind of study could assist with a comprehensive understanding and a legitimate account of Lembede's conception of the black subject. This will subsequently contribute in shaping a more representative academic space in the long run. It is for this reason that the primary texts in which I will be focusing on is the 1996 collection of Anton Lembede's writings called *Freedom in Our Lifetime* by coauthors Robert R. Edgar and Luyanda ka Msumza as well as Lembede's actual 1945 MA thesis entitled, *The Conception of God as Expounded by or as it Emerges from the Writings of Great Philosophers – from Descartes to the Present Day*.

The text is important because it is generated by a context of political activism and is guided by the issues that concern youth politics. For Lembede especially, as quoted in Edgar and ka Msumza's 1996 volume, "the result (of youth guided politics) was that ANC leaders had become 'suspicious of progressive thought and action' and offered no innovative policies or strategies for combatting 'oppressive legislation" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 35). It is for that reason, archaic and outdated contributions towards the maintenance of the liberation struggle posed a greater threat to social improvement for the black subject according to Lembede. Largely because the risk of policy stagnation became the antithesis of progress and more importantly, the adversary of Lembede's African Nationalism. The passive approach of the predecessors of the ANC or the Older Guard (Lembede, 1996, p. 32) as Lembede phrases it, gives way to gradual or slow progress in reaching the best possible outcome. This consequently made an ideal such as 'freedom in our lifetime' seem elusive. Lembede's freedom movement narrative further

elaborates itself by accounting for the actual measures taken to ensure its own sustainability. Lembede is an intellectual symbol in this regard because as a black subject himself, the unwavering commitment represented in his literature in terms of the way in which he imagined the struggle to unfold reaffirms a positive image of blackness. For Lembede, an African centered philosophy ought to be at the forefront of a crusade against a segregationist system in which black people or Africans are subjected to. Africanism is a loaded term, but as Lembede argued, it embodies an African political thought that has little influence by white suppositions. Lembede does not necessarily argue that an abstract form of pure uniqueness in thought lies at the forefront of Africanism, but instead applies a pragmatic approach to the theory. In one, out of the many discussions Lembede raises, he argues: "Africans, should not import from the West foreign ideologies that do not fit into their culture (but instead) they should select only those things which would be helpful to Africans and adapt them to suit African conditions" (Lembede, 1996, p. 128). This particular quote is important as it forms the basis of his 'borrow and assimilation' technique which will make frequent appearances throughout this dissertation, as Lembede applies this idea to conceptualise some of his ideas on African Nationalism.

Lembede's writings are written in the time period of the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s and this decade took place against the backdrop of segregationist South Africa. The political climate particularly during the 1930s, hosted a series of acutely unstable factors. The 1930s South African context had the urbanised black working and middle class aspire to a white working, middle and upper class reality and the segregationist state saw the extension of voting rights applicable only to the white population group. White rule normalised a number of derogatory terms that was in reference to the black subject. One of these terms is "native". I am fully aware that the word "native" is a loaded term which carries several pejorative implications, Lembede however frequently uses this term when referring to the African. Therefore it is for this purpose that I will also make reference to the black subject as "native" throughout this dissertation. Moreover, the year 1933 experienced the heightened decline of the African National Congress as one of the most influential movements of the resistance at the time. The decline foresaw a threat to the entire existence of the ANC as a whole which put the organisation at risk, especially since it was leading the liberation struggle. Anton Lembede was one of those figures that initiated a radical political programme intended to resuscitate and revamp the ANC's image and ideals. The programme was influenced by Lembede's firm outlook on Pan-Africanism which ignited a

radical form of youth politics and precipitated important intellectual debates. Lembede thought that the necessary revival the ANC sought after, resulted in the party's willingness to explore all kinds of solutions and possibilities in order to obtain internal restoration, even if it that meant compromising on a few multiracial cooperative points outlined in its mandate during their period of decline.

From this perspective, one begins to get a sense of the kind of place that Lembede occupies and that is the present and active role of the black subject. Several secondary sources and autobiographies will usually reference Lembede's humble beginnings. Lembede experienced poverty and adversity during his early years. These were economic circumstance that were not unique to the black subject in general. Although this was the case, Lembede was revered for his education and for his articulateness in English, Xhosa, Afrikaans, and a few other languages such as Latin and German; spoken outside of South Africa. Therefore one could possibly question whether or not his address towards the ordinary black subjects as people was truly effective due to his highly literate acclimatisation. In general, the early ANC Youth League was an organisation of the educated youth. Their networks were in universities, high schools and teacher training colleges. This thought directly evokes the idea of black professionalism and its prevalence within African nationalism. The reason for this is such that the kind of socio-economic support needed is one that distinctly addresses the concerns of ordinary black people, which may be regarded as a Lembedian priority. The African's description as 'ordinary' in this case is simply and chiefly, the working class. The scholarly trajectory that Lembede followed, brought about both of his professionalism in the field of law as well as his political career. Having given rise to occupations of this nature, Lembede inevitably became a symbol that directly tied into the prospects of freedom because during his political vocations, he played an instrumental role in the formation of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) which in turn led to his inauguration as the first ANCYL president in 1944. This was reinforced through the educational and professional training that he received. Above all else and with the considerations of the former, it transformed Lembede as one of the key figures during the anti-segregationist, youth movement in South Africa. Lembede's transformation came with the intent to then combat the negative effects of racial inequality.

There is a tendency in the literature to simply label Lembede as an obscure figure who is not necessarily fixed in history. His stances however, deserve a proper contextualisation attempt and therefore must be scrutinised accordingly. The previous claim is made in order to gain a proper understanding of his ideas, hence the employment of Quintin Skinner's Contextual Method which I will get to shortly. Reiteratively, this dissertation therefore aims to oppose the tendency to present Lembede as an obscure and ambiguous thinker within the black intellectual history canon. One way in which the dissertation attempts to do this, is through a close reading and analysis of Lembede's texts and writings as well as to provide a proper historical contextualised approach to these ideas. By a Lembedian era, I firstly mean for it to reflect as a periodisation that occurred during a visibly racially conscious setting. This kind of environment translated into conditions that endorsed an anti-black narrative which presented itself as a normative or the regulated manner in which the African ought to have lived their lives. After having researched and written this dissertation broadly speaking, there are a few theoretical elements in Lembede's work that I discovered to be as Gerhart argues, makes Lembede an obscure figure (Gerhart, 1978). Obscurity as a term is only useful for this reason, enabling the flow of different kinds of interpretations to come out of the various meanings of ideas. I do agree with Robert Edgar to some extent, that indeed some of Lembede's ideas are underdeveloped, but this could possibly be attributed to his untimely passing.

Therefore I want to argue that although obscurity can be perceived ambiguously, Lembede's approach is a multifaceted one, especially regarding the question of the black subject. He does not have a one dimensional view when it comes to the state of affairs which concern the African plight. Lembede does not simply direct all the reasons for black suffering with the question of black subjectivity to colonial malaise. His goal was to try support and maintain the black subject in every aspect of their political, social and economic life through the avenue of African Nationalism, during a period where acute negligence by Hertzog and Smuts' administrations respectively, existed. The point of Lembede's African Nationalism was to provide emotional, physical, psychological and spiritual relief for white apathy which maliciously impacted South African "natives" and African "natives" as a whole. He therefore engages these varying topics using a manifold theoretical style to justify African Nationalism, in relation to the question and making of the black subject.

The research questions for this dissertation are as follows.

1.2. Research Questions

1. What were Lembede's conditions in order to remedy class politics and difference among Africans?

2. What, according to Lembede were some of the fundamental root causes of black poverty?

3. Why was language and multilingualism a crucial part of Lembedian Nationalism?

4. What is Lembede's understanding of Christianity in placement of the actual ideal of the black subject?

I think that these areas are not given enough attention in the existing literature on Lembede in the early Youth League stages. Some of the possible responses and answers to the above questions will help provide further analysis, beyond the existing literature on Anton Lembede's political thought. The primary text under analysis that seems to have a relatively close association to Lembede's actual body of work is the publication of *Freedom in our Lifetime.*

1.3. Literature Review

There has been work done by a few scholars on Anton Lembede and his ideas. These are the following texts that I found quite helpful and useful in terms of reading up and garnering a much more solid perspective on what Lembede argues. The primary text that I am using has a relatively close association to Lembede's actual body of work and this is the 1996 entitled volume *Freedom in our Lifetime.* This curated volume edited by Robert R Edgar and Luyanda ka Msumza is a collection of most of Lembede's documented essays. This book is a compilation of several of Lembede's speeches, letters and writings. It would be interesting to also conduct a

systematic study of Lembede's 1945 MA dissertation briefly summed up as *The Conception of God*. The fascination stems from the fact that, not only is his 1945 thesis an original piece of work but also as a critic of western thought, Lembede was also a devoted Christian believer who promoted Catholicism which ironically is distinctly a western notion. The opportunity to engage and decipher the complexities of Lembede's character in Edgar and ka Msumza's volume will help to "classify the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar" (Skinner, 1969, p. 6)

A quasi social analysis on both a local and global scale is such that race relations have historically been disproportionate. The inconsistencies in these relations have subsequently produced what W.E.B Du Bois would coin, 'the problem of the colour line' (More, 2014, p.187). This division appears to be an involuntary one, especially from the perspective of the oppressed, collectively known as the black subject. The literature available to our analysis will focus mainly on 1940s segregationist South Africa, with reference to some of the events that took place in 1930s. On an international scale several nations worldwide were experiencing some of the aftermath of World War II, the wartime impacts included South Africa. It will also center on the circumstances that led to formation of the ANCYL. As More asserts, separate development acted as a hurdle in achieving racial cohesion in an intrinsically racially conscious world that is anti-black (More, 2014, p. 180). Some of the ways in which African political activists envisioned an ideal colour blinded South Africa was in terms of skin colour or race relations, but these views were split and riddled with disagreement. On the one hand some thought that multi-racial collaborative efforts would quicken the pace in dismantling the segregationist regime. Yet on the other hand, there were political bodies that seemed resolute in their stance that the African and the African alone should be at the forefront in handling all struggle-related affairs and issues because these issues distinctly affected black people in negative ways. The latter school of thought would come to resonate with Lembede because of his realisation and subsequent rejection of the paternalistic, interventionist and patronising demeanour of liberal non-blacks figures.

The texts will evaluate key intellectual biographical components of Lembede. The aim is to identify and analyse how the concept of the black subject is conceptualised in Lembede's writings. Firstly from Lembede's perspective the black subject should be an active agent for economic change through agricultural, strategise the increase of religious and educational

activities within language studies and solidify the future plans for the Congress Youth League. The Natal born Lawyer turned black politician is appropriated by a varied handful of scholars for different reasons. The competing discourses of how Lembede is understood in the historiography establishes the necessity for conceptual development.

According to Gail Gerhart's 1978 *Black Power: The Evolution of an Ideology*, to address some of the negative strain that African political thought has generally found itself under, would mean that some of the changes of African Nationalism after 1945 or post WWII, need to be accounted for. As a purist Pan-Africanist, Lembede sought after a liberation ideology that was completely detached from European reliance and 'non-Europeans' associates i.e. White leftists, Indian and some Colored's which assimilated to whiteness (Lembede, 1996, p. 45). This meant that Lembede advocated for black owned organisations as an urgent form of African entrepreneurial self-sufficiency. Interestingly, if one were to fast track into Gwendolyn M. Carter and Thomas Karis' 1972 publication of *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964*, one of its volumes reveals the leftist involvement of Coloured Indian and liberal White political actors in the African struggle. Political activity of this nature or the kind that encourages multiracial cooperation is a nationalism in which Ashby. P. Mda endorsed. Mda was Lembede's fellow colleague, mentor, comrade and counterpart yet also an intellectual opponent and Lembede's posthumous successor (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996**,** p. 52). Lembede himself did not necessarily stand for the multiracial cooperation in which Mda supported and although Lembede and Mda were political allies and were relatively on the same page ideologically, they differed in terms of their ideas on how to attain black freedom. Mda believed in diverse racial collaborative strategies because "the African nationalist group (who) consisted of individuals like A.P. Mda insisted on the 'need for African political assertion but were constantly aware of the dangers of the extremist and inward-looking Black Nationalism" (Le Roux, 1979, p. 35). Whereas Lembede's Pan-Africanism, dictated that black political problems should be solved by only black people and author Le Roux in his in his 1979 article *Pan-Africanism in South Africa* express the way in which "Lembede's Africanist views did not coincide with the predominant views in the Youth League however" (Le Roux, 1979, p. 35). In spite of the few clashes in belief systems of these two African thinkers, Mda is to a large extent the reason for Lembede's lasting legacy.

Where I see the gap in the literature is such that, none of the above thinkers have actually attempted to provide an analysis from the vantage point of the question of the black subject. So many of these perspectives are purely historical. In my literature review I have done quite an extensive contemporary literature analysis of what exists or what is out there already and very little work has been done on the actual underpinnings of the black subject. The voice of liberation series that is coming out of the Human Sciences Research Committee or HSRC press, is such that there really isn't anything on Lembede himself. There are brief references in some work like in Carter and Karis' *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* and in Saul Dubow for example. However there is not necessarily a proper sustained kind of analysis done on him. Lembede's early death should not have a negative impact on the overall existing literature that is available where in fact, it should prompt further probe and extensive exploration of his work.

The above are just some of the few texts out there that I have consulted with and these texts are interesting because as an example in Gerhart's book, what we do find is a condensed account of Lembede's biography. In Carter and Karis' literature, there is a sufficient mention of Lembede's role as a youth activist. Vale, Hamilton & Prinsloo's *Intellectual Traditions in South Africa: Ideas, Individuals and Institutions* is a volume that has a varied number of schools of thought. More's section in this volume titled 'The Black Consciousness Movement' deals with classic Lembedian concepts which speak to ideas around African awareness but more specifically the Afrocentric advocacy of political independence for segregationist South Africa. In Le Roux's text, he glosses over Lembede's role in both the ANCYL and the formation of the Pan-African Congress (PAC). These are just some of the few texts that assist with a deeper comprehension of the research topic at hand. Moreover, the body of work that Edgar and ka Msumza's book presents on Lembede is useful because of the detailed study the authors have conducted. This 1996 volume acts as the primary text in this dissertation because it gives a considerable take on Lembede's profile. This signifies importance for the formulation of possible responses for the research questions in this dissertation. All of the above mentioned literature are thought-provoking in their own right because they do help with a further understanding of Lembede's politics. However what seems to be missing from some of the texts is some account of how Lembede tries to conceptualise the black subject. But the real gap in the literature however, is that there is no proper study of this kind or along the lines that I have proposed. I will therefore,

be using the sought after literature in different ways to try and fill in the identified gaps regarding the innerworkings of the black subject. The themes expressed in the proposed research questions should substantively contribute to the understanding of Lembede's conception in the making of black subject.

1.4. Method and Limitation

Much of Lembede's writings were produced in the 1930s and 1940s, when racial segregation was the rule of law in South Africa. Throughout this dissertation; I will make reference to the political context Lembede was writing in, as segregationist South Africa. It is important to note that the term apartheid had not really been used in public discourse until it was formally institutionalised in 1948, which is after Lembede's death. Before the official adoption of 'Apartheid', the conditions Lembede was writing under involved an intensification of segregation, prompting the move from paternalism to baaskap. The 1940s as the period of focus was the time of World War II (WWII). Therefore noting the saliency of contextualising and historicising Lembede's work, the consideration of the above time frame which includes WWII is also vital for historical context.

I will be approaching my research utilising one research method namely the historical contextual method. This method will be largely prevalent in chapter two because this chapter acts as the historical basis which directly, through a biographical account, contextualises Lembede's ideas. Broadly put, the four things I intend to do in chapter two in relation to Lembede's historical context is to look at (in no particular order):

a) Lembede's political happenings in South Africa during the 1930s/1940s period and some of the effects of World War II on South Africa, at the time of Lembede's writing.
b) A brief discourse on the relationship between the ANC Leadership and the Youth League in the 1940 period.
c) I will try to assess the role Lembede's family, friends and associates played in his writings
d) Lastly, I will evaluate the African educated elite that Lembede surrounded himself with.

1.4.1. Primary Method of Employment: The Historical Contextual Method

Contextual method as a form of methodology is a favourable technique for a research topic of this nature. The major reason for this is that as the essayist, the contextual method allows me as the researcher to at least attempt to position myself in Anton Lembede's writing environment. This is especially important because it is his ideas which are the point of focus in the exploration process of this dissertation. In turn, one would assume that the approach of the research would be to grasp what it meant to be a black subject during a segregationist period. Furthermore to get an understanding of Lembede's conception of what blackness entails. The relevance and importance of a contextual method was formulated by the Cambridge school. Thinker, such as Quentin Skinner argued that in order to derive meaning and understanding in the history of ideas, one ought to evaluate the social, historical and economic context in which the ideas were produced. This deserves further analysis to an extent where Skinner asserts, "that the text itself should form the self-sufficient object of inquiry and understanding" (Skinner, 1969, p. 4). When closely assessing the collection of extracts that were written by Lembede, unlike his 1945 MA thesis, the 1996 volume is not necessarily an original form of literature that is directly produced from Lembede himself but it still remains his body of work gathered together by credible authors with the intent of establishing his political thought. This will then make Edgar and ka Msumza's study of Lembede's collected body of work the primary text because this curated volume does contain Skinner's prerequisites of "timeless elements in the form of universal ideas" (Skinner, 1969, p. 4). Skinner's historical contextual method approach also collectively attempts to position the various thinkers' body of work in the context of the cultural, political and intellectual debates of their respective periods. The method recognises that no thinker's work operates in a vacuum, where even the most independent or apparently isolated of texts will form part of some wider conversation whether it be consciously or unconsciously. Having said that, Lembede's ideas ought to be placed in dialogue with some of the other African thinkers of his time.

Hamilton uses intellectual history in South Africa to highlight the importance of this methodological approach in understanding black intellectual history: "The context of South Africa brings this out so well due to the fact that for most of its history since colonisation, powerful ideas, institutions and individuals have been central to various colonising and segregationist projects to directly control and subordinate much of the population" (Vale, Hamilton & Prinsloo, 2014, p. 335). Moreover if there is little to no comprehension of context, then the method of contextualising fails. It is challenging to do work on any political theorist or

at least gain any meaning from the history of political thought without first doing an investigation of the social, historical and economic conditions which inform the writing of that particular work. This does not only include black thinkers but it also includes any other thinker in the western canon or from other parts of traditions. Lembede's political context was segregationist South Africa, a period which conditions "were often so oppressive and degrading (such that) those South Africans who were…sufficiently enlightened to propagate alternative ideas or fight for more equal, just and democratic arrangements" (Vale, Hamilton & Prinsloo, 2014, p. 335).

A post exposition of the Cambridge School's theory on the contextual method, Hamilton's work makes a case for why the school mentioned above is salient for the intellectual history, particularly concerning the black intellectual canon in South Africa. Hamilton argues that the social engineering that was executed by colonialism instigated a robust cultivation of the apartheid regime, to such an extent where those "South Africans who were brave enough and sufficiently enlightened to propagate alter ideas or fight for more equal, just and democratic arrangements embraced anyone or any creed that added support to these endeavours" (Vale, Hamilton & Prinsloo, 2014, p. 335). The inclusion of the various creeds, regardless of their source of origin as a constituent of the liberation struggle, speaks directly to one of Lembede's idea on a civilisation's need to borrow and assimilate, certain kinds of foreign notions and concepts in order to grow and attain expansive freedom (Lembede, 1996, p. 134). Following from Hamilton and the Cambridge School, I will attempt to provide an overview account of historical context on Anton Lembede. An example of this would be that it almost seems impossible to understand or to clearly delineate his ideas on Africanism, without having an understanding of the context in which they were produced. This is due to the fact that Lembede's conception of this ideology was informed by the ongoing civil protests of 1945 in his writings, to where he felt the urging need to comment on the administrative climate he was subjected to. In saying this, I think that it is important to then make ideas distinguishable. Therefore I will routinely draw distinctions between Lembede's primary text and analyse them in context.

The first part of chapter two will provide a biographical account of Lembede because drawing from my methodology which emphasises the importance of context in order to derive meaning and understanding in the history of ideas. My task in further chapters, is to explore the way these

particular contextual events shape the intellectual ideas which form the subject and content of this dissertation. Firstly author Ciraj Rassool wants to claim that at times, it is an unfair illusion to think of all biographies as a linear chain of events "characterised by a sequence of acts, events and works, with individuals characterised by stability, autonomy, self-determination and rational choice (Rassool's, 2010, p. 28). Instead however, the arbitrary state of affairs that often happen in the realm of politics are the ones to paradoxically describe the straight-lined order of occurrences in any biographical piece. Lembede's biographical account will be no exception and will thus not be exposed to this 'biographical illusion' as Rassool terms it. The following detailed profile of Lembede's experiences and lifework in the next chapter will conform to a mildly scattered approach, due to the standard eclectic system in which most research methods submit to.

This dissertation will be divided into five chapters respectively. Chapter one firstly aims to briefly determine Lembede's setting and placement in segregationist South Africa and the ways in which he interacted with the political climate of his time. Before moving onto chapter two, this chapter outlines four posed research questions with the intent to formulate informed responses to these inquiries. The literature review will give a comprehensive summary of a few researches done on Lembede, where it raises some authors and their interpretations regarding Lembede's socialisation within his context. Authors Edgar, ka Msumza, Gerhart, Le Roux, Hamilton and a few more others that were not necessarily mentioned in the literature review; will still feature throughout the dissertation. The methodology and limitation section will broadly list the research aims. This chapter will go in more depth over the choice of method which is the historical contextual method as well as give an overview of the theoretical weakness of this method in relation to the research. Chapter two will deeply divulge into Lembede's biographical account by discussing his historical context that is interlocked with this account. This chapter will talk about the nature of Lembede's background and upbringing, which transition into his professional training phases which became contributing factors towards his ANCYL presidency. It will lastly cover some of the documented details of his personal life as well as give insight on his death.

Chapter three, along with all the other remaining chapters will ensure that the contextualising of his theoretical ideas take place. The third chapter seeks to give a close analysis to the way

Lembede views race and class relations through a 1940s segregationist South African lens, as well as some of the abstract considerations for black African poverty and subsequent solutions like multilingualism, to combat it. Chapter four will confer in great detail his political thought around African Nationalism. It wants to exhibit the various ways Lembede applies the ideology to the black subject's identity through a prototype perspective as well as finding the relevance of its use within the activities of the ANC Youth League. Moreover chapter four will attempt to unpack some of the underpinnings of African Nationalism as a whole, in order to substantiate Lembede's intent to synergise Christianity with African Nationalism or Africanism as the ideology in focus. The final chapter or rather chapter five entails the conclusion. This chapter aims is to form coherences with the conceptual links Lembede has made with African Nationalism tied into several subject matters in his writings which are raised throughout the dissertation. Topics on racial politics for example are recalled in this chapter but the only difference is that comprehensive final remarks are fleshed out in this chapter based on the various Lembedian arguments collected from each and every other chapter.

Chapter two

2.1. Early Childhood of Anton M. Lembede

Before he was commonly referred to as "Lembs" amongst his friends whom were also fellow political activists such as A. P. Mda, Jordan Ngubane and Ellen Kuzwayo; Anton Muziwakhe Lembede was a relatively new participant in the activities concerning the liberation struggle. As a South African figure that was born and bred in the province of Natal, his beginnings were of rural nature so much so that his father's, Mbazwana Martin Lembede occupation was that of a farm labourer (Edgar & Msumza, 1996, p. 13). Lembede's upbringing was mostly influenced by learned family members. Martha Nora MaLuthuli Lembede his mother, was able to achieve a Standard V education and around 1930s segregationist South Africa this accomplishment was a respectable one for a black woman. This was a significant accomplishment during a time that white administrations discouraged black South Africans from striving for more higher and sophisticated forms of education other than the acquirement of the bare minimum or rather, manual labour.

The introduction of the Bantu education act at a later stage or after the institutionalisation of the apartheid regime in 1948 formally meant that black people were unable to pursue their scholarly potential. This insidious attitude towards black people is captured by the Hendrik Verwoed's infamous policy recommendation in 1954, which argued that 'blacks ought not to be trained above certain 'forms of labour'… (as the Masters and Servants Act of 1901 and the Union's 1911 Colour Bar Act for example was strategically) designed to keep blacks in a position of servitude" (Giliomee, 2009, p. 190). In spite of the fact that Giliomee's argument is specifically on the Bantu Education Act which was passed after segregationist South Africa transitioned into an apartheid one in 1953; the intent remains the same among most of the Acts. The intent was to induce a socially engineered inferiority complex which was meant to objectify and undermine African personhood. One of Lembede's parents, more specifically his mother attained the necessary qualifications and went on to be a teacher at various Natal schools such as Umlazi Bridge and Vredeville (Edgar & Msumza, 1996, p. 14) to name a few. As a trained educator herself, Martha Lembede subsequently took it upon herself to homeschool a young Anton Lembede. As the firstborn son out of seven children, at first glance it almost seemed as a

motherly responsibility to educate the eldest child in the form of reading and writing in order to set the informative tone for the rest of Lembede's siblings that come after him. In hindsight however and in the bigger scheme of things, the preparation of his adept leadership was beginning to form even at this early stage of his life. Enhanced academic training was propelled by that prioritisation of education within the Lembede household mostly due to the fact that it was seen as an escape from the family's "grueling lives as farm labourers" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p.14). Lembede and his family made a positive relocation from their farm of Frank Fell to Umbumbulu a reserve that is situated between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. It was regarded as a benevolent move financially due to Anton Lembede's father's new occupation as a seasonal labourer, where he closely worked around white owned farms.

Theological teachings and practices were strongly adhered to during Lembede's upbringing, to such an extent where his English name Anton, was given to him by a Catholic priest, Father Cyprian (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 239). This occurred however before Lembede officially converted to Catholicism because he was initially baptised as Anglican. Due to the instrumental role of the church within Lembede's life, (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p.14) at some point in his childhood, Lembede expressed a desire to become a priest. In the following years, more specifically during his tertiary phase, a chapter in his 1934 piece is partly dedicated to the conception of religion and the ways in which religion aids the manifestation process which sees spiritual affects in the physical realm. This religious impact is noted as "the welfare of the community or to that of individuals considered as members of the community (so much so that) it is an obligation by which man is bound to God" (Lembede, 1996, p. 71). The ethos of both his home and schooling life saw religious activities being driven by Christian beliefs and philosophies and that is mainly the reason as to why a sizable portion of his written discourses are founded on Christian ideals and principles alike (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p, 72).

Lembede's leadership skills once again prevailed when some of his teachers at the Catholic Inkanyezi School regarded him as "one of her best students, (where his teacher, Bernadette Sibeko) often taught him a lesson and (then) had him instruct the others" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 996, p.15). As I have mentioned before in the previous chapter, the gaps in the literature stems from some of Lembede's undocumented childhood scenarios. This kind of gap is exemplified in the following statement; "Anton's formal education did not begin until he was thirteen…"

(Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 15). It is rather difficult to commit to this statement, since his formal education could have begun at an earlier age or before he turned thirteen. Availability of recorded material impede us from developing an accurate biographical timeline. Lembede's lost years or years that have not been documented, will result in this chapter as well as the forthcoming ones to validate various facts about Lembede among the small pool of sources that actually do exist, sources like the 1996 volume: Freedom in Our Lifetime.

A quality that most of the texts I have engaged with collectively asses Lembede as a dedicated figure of importance in black liberation thinking. Some of the memories that both his family and teacher have of Lembede which reflects his devotion to his scholarly journey was when he would be observed to be pensive as a child or being fully immersed in his novels and books whilst performing his duties concerning the family's livestock (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 15). Lembede's intellectual capability was quickly detected by his teachers due to the request that came from his teacher Sibeko to "write an essay on money…(after his attempt on this paper left her) so impressed that she copied it and entered it in a contest at a teachers' conference" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 16). Lembede's money essay received a first prize accolade because of its realistic depiction of monetary value. The most significant aspect relating to this portion of Lembede's biography is not so much in the obvious assertion made in his piece about 'money ruling the world' (Lembede, 1996, p. 16) but more due to the fact that he was able to observe and express this economic certainty on paper at a tender age. The probable timeframe would have been between the ages of eight and ten as Lembede wrote this essay at a time when he was most likely in primary school, among "Standard I and II students" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 15) to be exact. Standard One would contemporarily be known as Grade Three and Standard Two as Grade Four but also the paper was written before Lembede's Adams College days. Given the biological fact that Lembede was "born on 21 January 1914" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 13), the years Lembede fairly begun his intellectual trajectory would run between 1922 and 1924 because of the above mention of the estimated ages and grades in which he started to engage with formal essay writing.

2.2. Anton Lembede's Background

"After Anton completed Standard III (or Grade Five), Sibeko encouraged him to continue his education" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 16). Lembede went on to subsequently obtain a first

class pass or rather an aggregate that equated to a distinction in Standard VI synonymously known as Grade Six in today's school terms. It is with this kind of academic pass where Lembede was then inspired to further his high school or secondary studies at the 1849 established institution, Adams College. It is a Christian missionary school based in Amanzimtoti, Durban Kwa-Zulu Natal in South Africa which targeted at training "African assistants to European missionaries" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 16). The Amanzimtoti institute had a few divisions and one of them was a teacher's training college that was opened in the year 1909 (Adams College, 2015). This allowed African students who have acquired their basic level of education or primary school teachings, the opportunity to develop their skills as future educators and apply for jobs that relate to teaching "native" occupied intermediate schools, high schools and training colleges alike (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 17).

In 1933 when Anton Lembede was nineteen, he enrolled in the course that involved the ability to adeptly impart knowledge unto others, this course unavoidably shapes his teaching aptitude in the years to come. It was Lembede's move to Adams College where he became more aware of the underpinnings that the different kinds of socio-economic statuses entail. The awareness comes from the idea of appearances. The way people looked and came across would give relative insight about the nature of their background. This seemed to be the precise case in Lembede's situation, "there was his abject poverty which was apparent to everyone because of his shabby dress (sense): his patched pants and worn-out jackets" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 17). If I were to consider the perspectives of those that surrounded Lembede such as one of the founders of the ANC Youth League Jordan Ngubane, it seems almost easy to reduce his clothing style as a "living symbol of African misery" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 17), purely basing the observation on the exterior. His intellectual capacity however, again should also have a sufficient amount of attention drawn to it. This kind of intellectual capacity in the discussion, will be deemed as the 'interior' more especially for the sake of some form of antithesis to the whole 'appearances as the exterior' topic. Discerning Lembede's take on outward appearance through style of clothing i.e. "clothing is indecent where the primitive style of dressing obtains" (Lembede, 1996, p. 72) as well as having unpacked the several points previously made about his scholastic capabilities. It therefore seems fair to also say that Lembede did not necessarily place that much emphasis on how he looked or the way in which he was perceived, by saying that "those who use European styles always imitate the Europeans in all unbecoming styles and thus

waste money" (Lembede, 1996, p. 72). He seemed more concerned about the pragmatic ways in which he could valuably contribute to the equal growth of academia and the economy, "a man may gain the highest university degrees and diplomas but he not better than a well-trained and industrious famer or carpenter" (Lembede, 1996, p. 69). The previous claim is testament to Lembede's thought processes, such that he tries to offer theoretical solutions towards the development of the South African political landscape by reducing social and economic agents to the same level. Overall Lembede's probable reason for his unkempt daily presence at Adams College for example, was highly due to his financial constraints and deprivation.

He excelled in most of his courses including language studies like in: Xhosa, Sesotho, Afrikaans (the oppressor's tongue), German as well as Latin just to name a few, so much so that Lembede's former classmates would constantly commend his dedication and speak highly of his approach to his grades. Lembede places a great amount of importance on language and multilingualism as a whole. Lembede maintains the saliency in this subject matter even in one of the very few publicised work by him in *Iso Lomuzi* which was Adams' Press at the time which dictates that, "foreign languages allowed one to understand other people and that contributed to lessening racial hatred" (Lembede, 1996, p. 18). He considered the multitude of possibilities in which language in and of itself carried and that was the potential to break communicational barriers. It is in this realisation which initiated Lembede's thoughts and involvement around global and nationally orientated economic, social as well as political issues. These thought provoking concepts prompted Lembede to write two significant essays which would ultimately solidify the route regarding his train of thought on African politics. The first essay, *What Do We Understand by Economics?* is a piece dedicated to the comprehension of the human condition and some of the ways this understanding is able to improve the human condition both spiritually and materially. It attempts to assess the way "in which nations or communities and their individual members get food, clothing, shelter and whatever else desirable or necessary for…organisation of the community or nation-its history, customs, laws and many other factors which make life profitable" (Lembede, 1996, p. 71). This 1934 paper, a piece which Lembede was able to get published in the same publication company at Adams College, aims to make conceptual links between religious and economic activities. Moreover it attempts to find a synergy between the economy and religion. Lembede wrote and published this essay at age twenty, only a year after securing a scholarship at Adams College in 1933 (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 17).

Furthermore Lembede's analysis outlines a chain of problems which South African communities are confronted with. One being that liquor menaces the communities such that, not only does it cause internal bodily harm but it is also a driver of crime escalation and a key symptom to the preservation of poverty (Lembede, 1996, p. 75). Lembede outlines a few of these issues as a way to highlight some of the hindrances to the development of the economy. The Christian based issue of polygamy as another problem mentioned, relatively exemplifies 'the personal is the political' mantra. He does this by referring to the ongoing contentious relationship between African and Western customs, especially with regards to nuptial agreements. Lembede thinks that the conflicting differences between the two customs is not fully warranted because "such customs as Ilobolo (or dowry as an African custom) should be preserved because they are not against our religious principles. Ilobolo, for instance confirms the marriage so that divorce is not easily possible" (Lembede, 1996, p. 74). He goes on to say however that, "polygamy should be done away with, because in these days a man cannot afford to support many members of the family and the result will be distress and misery" (Lembede, 1996, p. 74). Granted that at first glance it seems paradoxical that Lembede as a black subject himself has a tendency to favour Western culture over the African set of traditions, like the prioritisation of monogamy as a western social construct as opposed to polygamy as a "native" idea. But when seen through an economic lens, this is not entirely the case because his argument stems not so much from the dichotomy between African and Western customs as well as traditions but more so at the ability to sufficiently and effectively provide for the household with the largest consideration on financial stability. Lastly he delineates truancy as another detriment to the economy where he stresses the "importance of education and urges them (the community) to send their children to school" (Lembede, 1996, p. 74). He circumnavigates educational absenteeism back to the economy by stipulating that the natural inclination from parents to send their children to a space of learning, will only occur once those parents as the adults become industrious people (Lembede, 1996, p. 74).

The second essay; *The Importance of Agriculture*, also written in the same year as *What Do we Understand by Economics?* similarly places "the responsibility for black poverty on the African people themselves" (Lembede, 1996, p. 74). It is however much more solutions driven, in a sense that he derives that agriculture is the root of economic redemption. Lembede does make a binary distinction between academic labour and manual labour but deplores the idea of separating the

two, “some educated people disparage manual labour; they say it is too inferior for them; they appreciate ‘white collar work’ (as opposed to blue collar work” (Lembede, 1996, p. 69). Lembede argues that the clash between intellectual labour and manual labour does not actually exist. Ideally he envisions the two different forms of labour should and can coexist, almost to the point where in order for a functional economy to occur the one kind of labour cannot exist without the other. Therefore, in the same way that Lembede argues for educational training becoming a necessary condition, he equally does so for manual training. These conditions are what he thinks would set off the prospects of a booming and thriving economy. Lembede’s agricultural emphasis through manual labour would aid the eradication of the constant prevalence of starvation (Lembede, 1996, p. 72) among black individuals based on the cultivation of crops.

The irony relating to both of these 1934 essays is that, despite the papers’ attitude to make bold claims that are politically charged respectively; they encompass a soft approach to politics as opposed to an extreme one. “The fact that Lembede’s essays were not overtly political, is not surprising since descriptions of Adams generally agree that the school did not have a politicised environment” (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 19). The soft or passive approach mentioned above was probably the most appropriate response, given that the policies created under the segregationist government were not as strict compared to the legislature that came after apartheid was institutionalised in 1948. It could possibly be said that the snowball effect is at play here in that, Lembede commences a passive style in his political views but overtime his ideas start to gain weight and traction, creating more active and hardened or concretised outlooks. One of the affairs that initiated the above mentioned effect, where Lembede’s resolute views around nationalism ensued which was largely influenced in the coming years; was the call for Adams College to have a day set out to celebrate black heroes of the past. This would later be coined, ‘Heroes of Africa Day’. This period had future prominent ANC figures such as Z K Matthews and Albert Luthuli forming part of Lembede’s environment as the staff of the 1849 institute (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 19). In October, Adams 1934 successive principle Edgar Brookes formalised the rallied Heroes’ Day. This action gave further impetus to Lembede’s core values that constituted his version of what African Nationalism should embody.

2.3. A.M. Lembede's Tertiary Education & Professional Training

Anton Lembede's religious occupational intentions such as wanting to become a priest as a child, however changed course, later in his life. This came about when he subsequently chose teaching as a professional necessity in order to sustain himself as well as contribute towards his household. Lembede as a student remained at Adams College for three years and "after leaving Adams in 1936, Lembede took up a series of teaching posts, first at Utrecht and Newcastle in Natal…and (then) Parys Bantu School, where he was a headmaster" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 21). Due to Lembede's insatiable appetite for knowledge, this lead him to advance his education in more ways than one. His unquenchable thirst for information is characterised by a proposal put forth by him regarding the creation of theoretical novelty that is Afrocentric based. "Anton M. Lembede proposed the notion of the African Academy as a way of facilitating the production of New Knowledge and New Epistemologies: (stating that) 'we need a science to assist us in our present stage of transition and we shall need it more increasingly thereafter'" (Masilela, 2003, p. 2). At the age of twenty-six, in 1940 Lembede took correspondence Bachelor of Arts (BA) courses at the University of South Africa or UNISA and subsequently majored in Roman Law and Philosophy but three years before this particular higher learning endeavour, he managed to pass "the Joint Matriculation Board exams in 1937, taking Afrikaans A and English B and earning a distinction in Latin" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 21). Edgar again raises a mentionable point that, it is a difficult task to chart or pinpoint when the evolution of his ideas begun (Edgar, 1995, p. 1). A good start however is familiarising oneself with Lembede's law trajectory.

When Lembede was twenty-eight years old in 1942, he did his LLB degree at the same institution of his BA majors, UNISA. The Bachelor of Laws degree ushered him into his postgraduate field of study, where he did a BA Masters (MA) in Philosophy (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 21). Anton M. Lembede's MA thesis entitled *The Conception of God as Expounded by, or as it Emerges from the Writings of Philosophers – from Descartes to the Present Day* was submitted in 1945, three years after his enrollment as a graduate. Lembede's MA dissertation is a research study on the different kinds of perceptions in which the various yet classically renowned western philosophers had about God as an omnibenevolent, omnipotent and omniscient being. The qualitative investigation that he lodges within this thesis reaffirms and still

speaks to his theological devotions that is stressed in his other writings. I aim to further assess Lembede's non-secularistic thoughts around the Christian faith in relation to the ideology of African nationalism as a political movement in chapter four. For both this chapter and the forthcoming one, my onus will be to distinctly use an original version of his 1945 MA thesis as one of the main points of reference for a few theoretical underpinnings. As part and parcel of this, I'll attempt to find a conceptual link to the making of the black subject in which Lembede projected. The moment when Lembede's MA was conferred, this signaled a meaningful breakthrough for the potential of black intellectuals like himself. As his fellow politically active comrade A. P. Mda's tribute puts it; that Lembede's MA completion is well-deserved so much so that "this signal achievement is the culmination of an epic struggle for self-education under severe handicaps and almost insuperable difficulties. (He goes on to further declare that) it is a dramatic climax to Mr Lembede's brilliant scholastic career" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 21). In addition to Mda's homage, whom he met at a Catholics teachers' meeting during his Newcastle visit in 1937 (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 26), another lesser known yet grass-rooted testimonial by B. M. Khaketla still plays a supplementary role in boosting Lembede's academic credibility. Khaketla was Lembede's roommate in the mid-1940s, during his UNISA postgraduate days. He confirms the type of consistent diligent and dedication that Anton Lembede displayed towards his studies from a more private setting. He attests that;

> Lembede would wake up at five and read until six, then he prepared for school...he studied until eleven (pm). He followed this timetable religiously on weekdays. On Saturdays he read until lunch. After lunch he read until he went to bed. Sundays he set aside for church reading newspaper and socialising" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 22).

It was Mda's well-seasoned rational and empirical knowledge regarding the race issue however, which subsequently influenced and shaped some of Lembede's thoughts on the subject matter of education. Having shared a house in Orlando Soweto; Mda moulded some of Lembede's ideas by helping him to refine his arguments and clearly define them. A.P. Mda did this by occasionally playing devil's advocate on sensitive topics like the racial oppression that both him and Lembede, like many others were exposed to as black subjects. Due to their academic ambitions, "they became intellectual sparring partners (where) Mda sharpened Lembede's understanding of philosophical ideas by assuming opposing positions on issues (reiteratively or

also known as: the devil's advocate approach to an argument) and vigorously debating them with him" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 27). Mda realised the importance of honing Lembede's argumentative skills because during his residence in the Orange Free State, one of the methods he employed in order to develop his Afrikaans dialect was "reading Hendrik Verwoed's column, Die Sake van die Dag, in Die Transvaler" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 27). As a result of this way of learning that Lembede had embarked on, Mda found problematic that Lembede had a tendency of being "uncritically fascinated with the spirit of determination embodied in fascist ideology, to the point where he saw nothing wrong with quoting certain ideas of Hitler…" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 27). It must be remembered that due to Lembede's studious background, he was the first of a few things such as being the first person in his family to attend university, one of the first black lawyers in his hometown and so forth. Given the fact of these Orange Free State instances, "he did not (necessarily) have (much of the) benefit of having (a likeminded surrounding of) peers who could scrutinise…his thinking, but in Johannesburg, he had Mda and others who challenged him…" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 28).

Some of the ways in which Lembede attempted to broaden his educational horizons was to join a few organisations, in order to understand the innerworkings of these bodies and their contribution towards the struggle for freedom. One such organisation was the African Teachers' Association based in the Orange Free State, to which he lambastes. His criticism of the association stems principally from the growing "impatience (he experiences with its) inaction and lax discipline" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 22). These moments herald Lembede's urgent call for positive change and action. Between this point 1941 which was the year he joined the association and 1947, the year of his death; the snowball effect begun to show itself. Mainly in a sense that within the remaining six years of his life, he was able to integrate his theoretical resolutions with his political views more forcefully compared to the softer modus operandi he had adopted previously.

Despite Lembede's short-lived law career, he managed to serve his articles alongside one of the founders of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 (two years after white supremacists establish the South African Union in 1910) and among the very few practicing black lawyers of the time, Pixley ka Seme. He did this after finishing his LLB (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 25). Lembede's law related affairs had occurred during his stay in the city of Johannesburg or Joburg

for short, where in 1943 he moved to in order to pursue his practice. During this time or also in 1943 "Lembede entered Congress politics…(such that) he was elected to the presidency of the Congress Youth League in succession to Dr W Nkomo" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 241). Lembede's linguistic abilities gave him a competitive edge when the time came for him to take over Seme's law firm (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 24). Seme was a well-respected key and figurehead in Lembede's transition to Joburg from Natal because "…he certainly eased Lembede's entry into Johannesburg's political and social circles" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 25). Referring back to Lembede's universal tongue, he used this skill in some of his court proceedings. He would sometimes speak Latin in court which would frustrate the magistrate into reprimanding him, "please, Mr Lembede, this is not Rome, but South Africa". (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 25). Other times he would pleasantly surprise other white Afrikaner magistrate judges by switching to and from Afrikaans during a session. Again Lembede's former passive approach to political matters had worn thin because there was an instance where he would openly and fearlessly challenge the prosecutor as a learned black man (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 26).

As mentioned before Lembede moved around from organisation to organisation, different kinds of groups as well; whether it be a church setting or religious societies to political ones. There was a time where he once attended the *Nederduitse Gerformeerde Kerk* or the Dutch Reformed Church, listening in on the Afrikaans conducted preachings which he was able to easily understand due to his fluency in the language. Lembede's proficiency would even allow him to "occasionally translate Afrikaans sermons into Sesotho" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 22). Lembede's most notable move however which actually christened him into mainstream South African politics, was in his 1937 Bloemfontein attendance of the All African Convention (ACC). After giving the organisation a chance, Lembede lost interest in it for unknown reasons but I could possibly deduce that judging from earlier frustrations over the agendas and mandates of former associations; perhaps the ACC was insufficiently radical for his liking. Lembede only made the great leap to the ANC in the late 1930s, after the revitalisation of its politics (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 26). Anton Lembede and A. P. Mda ultimately joined forces along with their other counterparts, with the aim to expand on solutions founded on common ground "and out of their discussions with each other and with their peers emerged a vision of a rejuvenated African nationalism – centered around the unity of the African people – that could rouse and lead

their people to freedom" (Lembede, 1996, p. 28). The above Afrocentric vision shared by these black men, marked the beginning of the formation of the ANC Youth League. The Youth League was deeply rooted or founded on a reimagined and "native" spirited outlook of, not solely South Africa but a conscientious agenda meant for the African continent as a whole.

2.4. Lembede's time in the ANC Youth League

The late 1930s to the mid-1940s saw the happenings of World War II or WWII. It was during this time that the affairs which took place between Europe and North America had a domino effect on the rest of the globe, Africa included. It was around this time that South Africa in particular had an influx of people move from the rural areas to the urbanised cities. Due to these acts of migration, Johannesburg experienced a population surge because "the wartime economy may have opened up employment opportunities for black workers, but at a cost" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 29). The economic afflictions that the timeframe was facing came in the form of municipalities charging city dwellers high transportation prices, housing shortages and so forth and what lead to further frustration of black citizens is that the "white government and the municipal officials (alike) did little to alleviate these burdens" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 29). The dormancy of white administrators all around in lessening economic inflation sparked a rolling mass action by people who were negatively affected by this, i.e. strikes, protests and boycotts. The undesirable impact lay mostly with black proletariats that made up the working class. Black professionals like Lembede grew weary of the ANC's lethargic responses in combatting these economic issues because "the ANC leaders remained aloof (or detached) from these protests" (Lembede, 1996, p. 29).

Glaser points out that, the withdrawnness the ANC displayed to the series of events that took place across the township of the Witwatersrand is because, indeed "the ANC, under the leadership of Dr A.B. Xuma, had in many ways resurrected itself…(however) its political methods had remained cautious, cooperative and respectful towards the white elites" (Glaser, 2012, p. 11). All in all ANC figureheads still maintained a conservative stance in relation to the National Party so much so that despite Dr Xuma's decorated efforts of bettering the party's financial situation by both donating a few of his own assets from his profession as a medical practitioner as well as sourcing funds from private sectors (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 29).

Xuma did not go far enough with his approach in implementing radical change in both the political and economic spectrum towards black liberation, at least this was the thought of the newer wave of ANC members.

With Xuma's realisation and worry that the ANC as an organisation would dismantle if the younger participants felt marginalised in any shape or form, especially in processes concerning decision-making, the branch of the ANC as a youth league was created. "The inspiration for forming a Youth League came from several quarters" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 30). Future prominent figures made up the youth division, activists such as William Nkomo, Oliver Tambo, James Njongwe, Nelson Mandela, Lionel Majombozi (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 30) just to name a few and several others. Before these forthcoming Youth Leaguers joined at a later stage, the Youth League was initially stimulated by a variety of youth based organisations, associations and societies nationally. A few provinces acted as contributing factors in offering stimulus during the establishment of the League. A Durban based association called the National Union of African Youth or NUAY formed in order to advocate for business training, economic and literacy (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 30) advancements among black youth. Self Mampuru and Paul Mosaka as a dynamic duo who headed up the African Democratic Party (ADP) but desired to rally support from younger ANC members for the ADP's expansion. Xuma considered the ANC youth jumping ship as unattractive for its future thus begun to foster a rapport with these particular youth leaders (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 32).

Further motivation for the Youth branch came about when a number of students flocked to Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape. The drive to take the basic education some black people had, to new heights was appealing; especially during WWII. Institutional student protest that broke out at Fort Hare triggered subsequent events that gave weight to the idea of creating a Youth League (Le Roux, 1979, p. 36). In the early 1940s, a racially charged incident by a "white supervisor (who) struck a black female employee" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 31) triggered outrage among black students over the misconduct and poor treatment of black staff at the university. In spite of the fact that the students demands for justice regarding the staff member was dismissed by the Fort Hare's white bodied administration; the road to the Youth League's establishment was paved. A few more events took place during the journey leading up to the year

1944. The cultivation of the ADP however, sealed the deal for the African National Congress Youth League or rather the ANCYL's formation.

Again, it was the ANCYL "founded in 1944, that the famed cohort of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo – who would all become powerful leaders of the ANC in later years" (Posel, 2013, p. 60). Nevertheless Anton Lembede as the founding president of the League, ensured that the direction the division took meant that it would challenge the outdated systematic way of thinking that the "Old Guard" ANC engaged in (Lembede, 1996, p. 32). The young-blooded leaders that worked alongside Lembede came from educated backgrounds but due to the Segregationist reality of reducing the status of being a black South African to the level of subhuman, these leaders realised their intellectualism is meaningless in a white orchestrated environment. Therefore as a result of the political ideal that Lembede's administration aligned itself with, was to see the purge of white sovereignty at the forefront. He wanted to first militantly radicalise the innerworkings of ANC in its entirety, by adopting "militant tactics to contest white rule" (Lembede, 1996, p. 32). This approach seems to have been met with mixed reviews by the ANC members themselves because "Lembede had to defend his Africanist positions against charges that they were too extreme" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 36). With the hope that the effects would neutralise white domination as well as subsidise both the interests and grievances of the African masses (Posel, 2013, p. 61).

Prior to the League's official launch, "a formal proposal to found a Youth League was put forward at the December 1943 meeting of the ANC in Bloemfontein" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 32). Before the ANC Youth League's seal of approval from Xuma (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 33), the proposal needed to undergo a few steps of verification before its official adoption. One of those steps entailed establishing multilateral agreements between the ANC and a few other parties alike. Mda backed the stipulations of the proposal (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 33) which meant that the League would be authorised to organise different tiered conferences across South Africa: locally, regionally, provincially and nationally whilst still maintaining some of the original core values, philosophies, ethos, and principles of the ANC.

An unsurprising dilemma was the decision of leadership for the newly formed ANYCL. Some of the counterintuitive factors to consider was that the League was youth orientated which consequently meant that most of the candidates to possibly make up the executive team were still

students. Schedule and duty conflicts would thus arise if their studies were to interfere with the responsibilities of the League. Despite medical students of the University of the Witwatersrand; Lionel Majombozi and W. F. Nkomo serving as the exec interim for the time being as well as actually becoming serious contenders for the position of presidency due to their amassed popularity among the Youth Leaguers respectively (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 33). Despite the fact that Lembede and Mda grew suspicious of Nkomo because they "believed that (he) was secretly a member of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA)" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 33). It was Anton Muziwakhe Lembede who eventually became the first elected president of the newly formed ANCYL in 1944 at the age of thirty, as Nkomo withdrew from the elections due to his studies (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 33). Lembede held this position as president for the next three years until his passing in 1947 (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 33). Given Lembede's suspicions over Nkomo's possible affiliation to the CPSA above, it must be noted that Lembede's relationship with communism is an antagonistic one but this will be discussed in more detail throughout this dissertation.

As an Adams College alumni, both Ngubane and Lembede drew up the Youth League's manifesto and it significantly takes into cognisance the ongoing racial tension between black and white people. The discorded relationship between whites and blacks is what the manifesto identifies as the key impediment to racial cohesion and the main problem for black unity. It is fundamentally meant to symbolise the uncompromised position of an African nationalist. In spite of the fact that the manifesto, in and of itself did not necessarily offer alternative solutions (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 35) within its radicalism, especially ways of countering the older schools of thought. It still ensured that it remained uncompromised and resolute in the theoretical ideas it put forth. This ANCYL policy did take into account some of the past mistakes of the old-fashioned techniques such as accommodating certain aspects of white rule (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 34), i.e. 'the cooperative and cautious' approach gathered by author Glaser earlier on. The critical evaluation in which the manifesto embarked on was considered quite brutal yet telling of the political gaps the orthodox members left unfilled. Nevertheless the manifesto still urged younger members and newcomers to stay faithful to the ANC as a whole despite its severe "criticisms of the ANC (mother body) leadership" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 35).

Lembede's decorated résumé worked to his advantage, especially after taking up this new found role as ANCYL president. The prior refinement in knowledge that Mda aided Lembede with (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 22); proved his capabilities valid such that, he was far from novice classification in the qualitative sense which rendered as trust towards his pragmatic considerations.

> Whatever reservations Youth Leaguers had with Lembede's ideas and his lack of grounding in practical politics, they recognised that he was willing to take on any challenge, no matter how much opposition it provoked i.e. his call to boycott the Native Representative Council elections or the NRC due to its continuation of undesirable preservation of moderate and conservative leaders (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 36).

It is said that Lembede enjoyed controversial discourses because he considered that, discussions of this nature are the most thought-provoking. The roles seemed to have reversed between Mda and Lembede because as I mentioned before, Mda would generally be the one to play devil's advocate in casual settings with the intent to improve Lembede's argumentative and analytical ability. It seems that Lembede had now adopted that academic characteristic because he would have a tendency to unexpectedly assert devil's advocacy even in the most formal of conferences and seminars. A paradigm of this is when Mda recollected a moment when Lembede felt that the crowd he was addressing was unenergetic and in that Orlando situated meeting, "he deliberately stirred things up by launching an attack on the Communist Party (bearing in mind that the CPSA was considered an ally of the ANCYL during the liberation struggle, due to similarities in each of the party's mandates respectively). The meeting according to Mda, provoked a ferocious response…" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 37). There have been further instances (some documented, others undocumented) where he would apply the same tactic. More especially in his public speaking events and platforms which to a certain degree meant that Lembede was truly never one to shy away from verbal yet conducive disputes. To such an extent where he relished in strategic forms of debate that were progressive, exclusively for the building of his ideas that invaluably contribute to the expansion of African Nationalism. I will attempt to discuss a portion of the rationale and some of the innerworkings that Lembedian African Nationalism necessitates in upcoming chapters.

2.5. The Premature Death of Anton Muziwakhe Lembede

As stated earlier on, Lembede made a conscious decision to follow an educator's career path not only to satisfy his professional passion but as a way to financially benefit his family. By 1947 he was able to do that. The concept of the contemporary phrase deemed 'Black Tax', seems almost innate for every black migrant that made their move from their rural homes to urban areas. Due to Lembede's role in actively sending money home, to where his widowed mother was the recipient of this action (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 49) proves the long-standing applicability of this concept. "Black Tax (loosely) refers to the experience of black executives who must, in addition to the usual stresses, confront a set of personalised social strains which grow out of their "blackness" in a white administrative environment" (Harper, 1975, p. 207). A brief yet deeper focus on one of these 'personalised social strains', is the intrinsic obligation for any black subject that finds themselves resting in financial stability to send money and/or assets back to the place that they were born and bred due to "native" generational deprivation instigated by white supremacy. The onus of the salaried and/or waged black person mostly stems from the money and time invested in their upbringing by their parents. Therefore considering a time where a concept like education was noted down as a luxury that was denied to the African. As a result of this animate or human-based investment, black tax expects returns which would be in the form of sending money back home.

Nonetheless at this point; a prosperous Lembede carried out this responsibility as a dutiful son by "sending 20 pounds" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 50) to his family, even more so now that his father had passed. Furthermore Lembede did not just assist his immediate family but he managed to support his extended relatives as well. In addition to buying a car as well as building a house for himself, he similarly constructed a gravel road back in Natal. He also "paid lobola, 'bride wealth' (or a groom's dowry) for his brother Alpheus and he promised his sister Cathrene and her husband, Alpheus Makhanya, that he would bring one of their children to Johannesburg and pay for his education" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 49). A year after Lembede's ANCYL presidential inauguration and tenure, he had met a trained nurse named Cherry Mndaweni during a work related trip for his law firm. In 1945, Mndaweni commuted using a bus, the same bus Lembede was on. "According to Mndaweni (herself) it was love at first sight; and after Lembede returned to Johannesburg, they started writing letters to each other" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 50). The two married in 1947, two years after they met, "Lembede visited her father…to initiate lobola negotiations" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 50). Lembede thirty-one and

Mndaweni twenty-six. The year the two wedded would also mark the final year of Lembede's life.

Shortly after Lembede's matrimonies, he fell ill on the 27th of July 1947 where both Sisulu and Mandela recall "passing (Lembede's office) and noticed (him) doubled over in pain on his couch (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 51). According to Edward Feit's 1972 article Lembede died of cancer (Feit, 1972, p. 182), however Robert Edgar and Luyanda ka Msumza have attempted to do meticulous research on Lembede's social, political and economic circumstances. The investigation into his background has been so extensive and greatly-detailed, that their body of work on his life is the primary and most recommended volume to use in order to get a strong sense of the man that he was and came to be. Therefore to a certain extent it is warranted to falsify Feit's claim that Lembede's cause of death was due to cancer but instead "Lembede was taken to Coronation Hospital where he died on Wednesday, 29th of July 1947, at 05:30 am (and the most likely) cause of death was listed as 'cardiac failure' with 'intestinal obstruction' a contributing factor" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 51). Although the year in which Lembede died in is consistent with most of the sources that talk about his death, there are different dates listed as his date of death. An example of the inconsistency is expressed through a Tribute Anniversary which confirmed the 30th of July as the day he passed (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 262), whilst other unknown or uncredited sources list the 02nd of August as another different date. Ultimately, seeing that Edgar & ka Msumza have accomplished a comprehensive study on Lembede, the most reliable date which they regularly cite is the 29th of July 1947. Lembede died at the age of thirty-three. It is important to note that prior to Lembede's death, during his law studies in Newcastle in which the year exactly is not known; "he had his first illness of his life…where he underwent an operation of appendix" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 237). In addition "in 1941, whilst still teaching at Heilbron, he had a major abdominal operation; so although he made a phenomenal recovery, his digestive system remained weak (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 237). Authors Edgar and ka Msumza think that these two recorded incidences regarding his health could possibly give a premise to "his sudden death after a very brief illness" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 237).

Cardiac failure could be equated to cardiac arrest or more commonly known as, a heart attack. He was subsequently laid to rest on the 3rd of August 1947 Croesus cemetery. Several significant

figureheads who formed part of his political journey in one way or another made up the attendees, i.e. A. P. Mda, Jordan Ngubane, A. B. Xuma, Pixley ka Seme, William Nkomo, Oliver Tambo, Obed Mooki (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 51) and so many others; as a way to pay their last respects to a revered man in his own right. Mda succeeded Lembede's posthumous exit as ANCYL president and although Mda did agree with the most basic or foundational beliefs of Lembede's politics, he was not always supportive of the execution of his beliefs and notions (Le Roux, 1979, p. 35). "African nationalism (according to A. P. Mda) must not be the narrow kind, the unkind kind that discriminated against other racial groups (i.e. Lembede's rejection of indians and coloureds as allies that stand with black people in the liberation movement. I will speak about this more deeply soon)" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 52). Mda ultimately made an argument for the multiracial cooperation in order to see the systematic function of African Nationalism, a train of thought that Lembede would probably not have stood for in his life due to his extremism over an 'only black' African nationalistic stance. The previous claim on Lembede's pro-black African Nationalism also resonates with Lembede's Pan-African identity which will be covered shortly. That said, the difference in opinion did not slow down Mda in ensuring that Lembede's ideas were both preserved and memorialised. Interestingly yet unsurprising if one were to consider the discourse on black tax earlier on; Lembede's dying wish was for the perpetual education and the distribution of his wealth to be redirected to his family. "All the money must be given to Nicholas (presumably his nephew), and he should use this money for going to school with…And the clothing should be given to my brother—and he should try and do all the good in order to lead the African nation. God Bless you all" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 51). Lembede's last words are a real testament to a man who died the way he lived and that was to serve his family, friends and all the people he fought for.

To conclude this chapter, it provides Lembede's historical background which is important when it comes to setting the contextual tone of this dissertation. This chapter gave a better insight of the person Lembede was from a very young age, whereby his passion for learning became noticeable by his teachers due to his inquisitive nature at primary level. Lembede synergises his education and religious beliefs which ultimately becomes prevalent in his future writings on African Nationalism because of the positive exposure he experienced from both the schooling system and his Christian teachings. The different phases of his life where he attended places like

Adams College, UNISA as well as other institutions prepared Lembede well enough to fully immerse himself in his law profession and subsequent ANCYL presidency.

The various roles that the different figureheads played in his life such as A.P. Mda, profoundly contributed to Lembede's development and shaped the South African political activist and African thinker he came to be known as during the 1940s. Lembede's death in his early thirties meant that his life was cut short which inevitably affected the opportunity for his ideas to progress further. Nevertheless the following chapter aims to deal with the few existing texts which reflect on some of Lembede's ideas. Chapter three will confer Lembede's conceptualisation of race politics and the way this has an impact on the dynamics of class for the black subject. Moreover the next chapter will focus on some of the reasons for black destitution as well as the different mechanisms Lembede outlines to combat poverty experienced by "natives", especially seeing that this is an experience that was also familiar to him whilst growing up.

Chapter three

3.1. A Racially Conscious Milieu

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly deal with the conceptualisation of race, it attempts to do this by repositioning the idea into the segregationist context in question. This section seeks to understand some of the implications of race through the rule of law construct in relation to space and class from an outlook of both the abstract and the material. The aim is to take into consideration that the state and the economy are indubitably joined, where it renders difficult to view the one without the other. Instances regarding the politics of race and its link to either affluence or poverty depending on which skin colour one possesses, will appear throughout this chapter frequently throughout this chapter. It more generally aims to capture some of Lembede's key findings and expositions through historical occurrences that predominantly came out of the 1930s and 1940s South African setting.

Scholars argue that the black subject was immiserated due to an overarching glare of white policies. Policies that considered racial segregation to be at the forefront of their design, sealed the necessary ideal for Segregationist South Africa to experience a discord in both social and cultural heterogeneity (Lubbe, Siebert & Cilliers, 2010, p. 2900). One out of several exemplar segregationist laws, was the representation of the Jan Smuts administration in 1923, concerning *The Native (Urban Areas) Act*. The purpose of this act was to clear out black populated slums within the urban areas which ultimately gave white municipal authorities the power to establish separate locations for Africans throughout the country. These areas were usually located on the outskirts or edges of the towns, with this form of segregationist spatial geography persisting till the present day. Author Pierre L. Van Den Berghe argues about the economic inconsistencies and the race-related disproportionality of the segregationist system: "No other state in the world has devoted as large a proportion of its energies and resources in imposing racial segregation as South African has done since 1948" (Van Den Berghe, 1966, p. 408). Van Den Berghe's statement is not inaccurate because Lembede further justifies this stance by commenting on the racial conditions that existed even before 1948 or during the 1930s to the mid-1940s. He argues that;

> In South Africa, however, more than in any other country in the World, the colour of man's skin is worshipped, idolised, and adopted as an essential mark or criterion of human superiority and inferiority. The philosophy of colour-worship has no scientific foundation whatsoever. It is a nefarious, devilish ideology which at present is unfortunately dominating and holding sway over the minds of most Europeans in this country. Africans are, according to this ideology, regarded as inferior creatures, incapable of higher education, of helping themselves, of governing themselves, and even of knowing what is good for themselves (Lembede, 1996, p. 150).

From a financial standpoint; the irrationality of the segregationist system was very dominant, even after South Africa's establishment as a union in 1910 and before Apartheid's formal institutionalisation in 1948 came about. This specific period needed to face a few global manifestations that had an inevitable effect on the social, political and economic affairs that took place in South Africa. The New York Wall Street Stock Market Crash of 1929 for starters; resembles that unavoidable international model which had a negative impact on most aspects that concerned the human standard of living across the world, South Africa included. The Great Depression as it was commonly referred to, was a byproduct of industrialisation. Segregationist South Africa sought after an economy that saw non-mutual exclusiveness in both Gross Domestic Product stability and racial separation. This global stock market crash had particular consequences for Hertzog's government in the 1930s, driving the state into a second's industries' crisis. As a result of its 1929 to mid-1930s occurrence, numerous employers were forced to close down their businesses. Consumerist culture which was not necessarily race-specific, plummeted, because people or consumers rather, could no longer afford to buy products and services at the time due to a surge in job loss.

During this period, the dual reality between urban and rural living was acutely distinct and prevalent. People residing in the countryside or the rural areas experienced a harsher aftermath of the economic decline. Damaged agricultural trade meant that farmers suffered drought which lead to crop devastations but the famine to a certain extent meant that without harvest, product sales would drop. In the 1966 memoire *Racial Segregation in South Africa: Degrees and Kinds,* Van Berghe accounts for the physical measures that the segregationist government took to ensure that race relations and interaction of the various races were kept to a minimum (Van Berghe,

1966, p. 409). Smuts' cabinet before Hertzog's administration took over, strongly endorsed the idea of residential segregation between black and white people, especially in the urban areas. The Great Depression disempowered these enforcements due to the high expenditure that it took to keep these ideas in the form of policies intact.

A brief mention of the state costs came in the form of 'The Civilised Labour Policy' which was more or less a legislature enforcement which dictated that poor whites who were mostly Afrikaner, that undertook unskilled labour would be paid more than black labourers for the same kind and amount of work (Matthews, p. 3). The financial advantage reasoned itself out by virtue of white supremacy over black skinned subjects. The unindustrialised zones, also known as the rural parts were the spaces densely populated by black people or the "natives" of South Africa. Therefore due to scarcity of resources and overcrowding, poverty stricken Africans began to move to the cities with the judgement and intent of potential employment in mind. Economic deterioration in both urban and rural also meant that urban areas transformed into slums that constituted lower standards of living all over the country due to factors like overpopulation and limited commodities. Racial divisions of what residential segregation had initially intended for its own success became blurred among blacks and whites due to the influx of African job seekers or migrant workers. Six years later or post-1929, black migration undermined the intentions of residential separation. Therefore the 1923 *Native (Urban Areas) Act* was created to ensure segregation is preserved in the urban areas.

Tracing some of the events that took place a few years back, even before the above Native Act was launched, sees one of Lembede's predecessors John Langalibalele Dube, the ANC's founding president delivering an 1892 speech entitled *Upon My Native Land*. The speech "envisaged a free and independent Africa which would be spiritual and humane" (Motshekga & Luris, 2006, p. 1). Dube's experience to a certain extent can be placed alongside Lembede's thoughts around race relations as well as the black subject's reality at large because the common denominator is that both of their respective experiences were provoked by segregationist Acts which commonly and clearly did not favour black individuals. Dube's writings on the African plight stem from a late 19th century perspective whilst Lembede's attitude on a similar matter presented itself during the early 20th century period. Recurring evidence that colonialism irrespective of the timeframes, have become a timeless influence that carries itself across

generations. Both John L. Dube and Anton Lembede are prominent examples of this because counteractive measures to try and eradicate the imperial imprint are put on display through the direct formation of the African National Congress or the ANC in 1912, initially spearheaded by Dube. The subsequent establishment of the ANC Youth League 32 years later in 1944 which was first lead by Lembede then became a core testament to the ongoing racial divide instigated by white supremacy within South Africa. 1962 saw Albert Luthuli, one of Dube's successors as the ANC president after the institutionalisation of the apartheid in 1948 is mostly owed to the fact that during the segregationist period Luthuli himself maintained a deep revolutionary conviction "that South Africa, founded on the bedrock of racial subordination and racial separation, could be a model for a radical new form of multiracial democracy" (Vinson, 2018).

There are a few similarities that can be drawn from Lembede and Luthuli's political trajectories where in spite of their differing periodisation concerning their respective tenures in the ANC; Luthuli, like Lembede was a teacher at Adams College (Miller, 2002, p. 103). I derive that regardless of the pre or post-apartheid period, both thinkers' race related experiences remain similar if not the same because as Zulu Christians (Vinson, 2018), Luthuli is also no exception to the segregationist subjugation of Hertzog's white rule in South Africa. "By 1936…Hertzog's bills of that year made clear that the intentions of white minority to make the blacks a homeless people in a country in which they were indigenous" (Miller, 2002, p. 103). This speaks directly to the African dispossession in which the Native Acts caused and raised earlier on. The common threads across these African figureheads, Dube, Lembede and Luthuli remains in the recollection of racial restrictions which transcended across generational borders. The general objective among all three respectively, is to see a sense of black cohesion within the race in focus itself. This includes the alleviation of racial tension between the contrasting races of black and white, as far as race relations are concerned.

Relations, particularly human centered relations is a concept where a person in contact with another person has some kind of relevance or effect on each other. The engagement may encompass an interconnectedness and that connection or 'relation' shared between person to person can have the prospect of leaving one, the other or both in a changed or unchanged state of being after the encounter. A phenomenon like this can only happen in a space that involves more than one body. A relation therefore entails a necessary condition for two or more people to

partake in. Since 1910 or between this year and 1948, South Africa saw "two and a half centuries of immigration and expansion (and) a little over 20 per cent of the population within the newly unified was classified as white or European" (Beinart & Dubow, 1995, p. 2).

Activities concerning immigration in and of themselves, create a seamless platform for human relations to thrive. A racially conscious space however, provokes a deeper comprehension of what human relations may actually require for its own optimum function. Logic will dictate that racial or skin-colour consciousness or awareness on a macrocosmic scale; intends to focus on all kinds of race involvement whether it be Black, White, Indian, Asian or Coloured. An external level of thinking is thus applicable when more than one type of race is included in race relations. An important idea that Lembede espouse was the notion of spatial geography and the way in which colonial influence resulted in its creation of disharmony amongst black communities and attempts to disintegrate the black subject. Space as a thought then becomes fundamental because without it, the different races would not necessarily have a place or environment to relate or interact with each other in. Lembede manages to unpack this idea of space with his theory on "Domination by the Same Spirit" (Lembede, 1996, p. 137) in relation to inducing National unity among Africans. The way Lembede does this by firstly talking about geographical space, "A region may be a continent. Africa is a continent" (Lembede, 1996, p. 137). He relates a living environment such as the aboriginal animals and plants, to the region of Africa which he thinks possesses the same "native" like spirit as the African person (Lembede, 1996, p. 137). It seems as if Lembede infers that because these living components belong to one continent, this fact serves as the unifying power of the African spirit. This idea of space is then the fundamental starting point for the 'unity' Lembede stresses.

This work on the relationship between space and race has been explored in the work of Goldberg who argues that race and space stems from racism's institutionalisation which is seen through a lens of spatial configuration. The kinds of theoretical spaces that he takes into account is, the vast distinction between East and West (Goldberg, 1993, p. 185). For the purpose of this dissertation's setting, the global South is the area that needs a significant amount of consideration in relation to the rest of globe. One of the inferences is that although a "social space is made to seem natural…by being conceived and defined in racial terms" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 185), the element of abnormality stems from the way in which the idea of space is

constructed. The idea of space, defined in racial terms, evokes a sense of unnaturalness since space as a social construct is linked to the concept of segregation or race division, which belongs to a colonial legacy. Colonialism has moulded this divide based on skin colour into some logical implication for other parts of the world to either willingly or unwillingly accept. For all intents and purposes author Goldberg in his article accurately infers that the conquering of space, similar to the outcome of European imperialism; is a fundamental action that insinuates a ruling presence (Goldberg, 1993, p. 189). Western expansion has had a profound effect on several parts of the globe and South Africa as a country is no exception to this impact.

Cultural significance from an Afrocentric perspective is one of the main reasons for the rise of Pan-Africanism as a prospective movement that aims to works against the conceptualisation of white supremacy. Racial awareness particularly in a South African political landscape, obligated the social to recognise the dichotomous relationship between black and non-black subjects. I deliberately made use of the term 'non-black' as an attempt to reaffirm some of the innerworkings of Pan-Africanism. The "non-white" narrative has a tendency to not only dominate a number of contextual discourses on the issue of race and power but also implies that whiteness is the standardised benchmark to usually measure positions of race and power. The binary that race relations entail can symbolise the dual realities in which the different races experience. Reverting to the study in focus Anton Lembede, the previous chapter or his historical biographical account attempted to depict in great detail of his economic, political and social positioning in a nation where the idea of race was both engrained and deeply integrated in Lembede's lifestyle as well as the daily routine of those who surrounded him. Most of the cultural activities Lembede participated in were generally deemed as white spaces, "Mr A P Mda said that Mr Lembede had scored success in the realm of philosophy which curiously enough had been considered a special preserve for the whites" (Lembede, 1996, p. 203).

A racially conscious milieu or environment has the predisposition to identify the prevailing racial groups within a given sphere of influence. A common yet simplistic example would be the irrefutable acknowledgement of white supremacy, in a sense that Africans or "native" are subjected to the governing rule of European descendants. I think that the above can be drawn from Lembede's inferences where he deliberately "attacked the inferiority complex from which so many Africans suffer" (Lembede, 1996, p. 241). Based on the previous claim, it can then be

implied that black people have grasped the superiority element that white bodies imposed during Lembede's time; in order to maintain their preeminence. The establishment of this power related dichotomy which is exceptionally race bound induces a number of responses to restore racial balance to some extent. Author George Shepperson discusses a restorative mechanism such as, "Pan Africanism with a capital letter (which) is a clearly recognisable movement" (Shepperson, 1962, p. 346). A distinction is made through a language technique where according to Shepperson, smaller case letter of 'p' in the phrase 'pan Africanism' signifies lesser significance than when the two word's first letters are written in upper case letters i.e. Pan-Africanism. On the one hand the capital letters contribute towards the ideology's distinguished nature, in that it is notable figures such as Jamaican Africanist Marcus Garvey who assisted in the perpetual importance of this black-orientated movement.

One peculiar feature of Lembede's account of Pan-Africanism is the absence of Garvey's intellectual influence (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p 41). Garvey is widely considered as "one of the greatest negroes since Emancipation, a visionary who inspired his race (blackness) in its upward struggle from the degradation of centuries of slavery" (Shepperson, 1962, p. 348) is absent as a reference from the writings of Lembede (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 41). This absence could possibly be in connection with some of the racialised underdevelopment of some of the Lembedian notions and Robert Edgar mentions this in his 1995 essay on Anton Lembede's African Nationalism (Edgar, 1995, p. 1). But on the other hand Shepperson infers that if the ideology of 'pan Africanism' is addressed in small letters, then it "is not a clearly recognisable movement… (however) the cultural element often predominates" (Shepperson, 1962, p. 346). For the purpose of this research therefore, I will be referring to 'Pan' in Pan Africanism' in a capital letter due to the ongoing meaning as a well-defined and outlined movement with a solid mandate in mind.

Before the deeper theoretical implications of Pan-Africanism can be explored, it must be reminded that although Pan-Africanism is not necessarily identical to African Nationalism; both ideologies stand in support of prioritising Afrocentrism as the main call of duty. At some point Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism do find resonances with one another and that both of these ideologies are usually appropriated by different liberation parties as two different ideologies which serve the liberation interests. However they have always been dealt with

separately. African Nationalists for example did not always agree with Pan-Africanists but because Lembede has a tendency to conflate the two ideologies, he represents a case of exception due to the way where was able to bring the two together. “Lembede is most commonly associated with the framing of a philosophy of African nationalism, but one cannot separate his ideas from the political ends they served” (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 41). Although typically or conventionally within the literature, Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism have been considered to be widely defined as two separate kind of ideologies but in Lembede’s case he has conflated the two in order to reaffirm his stance on national unity. Understanding the socialisation of a black requirement for Pan-Africanism is key. The black requirement is an attempted dispensation to disband white rule and put an end to racial inequality, sealed by the policy of segregation. Lembede and other black scholars alike drew the meaning of Pan-Africanism from Garvey, “Pan-Africanism can be understood as ‘Pan-Negroism’ with the emphasis on race…concentrating on the solidarity between black Africans and Afro-Americans” (Le Roux, 1979, p. 32). Although it has an international black consciousness element to it; the rounded meaning of Pan-Africanism was grounded on the strong belief in an African continental unity (Okhonmina, 2009, p. 90). The needs of the black race in particular take priority due to the historical disregard of their needs and interests under centuries of imperialism. Lembede’s account on Pan-Africanism, the main kind of conceptual features that constituted his meaning can be described as follows:

> Lembede’s ideas clearly were Pan-African in scope, but it is striking that at no point in his writings did he refer to the Pan African Congress or any of the leading lights of Pan Africanism. Lembede’s ideas, for instance, echo those of Edward Wilmot Blyden, the West Indian/Liberian educator and philosopher who wrote on the creative and distinctive genius of the “Negro” race and the necessity for Africans to express racial pride and forge a unified nationality (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 41)

Stephen Okhonmina’s ‘rational for African Unity’ where he argues that, “African integration is hinged on the belief that Africa needs to come together to be able to resist, Western influence and ability, to constrain Africa to accept measures considered not to be in interest of Africa” (Okhonmina, 2009, p. 91). Resonating Okhonmina’s meaning of Pan-Africanism with Lembede’s allusions of it, assists with the understanding of the above indented quotation. It

shows that Lembede is arguing that Pan-Africanism's most important characteristics is that it is an ideology that takes seriously both the ideas of black unity as well as the concord of a continental vision. Furthermore multiple interpretations can be drawn from the above indented quote which give indirect reasons for conflating African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism. Firstly, it could either be that the motive for not referencing 'any of the leading lights of Pan-Africanism' during his time in his work was perhaps his own disagreements with how those various Pan-African organisations were run or as another alternative reason; he assumed Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism were one in the same thing. Mostly because he believed that both of the ideologies were created for the purpose to fulfill a similar objective and that was to further the African agenda by uniting its people. It seems as though, the context Lembede wrote in existed before a time where a large amount of literature production came about on detailing why the two should be considered as separate African thoughts. From this, the distinctions and differences of or between African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism come into play but this saw Lembede's conflation of the two. Despite Lembede's tendency of omitting examples of Pan-Africanism which speak to Edgar's initial yet arguable point of describing Lembede's ideas as underdeveloped. We nevertheless, can still see that his ideas were in fact underdeveloped due to his untimely death and it would have been interesting to have seen these ideas develop fully had he lived longer.

Reiteratively, the imperial environment preserves a disproportionate relationship between black and white individuals and the mid-20th century or rather during a time when Lembede's writings were most formidable, this era retains the unequal correlation of the races within segregationist South Africa. The above subsequently gave way for the conception of African thought and several branches or versions of it. African political thought, as a discipline is a relatively new field of study (Martin, 2012, p. 1) according to author Guy Martin. The descriptive term of "new" in this case is unsurprising because the description is mainly a comparison to the large presence of western epistemologies in which African thought draws from. Western thought has a propensity to dominate academia. Lembede, as suggested in the previous chapter was innately concerned with the ideas of colonial boundaries which consequently destroyed the concept of the black subject because of the system of segregation which was characterised by boundaries. Lembede alludes to Africa's disposition as belonging to all Africans. Moreover the implications of this belongingness is such that boundaries or borders which are mechanisms of separation,

were an unnatural feature in Africa because "Africa is a blackman's country. Africans are the "natives" of Africa and they have inhabited Africa, their Motherland, from times immemorial; Africa belongs to them" (Lembede, 1996, p. 139). Max Weber's basic definition of a state is noted as a territorially bounded, with the monopoly of the use of violence. The previous definition is further substantiated with the thought that, "there are few, if any, places left on the earth where states do not exercise control over the most vital aspects of human life" (Weber {& Pollack}, 2011 p. 23). The control in this case is a white state which enforces its coercive powers on the human lives of black subjects. An example of such coercive powers are boundaries because borders were colonial imposed categories that divided Africa in insidious ways. Confines or boundaries of this nature lead to spatial marginalisation which entrenches unequal power relations, specifically between black and white people. As Goldberg argues: "boundaries around inner space may establish hegemony over that space…" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 186).

A necessary condition which renders racial segregation as effective, is characterised with restrictions. These restrictions are supposed to physically impose that required division among the races. Van Den Berghe infers that one of the most underrated facets of segregationist South Africa is the mechanisms of separation created to ensure the preservation of a system reliant on racial disunity. An "important aspect (that) has not received much attention (is) the degree of physical distance achieved by measures of segregation" (Van Den Berghe, 1966, p. 408). An important legislative policy, that combines some of the factors that position power in spaces, was the 1913 Native Land Act, which was passed a year after Lembede was born, in 1914 (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 13). This Act still remains exemplary of the deep-rooted inequalities that segregation had to offer because not only did it contribute in widening the gap between black and white relations but it also set a precedent for the proceeding laws of separation that followed. South Africa saw its politics and race interwoven in the early twentieth century:

> Act Number 27 of 1913, the Native Land Act, which Parliament passed less than three years after the formation of the Union of South Africa...(wanted to) prevent squatting by Africans on white-owned land, to promote agricultural labour, to stop land purchases by Africans, to promote segregation (and)/or to bring about a uniformity of laws (Feinberg, 1993, p. 66).

The theory of racial dualism would naturally promote dispute. One way in which white domination was maintained as Mabin argues is that the Native Land Act which was an attempt to apply segregationist policies, was transformed into a stricter legislation known as the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Mabin, 1992, p. 406). Segregationist law of this kind or the Native Land Act, as Mabin disclaims particularly for the Apartheid's Group Areas which could also apply to most segregationist policies like the Native Land Act; "(without much evidence)…the Act (that is) essentially in terms of 'strategic' motives: (regarding): the need for spatial separation to maintain white domination…" (Mabin, 1992, p. 406). Although the policies under segregationist South Africa or the laws prior to the year 1948, could be considered more passively implemented compared to the legislation under the Apartheid regime. Attempts by figures like Lembede during segregationist South Africa in the 1940s were still made to neutralise the prevailing presence of white supremacy. Both African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism therefore began to garner urgency and then impetus in order to signal and achieve a close to white control. As a result, these ideologies may be considered as one of the significant branches of African political and liberation thought which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter with the section entitled: *The role of Nationalism for the formation of the African National Congress Youth League or ANCYL.*

3.2. Internal Class Distinctions of the Black Subject

In Lembede's writings, there is a tendency to view the narrative of class through a religious lens. Lembede uses Marx as a point of reference in order to give insight to this perspective, "religion is the instrument by which the well-to-do, privilege class…keep in subjection the lower exploited class (proletariat) in that religion teaches the proletariat to acquiescence in and be satisfied with its lot of toiling, misery and dire poverty, with the hope of finding happiness and inheriting life everlasting in a legendary or mythical heaven" (Lembede, 1996, p. 165). If one were to consider the type of obligation Anton Lembede had towards his religious endeavours based on his upbringing, it is difficult to extract and decipher what some of the exact implications may be. It seems as if Lembede's reason for raising this specific Marxist thought on class is ambiguous. By 'implications', I am referring to the above suggestions that Lembede makes on class as a constituent of the state's structure as well as his notions on non-secularism. On the one hand, it

could be interpreted as a literal sentiment where although it is the class of the elite which as noted by Lembede, according to Marx, the class which projects religion as some romanticised notion which renders feasible in the physical world for the lower class. The outcome of such projections however, do in turn offer emotional relief in alleviating the mental and physical struggles that come from a low standard of living. This again is according to Marx as decoded by Lembede with the overt realisation that this relief acts as a guise rather than revealing the true nature of class distinctions.

Conversely or on the other hand, Lembede may be attempting to subtly refute Marx's renowned mantra that "religion is the opium of the people" (Lembede, 1996, p. 162), by discrediting the link established by Marx between religion and class. Lembede's position on the ideology of communism has a tendency to sway more towards the unfavourable, "As an African Nationalist, Lembede was alarmed by the growing prominence of communists in the ANC and other organisations" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 47). For Lembede, it almost comes across as if he inadvertently supports the capitalist stance that Karl Marx's philosophy of communism should in fact be contained. In his texts he expresses that as "it stands to reason, any attempt to force the spread of communism among all nations of the world…will undoubtedly prove fruitless and abortive" (Lembede, 1996, p. 134). Therefore, the more frequent these instances occur of him negating Marxist ideas on socialism; the more his negations become both foreseeable and an expected occurrence in his writings.

Thus far, I have reflected on some of the key evaluations which speak to the relationship experienced between the rich and the poor. More specially, it is the way in which an affluent group of people share a racially conscious space with a set of individuals who are considered to be underprivileged, if and only if the antithesis of the two worlds were to be likened to each other. Interestingly enough, there is an irony in the 'two worlds' because despite the polarisation of the two classes; the upper class and the lower/working class, they still have the ability to share or even coexist the same environment or space. This could suggest that the set of classes in focus are on a level playing field as far as space is concerned. Therefore the possibility for a theoretical version of racial socio-economic egalitarianism in white legislation is real. The materialistic reality however is the exact opposite because the aforementioned possibility did not practically

exist under a 1940s white administration. More especially when expounded from a social and economic point of view.

A system where the ordering of the society goes according to a perceived economic and social status which divides people into a group or set will in turn personify the dissimilarity in the interactions which thus translate into inequalities experienced in that milieu or space. The political setting may be the same for the various classes in terms of having to comply with the rule of law and submit to state policies for example, in segregationist South Africa, black individuals would have Acts specifically designed for them and they were designed to be exclusionary. The South African Act of 1909, was passed by the British government, before Apartheid was institutionalised in 1948. The colonies were brought together to subsequently form the Union of South Africa. The conglomeration of the colonies or what would be contemporarily referred to as the provinces, namely the four main ones: Orange Free State, the Cape, Transvaal and Natal transformed into one country. "Forcing the issue of black rights in South Africa would require Imperial interference in the decision of self-governing colonies" (Hirshfield, 1988, p. 13). The Act in and of itself therefore, stipulated that Black people were to be excluded from political participation in the new dispensation even with the full acknowledgment that White subjects constituted the minority in the South African population as a whole. Although the South African landscape played a role of residency for these respective classes; the realities however would unavoidably differ. In saying the above, it must be clearly stated that the conceptualisation of race, dictated class during Lembede's 1940s context and that is why Lembede believed that,

> Since blacks were discriminated against because they were black, preserving their national unity overrode any class division within the black community. Therefore, the handful of blacks who had acquired wealth were not excluded from the national struggle because they had not been co-opted 'into the ranks of and society of white capitalists' (Lembede, 1996, p. 46)

Writers Terry Clark, Michael Repel and Seymour argue that factors such as parties and trade unions are the entities that have the most impact on state politics as opposed to class variations. Based on the previous statement, it is known that Lembede "backed the efforts of black workers to join trade unions and fight for higher wages and improved working conditions" (Lembede,

1996, p. 46). Clark, Repel and Seymour go on about proving their argument on trade unions impacting state politics plausible by citing a sizeable amount of authors that have written on Marx and his theory on class (Clark, Repel & Lipset, 1993, p. 293). An interpreted finding is that the thought of classes being seen as applicably relevant in a modern time seems like an outdated way of thinking for these writers. Lembede's thoughts were similar in a sense that he stressed nationalism among Africans as the neutraliser of class distinctions among black subjects and I think that this can be unpacked in the following way; "it is thus crystal clear that the struggle of African Trade Unions is indissolubly bound up with the African National Struggle for existence and survival in an industrial era" (Lembede, 1996, p. 190). This would presumably maintain political significance as contributing to the liberation struggle. Class as both a social and economic construct for Lembede, is not that different from the idea of tribalism as an African's lived experience. Tribalism in a sense where, he is aware that traditional practices do differ depending on the ethnic group but despite colonialism using these differences among ethnicities to divide and conquer the twenty-five thousand Swazis, the two million Xosas, the three million Basuthos and even the one point five million Zulus (which is a group Lembede formed part of) (Lembede, 1996, p. 135), he suggests "that unity (of Africans as a whole) among the African tribes…(is) a prerequisite condition to National Liberation" (Lembede, 1996, p. 135).

Class and tribes both have a tendency to instigate identical outcomes and that is to divide. Class is hierarchically dependent which identifies normative activities through levelled ranking. The mentality of tribalism is similar because it also considers social standing favourable. Tribalism propagates social division of people whereby the term itself is usually considered derogatory because it is principally a product of imperialism which aimed to depreciate the conceptualisation of African ethic groups or ethnicity. Particularly for Lembede, tribalism threatened the idea of an African unity so much so that he thought that, "all Africans must (then) be converted from tribalism into African Nationalism…" (Lembede, 1996, 137) as a way to pacify the disunity. Mafeje, singles out one main problem with the African identity and that is tribalism. Mafeje argues, that individuals of African descent are not naturally inclined to "empirically diversified behaviour (but the issue of black disunity stems from) European colonialism, which brought with it certain ways of reconstructing the African reality" (Mafeje, 1971, p. 253). Lembede was concerned with the way in which the concept of 'tribe' was used in insidious ways, in order to disintegrate the fabric of black society. He goes on to argue that unity

of Africans is vital to erase tribalism as a working concept (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 143). Tribalism itself is one of the more underdeveloped features of Lembede's work, although he does point to it in important ways; in the manner in which we are attempting to understand the black subject. Archie Mafeje's work perhaps compliments and further Mafeje manages to give further credence to Lembede's arguments around the question of tribes.

The South African context in which Lembede was writing in saw the aftermath of the above mentioned imperialistic interference. The various ethnicities found themselves pinned against each other with the expectation of establishing a supremacy with a specific black culture. Lembede commented on the previous notion with a question, "what is then the right way to Unity and Solidarity among African tribes?" (Lembede, 1996, p. 135) Lembede who is of the Nguni heritage, largely due to his Zulu culture which was fostered by his Natal origins, the need for National Unity. The 'province of Natal' as it was normally referred to as during segregationist South Africa as opposed to the present day reference of Kwa-Zulu Natal is the region known to have the largest rural concentration of Zulu people, hence the socialised reason for Lembede's Zulu-orientated taxonomy. The Venda, Sotho, Nguni and Shangaan-Tsonga are considered to be South Africa's four prime ethnic categories or divisions. The Nguni in particular represent almost two thirds of South Africa's Black population. They are usually divided into four distinct groups and the Northern and Central Nguni are people of the Zulu speaking classification. Lembede however described a political aspiration as "a prerequisite condition (in order to obtain) National Liberation…" (Lembede, 1996, p. 135). Moreover the essentiality of this is continued by Mafeje when he conveys that the indigenous population in South Africa does not even have a "native" term for tribes and or class in the respective languages but instead there is a semantic for words such as 'lineage', 'clan; and more importantly 'nation' (Mafeje, 1971, p. 254).

Nationhood is the very idea Lembede emphasised throughout his documented writings. It is difficult to separate the mental impressions of tribe and class because the two concepts are more or less one in the same thing. What Mafeje goes on to say in order to further justify why these notions are clearly distinct from each other is that the "ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (Mafeje, 1971, p. 254). Ruling class come in the form of ruling parties which would thus include Lembede's epoch, whereby the white ruling political party of his time

was the United Party or UP during James Barry Munnik Hertzog's administration. Hertzog's time in office were between the years 1924 to 1939. The political conditions of the Union of South Africa resulted in General Jan Smuts losing the UP elections to Hertzog in 1924. Mafeje rightfully infers that the material force imposed by the ruling class within their respective timeframes will almost certainly have a bearing on the intellectual forces of its society (Mafeje, 1971, p. 254). I would like to pair the emotional aspect with the concept of intellectual forces as well, seeing that the two immaterial elements belong to a mental state. Using Lembede's argument to assist with this pairing, he alludes that "in South Africa, the conflict has emerged as one of race on the one side (i.e. the emotional) and one of ideals (i.e. the intellectual) on the other" (Lembede, 1996, p. 90).

Mafeje argues that crude forms of materialism such as money and assets of the top tier classes plays a role in shaping the powerlessness of the working class. The limited sovereignty or the lack thereof is then noted as physical and psychological deprivation which can lead to aggression over scarcity in resources because the means of production are monopolised. The conflict among ethnic groups operate in a similar way based on the colonially instigated way of deeming which African culture is 'better' or more dominant than the other. Imperialists thus coin it tribalism, as a modus operandi to divide and conquer. Mafeje's work is useful in this regard because there are interesting resonances between Mafeje's intellectual ideas and that of Lembede's. Lembede for example commented on the question of tribalism and gathers this as black factions and subsequently argues that "only a few dwarfish stunted and antiquated individuals still cling tenaciously to (the petty tribal limits and differences of) tribalism" (Lembede, 1996, p. 143). Mafeje unpacks this in a similar way by providing an interesting analysis like the one above which then helps us with a better sense of Lembede's overall arguments on tribalism. It is primarily for this reason that internal class distinctions is the preferred way of explaining the nature of the relationship between African people themselves. Mostly because black multiculturalism that initially sought after social positivity and inclusivity became distorted to suit the forthcoming reality of the colonisers.

Lembede offers theoretical solutions to the "native" problem of African discord like "tribal synthesis" (Lembede, 1996, p. 142). Lembede's theoretical goal is to pose a series of rhetorical questions meant to evoke self-explanatory responses. For example he questions why a large

number of black ethnic people (which according to the October 1945 *Ilanga lase Natal* article on 'National Unity Among Africans' is the Basuthos, with three million people (Lembede, 1996, p. 135)), from different cultural backgrounds cannot cohere around a common struggle: that of white rule? He goes on to construe that the sum of the various figures mentioned earlier on lead to a formidable black conglomerate which stands a chance against the segregationist government. An estimated one hundred and fifty million Africans in total (Lembede, 1996, p. 135) is the output Lembede reaches which he thinks would be positively likened to "other large countries of the world e.g. USA and Russia" (Lembede, 1996, p. 135).

Noting Lembede down as a black, Zulu man that functions in a space of professionalism exemplifies him as a multidimensional figure. The manifold display here is the point where the idea of 'class' and 'tribe' meet. For the purpose of this argument I will establish it as the point of equilibrium, a standard term found on a line graph which may have lines that intersect. Throughout this chapter I have made constant references that Lembede insinuates that the two notions of class and tribe are identical hence they are perpetually crossing paths. Therefore these two ideas are in a constant state or point of equilibrium because they are matched in objective, drive and intention; i.e. the plan to divide and cause rifts among the people of Africa and 1940s South Africa is no exception to this dissonant intent. As a counteractive measure Lembede proposes the idea of 'unity' as a fundamental solution for National Freedom (Lembede, 1996, p. 142). He in turn manages to conjure up and relatively explore possible theoretical scenarios in order to elucidate the solution for the issue on white supremacy. An investigation brought up lies in the A M Lembede piece, amongst his collection of writings titled 'National Unity Among Africans', journal name; *Ilanga lase Natal*, an October 6th 1945 publication. It is in this article where he stresses black collective action that focuses on spiritual unity among Africans (Lembede, 1996, p. 137) which should not be in a constant state of flux, in order to mobilise and see a real positive difference in African lives.

3.3. The Lembedian Economy to Counter Black Inter-generational Poverty

Lembede seemed to apprehend that the modern African as a product of colonialism, spoke the same language as them i.e. Afrikaans and/or English. Language as an untapped power tool is recognised as a key to institute the agenda of African unity. One of the research questions

underpinning this dissertation is the idea of multilingualism or the art of a speaking several different languages. It must be remembered that Lembede was a multilingual enthusiast who had an avid diversified tongue himself, in order to understand other people. The inferences Lembede draws from language study can be unpacked in the following way:

> The study of languages has a social value in that it helps one to live well with fellow-men who do not speak one's language. (He continued this train of thought by claiming that) no man can deny that 50% of racial hatred in the world arises because people speak different languages…Another value of language study is that the literature of the language studied is accessible. (Lembede, 1996, p. 76).

The mention of language importance is one that cannot be overlooked given South Africa's cultural heterogeneous history. The country is a lingual hub because "it has been heavily influenced by a unique, *unintended* mix of ideas; and, given that language is central to how humans… develop their ideas and understand their politics, this fact is a great consequence" (Hamilton, 2014, p. 333). The remark on 'unintended' reaffirms that the vast diversification of languages spoken in South Africa was not socially engineered. This claim will exclude the homegrown languages of South Africa but will include foreign dialects that are not particularly indigenous to the country, the primary examples of those would be English and Afrikaans. Nonetheless, Lembede noticed the benefits of learning Afrikaans as a medium of communication as it had the potential to lessen racial hatred. Therefore, for Lembede, the need for constant "native" encouragement of language study existed (Edgar & Msumza, 1996, p. 76). There is a tendency in alternative literature to simply label Lembede as an obscure figure who is not necessarily fixed in history. However his positions need a thorough focus, in order to comprehend his ideas better. The Pan-Africanist claims that he asserts, at a surface level appears to echo the sentiment of 'Africa for Africans'. But his necessary condition for black people to acquire a varied tongue clearly signifies that he believes in the positive impact of multilingualism carries such as alluding to, "The economic value of studying languages (which is), a linguist can be employed where a non-linguist would not be employed" (Lembede, 1996, p. 76). Lembede remarks on the increased chance of employability for a multilingual African because of the timeframe where black subjects had very limited financial prospects.

Lembede's primary text, contained in the edited collection by Edgar and ka Msumza does account for a few of the counterarguments made by Lembede that oppose the rationality of multilingualism. Indeed the Lembedian attitude acknowledges some prospective solutions that may contribute to the universal Bantu desire of Africa's solidarity such as the 'One Language' campaign, where "some people imagine that if all African Tribes could speak one language the Unity would be *fait accompli* (or inevitable thus widely accepted)" (Lembede, 1996, p. 136). He highlights the error in this reasoning by inferring that although a single language has the power to unify people, "it is not decisive and fundamental" (Lembede, 1996, p. 136). In order to support the argument that goes against the promotion of one universal language spoken amongst Africans from all African countries, he elaborates what he means by selective comparison. Firstly, the flawed argument of the 'one language' strategy is prevalent for Lembede due to the use of European states as examples. "The Danes and Norwegians speak the same language but they are two different nations" (Lembede, 1996, p. 136).

The point of contention is then laid, whereby there is an acknowledgment that closely related languages do not necessarily guarantee friendliness or the coherence of the solution for social concord (Lembede, 1996, p. 136). However the selective comparison is put on display through the distinction Lembede draws between 'borrowing' and 'assimilating' where, "there is a difference between 'borrowing and assimilating' and 'being borrowed and assimilated'. Yes, the difference but it is vast and fundamental" (Lembede, 1996, p. 134). He goes on to substantiate the previous claims on 'borrowing and assimilating' by saying that, "Africans too, cannot be mere doers and imitators of other nations and their ideologies. Africans can borrow and assimilate what is good from elsewhere but they must at all costs retain and determinedly preserve their own essential character and identity" (Lembede, 1996, p. 134). This is largely because white subjects as the admission dictates, particularly under the discourse on Hertzog's administration were given social, political and economic preferential treatment over black individuals solely based on the colour of their skin, i.e. skilled labour being reserved for white people as opposed to Africans through: "The Union Colour Bar Act, the Industrial Conciliation Act, the Urban Areas Act, the Masters and Servants Act, etc. (all served the same purpose and that was to be) designed to 'keep the Native in his place'" (Lembede, 1996, p. 190). Laws passed by the United Party ensured that the previous statement was the case. In any given economy, Mafeje argues that "the class which has the means of production at its disposal has control at the

same time over the means of mental production so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of production are subject to it" (Mafeje, 1971, p. 254). With that said; Lembede's emphasis on his professionalism begun to reflect the importance of his intellectual capabilities because 'mental production' as Mafeje puts it, can only be reclaimed if and only if education and its quality is enforced and conditioned into the "native".

In the preceding chapter, Lembede's biographical account discussed in great detail that he first was a teacher at various 'Bantu' or African schools before he trained as a lawyer. Lembede's law profession intertwines with Locke's appeal in connecting legal analogies with political writing, "Locke's 'doctrine' of the political trust…considers the place of lawyers in political life" (Skinner, 1969, p. 10). Therefore Lembede's choice of professionalism as a black lawyer during segregationist South Africa, is not far removed from a state characterised by racially charged policies and legislative procedures which favour white individuals over any other race; i.e. African "native". "Professionalism as characterised by de Clercq's, "speaks to the profession's internal quality, authority, values and autonomous practices" (Clercq, 2013, p. 32). The infrequency of self-actualisation for black people was more evident for Africans. This educational limit or the lack thereof is due to the racially charged laws that were present in the 1930s and 1940s South Africa which favoured skill building mechanisms for white children only. In saying this, being triumphant in a sphere where professionalism thrives can almost be equated to a worldview of the elite or upper class due to the advancing political and economic opportunities that can come with being a professional. Therefore raising the point of Lembede's complexity once again, arouses the double edged sword narrative. As a qualified teacher and practicing lawyer, this would advantage him in more ways than the average African in which his writings are largely inspired by. This particular factor sets him apart from the "native" individuals on the ground, which in turn framed his ideas in an intellectual realm, not necessarily accessible to the everyday black person. This relatability is referring more to his ability to thoroughly, adequately and feasibly address issues that have adverse effects on the African subject, especially if one were to consider his presidency in the ANCYL. However, his blackness during this period is objectionable under the segregationist system. In spite of Lembede's multifaceted persona as well as the stress he places on education, i.e. "…to exemplify in a practical way the benefits from education" (Lembede, 1996, p. 85), it seems as if he considers

more importance in garnering support for the African spirit which acknowledges black as an identity first above anything else.

An outlined Pan-Africanist framework is then made through a Lembedian model in order for the spirit of the "native" to subjugate formalised education. This stems from the segregationist reality which shows that the majority of black people do not have a formal education and Lembede's take on this reality is that, "we know we have so far achieved practically nothing…" (Lembede, 1996, p. 111) due to segregation. But through 'hope', "…momentous tasks of vast dimensions and stupendous proportions still await us in the future." (Lembede, 1996, p. 111). This political self-determination and inner will-power driven by empirical knowledge, is thus meant to compensate for the mental oppression that black people have been subjected to due to lack of schooling and/or training. Lembede's sentiment on hope aims to stabilise the disrupted psychology of the black subject. Despite the reasoning of language as one alternative to assist the liberation struggle and alleviate black deprivation, what his writings also put forth, is the aspect of similarity. Lembede characterises these aspects as the 'Common Origin' and 'Inhabiting One and the Same Country' theories. Firstly, it seems as if Lembede embarks on a process of elimination regarding these various theories at the reader's disposal. He does this in a form of posing questions through the solutions he proposes as a way forward in establishing black cohesion, i.e. regarding 'Common Origin', he thinks that the ancestry or the social background of Africans can possibly "bind and cement peoples but the bond of the cement becomes weaker and weaker with the roll of centuries…What should then be the basis of National Unity?" (Lembede, 1996, p. 136). Lembede attempts to validate his own resolutions by falsifying them as well, especially with the illustrative point on 'Common Origin'. He remarks that 'the bond of the cement becomes weaker and weaker with the roll of centuries' as cited above. It is here where he realises that the ideas he brings to light in his writings command more weight in order to transition into the realm of pragmatism, whilst being conscious of sustainability. The inferences based on these philosophies is such that, "people who live in one of the same Geographical Region tend to be one and homogenous (yet again, goes on to falsify or attack the very same idea by saying) but this does not always succeed in creating a nation" (Lembede, 1996, p. 136). He uses the Second Boer War or the Anglo Boer War (1899-1902) as a way to exemplify the refutation or falsification.

One trait shared amongst most of these theories is the conceptualisation of lived or emotion experience. Phenomenology is the idea of lived experience which is a style that is highly applicable in the discourse of generational deprivation or rather the denial of basic rights to resources that would allow black subjects to be economically equipped to self-develop. It is a notion in which some black consciousness thinkers often employ as a research method and Lembede is no exception to this employment because the vital stress is on 'lived experience' rather than any other form of empiricism. John A. Lambie and Anthony J. Marcel's go into great detail about the philosophy of phenomenology. It is regularly deemed as an 'emotion experience' centered on the idea of developing "a conceptualisation of emotion experience that gives a phenomenological characterisation…(that) clarifies different ways in which one can be aware and unaware of one's emotion" (Lambie & Marcel, 2002, p. 219).

Lembede as the black subject in focus firstly believed that "Africans are natives of Africa; they and Africa are one, their relation to Africa is superior to that of other sections of the population" (Lembede, 1996, p. 184). A large amount of Africa's written narrative on a continental basis is fueled by: western cultural imperialism that happened through tactful corruption and decentralised despotic manipulation; i.e. "Government policy was imperialism-to keep the Native in slavery by giving authority to reactionary chiefs. It was nothing but open bribery" (Karis & Carter, 2019, p. 60), unsolicited interventionism by white colonialists, European settler's paternalism and so forth. These are all causes that resulted in the effects that resemble an infantilised African where; "in short, Africans are looked upon as ape-men, imbeciles, infants [and] barbarians" (Lembede, 1996, p. 150), with diluted traditions and customs as well as a weakened socio-economic presence due to former materialistic deprivations. Therefore the superior state of mind that Lembede sees Africa as exemplifying seems separated from its reality and lived experiences in relation to the rest of the world's developmental pace. Moreover this particular view may translate as too farfetched to remain fixed, thus giving the above critique some weight. However it is distinctly Lembede's emotional experience that gives his claim on Africa's Superiority even greater value because of his aptitude to be relatively accessible to the people on the ground. The ability to understand and share the feelings of people that have endured poverty is the source of phenomenology, a source Lembede relates to.

Moreover, Lembede's Africanism is founded on emotional experience, therefore it is possible to make a conceptual link between the two because the common denominator is knowledge that has been acquired through hardship and has thus aroused a negative empiricism for the black subject. Lembede also thinks that a portion of black economic hardship is caused by black subjects themselves, such that Africans are also partly to blame for their financial shortcomings. He argues that "natives are lazy and ignorant of working methods. Their methods of agriculture are absurdly awkward. Therefore, poverty is not uncommon" (Lembede, 1996, p. 72). Lembede supports the idea of using the land's resources to further the black economic project within rural communities and therefore became an agricultural enthusiast. Lembede believes that natural resources such as remarking on the importance of tree planting could curve the idle habits of black individuals, "we, as teachers and Agricultural demonstrators, should explain to our Native people the necessity of trees on their lands and their homes, and thus prevent their indiscriminate destruction. Let is encourage children to plant trees" (Lembede, 1996, p. 85). Another factor to consider is "COLOUR: People of the same colour do sometimes regard themselves as members of the same herd… (therefore) no, the skin is not a decisive factor in nationhood" (Lembede, 1996, p. 136). Similarity in skin colour could not signify identicalness because Lembede seems to take into account that although black people may have nuances in skin tone and shade, this should not be a deterrent when realising the bigger issue at hand.

Taking the above elements into cognisance: region, colour, language, these are a few of the subject matters that Lembede considers to be distinctly African. Although Lembede writes from a South African point of view, his thoughts on these topics are designed for the application of all Africans living on the continent of Africa, more especially if the aspect of similarity is recalled. Lembede's extensive take on Africanism as the innerworkings of the ANCYL will be greatly explored in the next chapter. Furthermore the ideology of African Nationalism or Africanism as a strengthened remedy will relay a premise for why he thinks African Nationalism is the ultimate route in disbanding Hertzog's governance also known as seeing the purge to South Africa's systems of segregation.

3.4. The Inseparable Links the Black Race has with the South African Economy

One of the most crucial arguments Lembede makes in his analysis of the 'Race Destiny' in the *Congress Youth League Manifesto* such that, due to:

> South Africa's 2 000 000 Whites (being) highly organised and are bound together by firm ties. They view South African problems through the perspective of Race destiny; that is the belief that the White race is the destined ruler and leader of the world for all time. This has made it imperative for the African to view his problems and those of his country through the perspective of Race. Viewing problems from the angle of Race destiny, the Whiteman acts as one group in relations between Black and White (Lembede, 1996, p. 91)

Given the colour or race conscious milieu which determined the way in which the politics of the time were run, human relations that resided in a segregationist South Africa as well as the circumstances in which Lembede operated under were often determined by the colour of the skin. More generally, race politics under a 1930/1940s framework defined the rule of law that was in place at the time and this inevitably had an effect on the socio-economic standing of several Africans that found themselves geographically positioned on the various regions of the continent itself. For the sake of this research, if South Africa took centre stage as one of the main representatives of these race politics, it would show that the economic condition of the "native" was of an exceptionally low standard so to speak. Lembede as the figure in focus personified black poverty during his early beginnings; "he himself boasted of his humble moments… 'I am proud of my peasant origin'…'" (Lembede, 1996, p. 242). The previous statement is further warranted when a comparison between the black subjects in question is made with the relational aspect of their more domineering white adversaries.

A recall of chapter two's discussion on the financial advantage poorer Afrikaner whites had over black labourers due to the Civilised Labour Policy becomes a requirement. This is because the policy did prioritise white subjects rather than the black skinned individuals that lived amongst them in the same space which meant that white people generally had the upper-hand from a financial standpoint due to their appearance. Zachariah K Matthews, a prominently known black South African academic who lectured at the South African Native College was both a member of the ANC (Wilson, 1983, p. 21) but also a source of teachings for many of South Africa's future leaders like Lembede himself. Matthews wrote a paper on this policy in which a handwritten

paper with an undisclosed date of publication can be found in UNISA's database. The overall argument in the paper is about the distribution of labour by black and white people in the urban areas but more importantly the way in which this distribution was uneven and therefore resulted in a disproportioned contribution to South Africa's economic growth. The *African Townsmen? South African Natives (Urban Areas) Legislation through the Years* is a 1969 piece whereby Rodney Davenport expatiates on the enforced urban policy within a significant part of a white settled Africa that, "it was common, too, for the movements of Africans to and from urban areas in the Congo, Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa (but not in Uganda or Tanganyika) to be regulated by some system of passes, and for their (Africans) service contracts to be compulsorily registered" (Davenport, 1969, p. 96). This idea touches on African migration of black workers which was designed to control their labour orientated movement. This became a standardised and normative way of life for black subjects because of the way in which the "South African governments since union consistently built their racial policies around the concept of segregation, through the construction of various types of vertical and horizontal barriers" (Davenport, 1969, p. 98).

Pass laws served as one way of creating a barrier that not only managed to regulate where black people could and could not work in South Africa but it also was successful in keeping them confined in a working class that earned minimally. Dominique Fortesque's attempts to divulge in his 1991 *The Communist Party of South Africa and the African Working Class in the 1940s*'s article the premise for "why the Communist Party (or the CPSA) failed to build a mass following among the African working class…" (Fortesque, 1991, p. 482). To a certain degree; this may also indirectly or somewhat expound on Lembede's reasons for communism having a diminutive appeal on him, despite not necessarily forming part of the African working class due to his professionalism as a lawyer. It was not so much the core principles of communism in which carried the CPSA during the struggle, ideologies such as equal land distribution i.e. "beliefs in the right to land or simply for a 'better life' (for African peoples)" (Fortesque, 1991, p. 483). It was more or it was rather "the certain goals and aspirations (of the CPSA which drove these goals) into the realm of the impossible, the realm of idle dreams, of wishful thinking" (Fortesque, 1991, p. 482).

According to the 1991 article, it seems as if the decree of communism was fairly unrealistic to bring about any 'real' or immediate and positive change for Africans which is both foreseeable and tangible. The CPSA's position in 1940 was a precarious one" (Fortesque, 1991, p. 484) because of the way the party in and of itself become less attractive, despite it "rapidly expanding its membership by aligning itself with popular struggles in the black community, especially in the urban areas (around the late 1930s) (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 47). The slight detachment communism had from the black reality are some of the reasons why Lembede became increasingly worried about the growing appeal communism had within the ANC (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 47). Gerhart's Marxist counterargument is such that the African working class, tend to have misconstrued ideas on communism. The main misunderstanding of it is that once the average African grasps "any degree of political consciousness, (they) notice immediately that in South Africa, race and *not* class is the real determinant of status" (Gerhart, 1978, p. 10).

This reality was revealed as the typical paradigm of a black lived experience where; it is standard that "families of six or seven (were) compelled to live on a wage of £2 or £4 a month or less" (Lembede, 1996, p. 189). Converting the two South African pounds at the going exchange rate in today's terms that would round about R38,00 and the four pounds is estimated as R75,00. The replacement of the South African Pound to the rand only took place in the early 1960s, where "in 1961 South Africa introduced a new currency, the Rand, at the rate of two Rands to the South African pound" (Jones & Müller, 1992, p. 227) but even with a momentary and hypothetical removal of the 1940s context in focus, a 21st century framework would still highly dictate that those figures as wages are severely impractical to sustain even the most basic of livelihoods irrespective of gender, age, ethnic group, class or race.

Indeed, the above ideas on communism, could be equated to Lembede's thinking which may be perceived as unworkable as well. In a way which loosely deems his belief systems as a divergence, as far as practical standards are concerned. The major difference however; is that Lembede presented African Nationalism as a guiding philosophy that should be applied in most if not all black liberation groups, parties and organisations in dismantling the psychological and physical impact that colonialism brought forth within Africa in its entirety. The communist party's 'impractical' values however, were tailored to suit its own agenda and was not

necessarily designed to be a universal applicator, especially if capitalistic bodies which also aspire for black emancipation on the political and economic front were to be considered. Lembede's judgement call on labour rights for black people is represented in an example scenario where, "an African family of say four (father, mother, and two children) cannot in my opinion live decently on a wage of less than £9 a month (which is about R 170,00)" (Lembede, 1996, p. 189). He then found it exceptionally shameful and abhorrent that the core reality of black families is that they lived on almost less than half of the minimum wage he made reference to which assumably sat at £9. A Lembedian discernment like the one above renders a relatively solid probability for beneficial change around the African issue because of his ability to remain microcosmically centered in the black life as opposed to persistently dealing with a broad analysis on the African issue such loss of land like what the communist party has propensity to do.

African inclined hardship continued with the 1912 (beginning process) of the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act (Davenport, 1969, p. 98) because the innerworkings of the Act guaranteed that black migrant workers would return to their respective rural based homelands after their allocated work periods in the urban areas. After the Act that was meant to keep residential segregation in tact by separating black citizens from white ones, the Land Act of 1913 was passed. It was passed in order to ensure that that the Urban Areas Act's core function remains viable by keeping the slogan of segregation practical through the safeguarding of "either…the Stallard doctrine (so) that in urban areas white men had rights and black men had none, or the partition of urban areas into parcels in which black men and white men had separate rights" (Davenport, 1969, p. 98). The nuances of the various above mentioned policies and Acts in place were holistically programmed to eliminate the ability for the black subject to self-actualise and this kind of programming as a result, caused an adverse ripple effect into the economic potential of the South African "native". Lembede's solution to combat the "economic exploitation of the African by white capitalists and oppression of Africans as a black race" (Lembede, 1996, p. 189) is for African workers to organise themselves under the management of African Trade Unions and prepare to determinedly and fiercely fight for an adequate wage (Lembede, 1996, p. 189). Lembede alludes that if this kind of unity which should be guided by the innerworkings of African Nationalism does not occur, then black subjects would be on the verge of becoming an extinct race. His prediction dictated that the extinction would happen in about five thousand

years time, from the point of when his writings were conceived (Lembede, 1996, p. 151). This racially inclined process of extinction strongly ties into the brief narrative on Wallace's social Darwinism and Eugenics raised earlier on. Author Diane B. Paul continues the discussion on the idea of eugenics, whereby the aspiration of the European settlers' is to improve the population of the colonised through breeding regulations which were meant to increase more desirable heritable characteristics (Paul, 2003, p. 3).The colonial goal is to essentially wipe out an inferior race i.e. Africans by replacing it with a superior one i.e. to increase the spread of whiteness, "the process that led to (a white) utopia would also guarantee the extinction of "native" populations… (because) lesser races would not survive the brutal…struggle with their superiors" (Paul, 2003, p. 3). A salient point because this goal and its effects are clearly still experienced during Lembede's timeframe of segregationist South Africa, given his above assertion on racial extinction.

The effect World War II has had on South Africa as conferred in chapter three saw an industrial expansion within the country whereby, "in 1943, for the first time, manufacturing industry contributed more to the South African economy than either mining or agriculture as new secondary industries expanded dramatically, reliant upon a vastly increased supply of black labour" (Fortesque, 1991, p. 486). One out the few wartime advantages that did occur for black labourer; with regards to their pride, esteem and innate potential as opposed to their financial situation was a short supply of white workers. White labour shortages during the war required counterbalancing, which came from black workers as their substitutes. For the first time; black workforces had the opportunity to perform in positions of a semi-skilled nature (Fortesque, 1991, p. 486). Although a gap for black people to improve and grow as individuals did form, this occasion did not go far enough in reforming the African purpose because the black subject still remained second class citizens in their "native" lands. Prior to this opportunity, the pressure was exerted by "white liberals (on Hertzog's government, as they are the ones who) drew public attention to the maltreatment of African workers under existing legislation" (Duncan, 1993, p. 107) during the mid-1930s. The subhuman implications of black labourers and black individuals as a whole made reference to in previous statements becomes even more valid, if one were to consider the imminent institutionalisation of apartheid in the coming years or in 1948 to be more specific.

In conclusion this chapter dealt with Lembede's interwoven conceptions of the black subject. I have tried to clarify Lembede's discourses; namely in the ideas of race and space. Segregationist policies through Acts as a gateway for these policies to thrive, played a major role in maintaining the expectations surrounding the race relations of Lembede's time in mostly his given environment i.e. a 1940s South Africa. The discourse on class spoke to the recurring topic of tribalism which endorsed the colonial agenda in disintegrating the innate heterogeneity of culture and traditions that belong to the black subject. Lembede offers a recurrent theoretical remedy in order to allay the disunity; National Unity for Africans. He explored the different ways this can be accomplished like realising the common origin of the African; also known as Africa as a continent, large numbers each ethnic group entails and tribal synthesis, just to name a few. For Lembede, the most important element or common ground in which the above solutions are founded on is the African spirit.

He thinks that if this kind of spirit is used competently by black individuals, then it could invalidate the impoverished state of affairs in which Africans normally found themselves in due to unfair working regulations like unskilled labour opportunities which were distinctly reserved for the "native" as well as to annul African land dispossession, preserved by policies through the Native Land Act. The previous sentence evokes the last subject matter covered in this chapter and that is black poverty, Lembede engages in one or two practical resolutions to nullify this black condition such as the need for Africans to be multilingual in order to increase the likelihood of acquiring improved job opportunities. A more long term idea however remains in his support and requirement for Black Nationalism to maintain a firm presence in all of these discussed solutions. My task in the next chapter is to further clarify the way in which Lembede's conception of what I have discovered in this chapter, will help us understand his meaning of African Nationalism in relation to: the black subject as an individual, the ANC Youth League as well as using Christianity as a guide for Africanism.

Chapter four

4.1. The idea of the Black Subject as the Prototype of 'Africanism'

A brief reminder for the purposes of conceptual continuity, is that in the previous chapter Anton Lembede spoke about language becoming a potential tool to both increase job opportunities for the African people and mitigate racial hatred. Lembede argues that language acts as one of the main unifiers for social cohesion and is therefore instrumental for national unity. Communication is indeed key for negotiating intent and according to some of the virtues of multilingualism, the prospect of a deeper understanding of the opposition becomes real. The notion of multilingualism was an important tool used by various political actors such as the Apartheid government's National Party, who declared certain languages, such as Afrikaans and/or English as favourable mediums of instruction. These means of engagement are crucial for liberation intellectuals like Anton Lembede, in order to deal with some of the bodies in the peripheries of a black liberation struggle. The growing need to reform and reorganise the structure and politics of the party that assumed a forefront position in the freedom movement became apparent.

The question around the effectiveness of the African National Congress Youth League or rather the better known abbreviation, the ANCYL comes into play; particularly during Lembede's tenure as president. Lembede argued that nationalism would serve, "Nationalism has been tested in the people's struggles…and found to be the only effective weapon the only antidote against foreign rule and modern imperialism" (Lembede, 1996, p. 138). It is for this reason that Lembede found Nationalism to be one of the most important factors for acquiring freedom, advocating for its tenets to be strategically woven into the newly formed branch of the ANC. The ANCYL moulded itself with the "student politics at the University College of Fort Hare in the 1940s because it steadily became more militant in line with the thinking of the ANC Youth League which had been formed in 1944 to espouse a strident form of Africanism" (White, 1995, p. 124). The kind of nationalism Lembede has in mind aligned itself with an uncompromising pro-black stance. Several texts make similar references about the defining slogans the ANC Youth League upheld, such as "Marcus Garvey's slogan – 'Africa for the Africans' based on the

‘Quit Africa’ slogan and the cry, ‘Hurl the Whiteman into the sea’. This brand of African Nationalism is extreme and ultra-revolutionary” (Lembede, 1996, p. 53). However the discussion on the ANCYL will be given more attention in the next section of this chapter. One inherent trait of nationalism as a whole that cannot necessarily be ignored; is that it has a tendency to oppose some of the narratives on reaching an agreement across the nations on which nationalism is the most ideal to adopt. This is due to its deliberate nature to be exclusionary of the interests that belong to other nations. In turn, it solely aims to generate the mass utility of the people that come from that particular nation alone; respectively. Lembede finds the inherent quality of African nationalism to be important because its overt objective is to preserve the power of the black subject on their “native” land, which is Africa.

Having said the above, on language acting as instrumental to fulfilling black interests, this speaks to the Lembedian idea of ‘borrowing and assimilation’ which was expanded on in the previous chapter. However a quick recap of Lembede’s concept dictates that Africans should selectively adopt non-African ideas if they will help contribute towards the fruition of the African Nationalism project and not take away from it (Lembede, 1996, p. 134). Again, Lembede made it a point to remain cautious around borrowing and assimilating non-African ideas because the emphasis was on selectivity. Lembede thinks that Africans have to become, selective in how they acquire and draw from the knowledge of other civilisations in order to develop their own positions. Thus knowledge may be ‘borrowed’ from other civilised nations in order to build and develop South Africa. Civilisation as he puts it, only “grows by borrowing and assimilating some useful material from other civilisations and nations” (Lembede, 1996, p. 134). As Robert R. Edgar and Luyanda ka Msumza argue, Lembede drew widely from a vast array of available material to develop his positions, “Lembede appropriated some of the ideas of Afrikaner nationalists for his version of African nationalism (but it must also be taken into cognisance that) Afrikaner nationalists distorted (Darwin’s) evolutionary theory to justify white domination” (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 40). This said, he was careful in selecting and synthesising ideas that would resonate with his worldview. Lembede accounts for this distinction with a level of sensitivity due to his hyperawareness surrounding the subtle yet fundamental differences between the two viewpoints (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 134. Based on Lembede’s ‘borrow and assimilating’ theoretical method, there comes an implied acknowledgement that a few doctrines that make up African Nationalism do not express a complete background of novelty.

Instead however, African Nationalism extracts and utilises the fundamental part of the meaning of nationalism which is highlighted as supporting the interests of the natural inhabitants of any given nation.

The meaning of a nation like the one above automatically reduces the size of the interests being represented and is more focused on the securities of a particular group of people. Lembede's affinity to African Nationalism is quite prevalent at this stage, where Edgar argues, Anton Lembede's affiliation with the ideology of African Nationalism was palpable (Edgar, 1995, p.1). Lembede defines African Nationalism in multiple ways. One particular variation is argued as, "Nationalism is essentially an ideology of the masses because it stirs the deepest human feelings. The African masses today are becoming imbued with the spirit of nationalism" (Lembede, 1996, p. 147).This kind of spirit is represented in the Africanism motto, "AFRICA'S CAUSE MUST TRIUMPH" (Lembede, 1996, p. 102). Lembede reduces and refocuses African Nationalism towards a kind of spirit that unites black subjects. This intentionally excludes those individuals that do not originate from the African nation, i.e. non-black subjects. A primary example of this would be a small number of white European colonisers that settled in what they would consider as foreign terrain whereby the indigenous population are Africans. As a result, the call for African Nationalism by design, is not meant to apply to all individuals that are located in a terrain in which it is present but instead African Nationalism is meant to work for specifically black subjects by virtue of their African origins. As proposed above African Nationalism is about a unifying spirit distinct to black subjects whereby, "African Nationalism is…the only creed that will dispel and disperse the inferiority complex (of black people) which blurs our sight and darkens our horizon" (Lembede, 1996, p. 146). I therefore argue that Lembede's conceptualisation of African Nationalism is significantly justified because he "probably took special delight in recasting the same ideas to promote African equality with Europeans (and) moreover, the concept of African Nationalism was fundamentally opposed to Afrikaner nationalism" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 40).

Furthermore it is not uncommon to encounter a "number of educated African gurus who wrested power from colonisers through the manipulation of tradition, knowledge, and political negotiation" (Falola, 2004, p. xviii). To this extent; Lembede as the archetypal 'educated African guru', is no exception to this form of strategic manipulation of knowledge and again it is mostly

reflected in his recurring idea of 'borrowing and assimilation' tactic in order to suit and further the Africanism agenda, "d. We may borrow useful ideologies from foreign ideologies but we must reject the wholesale importation of foreign ideologies into Africa." (Lembede, 1996, p. 102). Crucially, this substantiates Lembede's slight tendency to appropriate his ideas from Afrikaner nationalism for the cause towards African Nationalism (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 40). It is for this reason that the adjective of 'African' is used to describe the type and form of nationalism in focus. The simplified term of Africanism was then frequently utilised within Lembede's writings because this nationalism is meant to favour the black subject against white rule.

Post-imperialism, the black economy deteriorated, thus poverty became a "native" reality. Therefore irrespective of the few Africans that were more financially advantaged or stable than some of their black counterparts i.e. "there are some few wealthy Africans with bank balances running to five figures- capitalists in the usual sense of the word" (Lembede, 1996, p. 191). Despite the wealth of some black professionals, the title and innerworkings of elitism is still a far removed concept for Africans as whole in relation to the making of the black subject, "but are these (African professionals) admitted into the ranks and society of White capitalists? May they attend same cinema, concerts, etc., together with their white prototypes? Why? Colour and race." (Lembede, 1996, p. 191). Taking the previous claim into account, Lembede directly unpacks the social inequalities the black subject has to endure due to segregationist policies in spite of their financial positioning, regardless of whether it is a positive or a negative position. Author Gellner suggests that, "the origins of nationalism can be in the relationship of economy to culture" (Gellner, 1983, p. 11). Although this may be the case, I find that one of Gellner's refutations reasonable, as his line of argument continues. He goes on to reject the idea that nationalism was generated by the elite or the upper class (Gellner, 1983, p. 11). A thought that openly deals with another research question that probes some of the root causes of black poverty. Based on this, it seems as if African Nationalism showcases itself more through all the different types of classes among black individuals because it supposed to fill the gap of inequality that Africans experience on a political, economic and social level.

Williams argues that whenever one deals with African Nationalism, the most effective approach is "a comprehensive (one) rather than a restricted approach" (Williams, 1971, p. 371) because in

this way the ideology avoids instances where research findings fall prey to prejudice. One aspect that does seem unavoidable is the ambiguity that comes with African Nationalism. African Nationalism can be unpacked in a variety of ways even amongst African people themselves. Perhaps this assertion can more or less be tied back to the connection culture has to nationalism hinted at by Gellner earlier. In a sense that the relationship that multiculturalism may have with African Nationalism does primarily function among black individuals because traditions and culture, cultivated by Africanism is thus the catalyst in forming a collective. This may appear as circular reasoning but ultimately the collective would then be a necessary condition for the feasibility of African Nationalism. In that without the collective's involvement in the innerworkings of the ideology in focus, it will render African Nationalism null and void. Firstly cultural heterogeneity in which I am referring to for the viability of African Nationalism, does not only have a bearing on the 1940s segregationist South African period that this dissertation focuses on because black collective action subsequently extended into the forthcoming Apartheid regime post 1948. Secondly, it largely speaks about a pragmatic type of African Nationalism as opposed to abstract considerations of it.

> The African National Congress is a fundamental feature of a stage in the evolutionary process of the African people – a stage when the Africans have become conscious of their glorious past, of their fierce present-day struggle for survival and of the great role they can play in, and the substantial contribution they can make to the progress of mankind in the future This is the African spirit – the spirit which is being interpreted and applied by the ANC. (Lembede, 1996, p 117)

The above illustrates a practical politics whereby Lembede thinks that the African Nationalism which is synonymous to the African spirit of unity is most reflected in the ANC. Moreover according to Williams; "the basic ingredients of African Nationalism-in-action in South Africa during the 1950s were white domination and African assertion" (Williams, 1971, p. 371). Although the institutionalisation of Apartheid occurred in 1948, its policies were fully operational in the 1950s as well as in the other decades that followed soon after. The period of the late1940s may thus be characterised as the point where the transition from segregation to apartheid ensued. The terms differ but the semantics with regards to the principles of separation remain unchanged. Segregationist South Africa enforced their state legislations with lesser

severity than the apartheid state. Post 1900 the segregationist laws that would usually prevent black people from land acquirement were found to be defective. Hence, various amendments to the 1913 Land Act throughout the next 60 years sought after more effective control measures which were then regulated by urban segregation like through the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Christopher, 1990, p. 438). This claim however is valid if and only if the rule of law that ensued after the institutionalisation of Apartheid in 1948 is compared to segregationist laws that were passed prior to the 1948 regime. "Thus between 1960 and 1970 segregation levels throughout the country rose dramatically" (Christopher, 1990, p. 428)

A.J Christopher continues the discussion with, census enumerators from segregationist officials, who were given a measure of discretion in racially classifying the South African population (Christopher, 1990, p. 424). As it stood before the various marginalised individuals applied to have reclassification processes take place, the standard classification for the different races were defined as, "*whites.* People of European origin, but excluding those of mixed origin…*Blacks*. People indigenous to Africa, with the exception of the Khoisan population" (Christopher, 1990, p. 424). Interestingly enough, the term prototype was first used by Lembede to characterise the white people in which he thought had more freedom than black individuals i.e. the "white prototypes" (Lembede, 1996, p. 191) referred to earlier on. However I would think that, prototype seems more appropriate as an adjective used to describe the meaning of the black subject in relation to the underpinnings of Africanism. In that "natives" are the original inhabitants of the land in Africa and like prototypes which are considered to be the original or the first of its kind; the same applies. The discussion around prototype is significant because it also usually seen as an inanimate device that is degraded to the status of a mere object. The implications that surround the word 'object' is symbolic, especially when the narrative of the black subject is systematically raised alongside African Nationalism. The way in which black people as subjects were reduced to second class citizenry and consequently objectified, under the *separate but equal* guise of a "democratic state" which transparently favoured white individuals over black ones. The role of the white administration in principle is regarded divisive, by virtue of viewing "native" through a subhuman-like lens due to the contempt inflicted on the fuller account of the human rights that is innately supposed to belong to all subjects of a nation; black persons included. In response to the disregard of black subjects by segregationist government

synonymously known as the derivative of colonial rule. The fostering of African Nationalism became the counteractive measure which attempted to go beyond ideological boundaries.

The prototype approach as an isolated event is a phrase that Walter Mischel and Nancy Cantor also use. The authors declare that the basis of a person who either distinctly or narrowly represents a categorisation of people in order to establish ways "to help the perceiver plan (their) behaviour in social interactions" (Cantor & Mischel, 1979, p. 3) is exemplary or rather, a prototype. Cantor and Mischel offer a more humanoid perspective against the inanimate backdrop raised earlier on concerning prototypes. This is within reasonable bounds, considering that the 'examples' or preferably prototypes which are in focus are black human beings of African descent. A course of reclamation is thus occurring within the lineage of a nationalism that is spearheaded, driven and carried by Africans themselves because some of the fundamental values that is generated by Africanism is the element of *Black Ubuntu*. This type of Ubuntu is a blatant expression of humanity that comes from black individuals themselves which is directed to the black subject, with the intent to improve the black human condition through consideration, empathy and black partnership. Lembede's African spirit of such a nationalism sees "all purely African organisations which do not differ in principle ought to march forward together either in unity or partnership" (Lembede, 1996, p. 149). This stems from a rounded awareness of the empirical circumstances faced by the black state of being such as, "the inferiority complex he saw as the greatest barrier to liberation" (Lembede, 1996, p. 58). These psychological experiences were not only normalised for the making of the black subject but it also adversely restricted African potential, leading to long term phases of black South African destitution. The previous claim is implied primarily by Lembede's argument that "South Africa has a complex problem. Stated briefly it is: The contact of the White race with the Black has resulted in the emergence of a set of conflicting living conditions…" (Lembede, 1996, p. 90). Lembede ultimately finds the removal of the objectification of black subjects desirable because he thinks that Western civilisation aims to 'civilise' the black subject which in turn reduces the African to a status of insignificance (Lembede, 1996, p. 91). He sees this as another way to "seriously hamper South African's progress to nationhood" (Lembede, 1996, p. 90) and this form of hampering is a direct attack to the African Nationalism he wants for black subjects. A nationalism that fundamentally reveres the "native" and recognises the African as a first class citizen of their nation.

One theoretical way to eradicate these kinds of problems encountered by Africans and transitioning the solution into a black reality is paying attention to Lembede's conception of…. "his vision of African Nationalism (where according to Lembede for) as long as Africans did not transcend their ethnic divisions, they would remain minor political actors. Unless the continent's millions of inhabitants agreed to work cooperatively…" (Lembede, 1996, p. 38). Lembede's allusion is that the millions of people referred to here, excludes any other subject or inhabitant within Africa who falls outside of the black social, economic and political canon. Therefore when dealing with a concept like African Nationalism or any other kind of nationalism, whether it be "Ossewa Brandwag (OB), an ultra-nationalist Afrikaner movement" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 40) or even Marcus Garvey's Jamaican nationalism on promoting the black project. The element of Lembede drawing inspiration from other prominent non-African nationalist thinkers to further the interests of African Nationalism plays a key role in its own formation. This occurs despite the oral evidence that exists which indicates that Lembede was acquainted with Garvey's work (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 41). Reiteratively the concept of nationalism is innately exclusionary because of the ways it requires the fulfillment of certain interests which, to an extent does sideline the interests of others.

Interestingly enough the African Nationalism Lembede philosophises also proposes a kind of psychological warfare. The theoretical underpinnings of his writings dictate that if a thorough examination of white supremacy commences, the oppressive methods which are imperially executed by the west onto the global south transcend the physical realm. The manner in which these tangible colonial constructs are most evident and prevalent, are normally experienced in the form of legislative obstacles imposed upon black individuals i.e. the Native Land Act. For Lembede conversely, "the system of segregation had erected tangible political and economic barriers that were easily targeted, but white domination also had a corrosive impact on the self-image of Africans, and this was more difficult to cope with" (Lembede, 1996, p. 42). The black subject as the 'prototype' in focus, carries some kind of an inferiority complex with them. The narrative on Africanism or the propagation of African Nationalism is part and parcel of the decolonisation project premediated for the African continent. A few African thinkers Lembede included, thought that it is almost a necessary condition for "natives" to unlearn the role of the subordinate and relearn a sense of self through a vehicle of empowerment in relation to the white ruling body. The same body that is responsible for the subjugation of Africans in a number of

ways. The primary technique however remains in the mental conditioning of the black psyche. Generally the definition of decolonisation is ambiguous due to the subjectivity it entails for the various oppressed group.

The common struggle to dismantle the state of whiteness however paves a road of understanding in which John D. Hargreaves offers, as a more distinct interpretation of this ideology. The implications of African Nationalism as a tool to decolonise the whitely dominated milieu it works in, is a mere reminder that goes beyond the limits of it being regarded as just a black driven and centered movement but rather as "measures intended to eventually terminate formal political control over colonial territories and replace it by some new relationship" (Hargreaves, 1996, p. xvii). A post analysis of this claim extracts, the term 'replace' as the operative idea as well as the main weapon for the psychological warfare discourse. To make reference to the process of unlearning and relearning mentioned above, a vital point of consideration is that before the replacement of a subsidiary psyche (in which black subjects possess) to some other desired alternative psyche can happen; is if those regarded as inferior, also known as the "native", recognise their involuntary position of inferiority first.

Moreover the prospect of black consciousness becomes actualised when the acute realisation of what subservience necessitates. Lembede deciphers and confers this subordination as a "negative self-image (which) was manifested in Africans' 'loss of self-confidence…feeling of frustration, the worship and idolisation of whiteness, foreign leaders and ideologies" (Lembede, 1996, p. 42). Furthermore the reclamation of black identity is therefore at the forefront of the African Nationalism Lembede finds most suitable. Lembede thinks that it conjures up the spirit of Africanism, whereby the pragmatic requirement captured theoretically is such that Africans need to "break their reliance on European leaders by building up their own organisations" (Lembede, 1996, p. 44). The regain of black pride among "natives" initiates the obligatory transition that African Nationalism demands. From mind to matter in basic terms, insofar as this Nationalism sees a liberated black mind as a force that is capable of affecting physical colonial structures and institutions to suit the black project as a prototype.

4.2. The Role of Nationalism for the Formation of the African National Congress Youth League or ANCYL

African Nationalism or interchangeably referred to as Africanism has been remarked on several times over at this point so it seems sensible to expound on it briefly before it can be conceptually linked to the rendering of the African National Congress Youth League. The ANC Youth League implemented the strategy surrounding radical transformation as a way to break away from the conservative thinking of the 'old' ANC body. The land demand provoked a greater need for the people to feel a sense of belonging in their country of origin (Lembede, 1996, p. 148). These approaches and calls displayed militancy, however "given that Africans have long seen around them disparities of wealth, privilege and power as great or greater than any described by Marx in nineteenth-century Europe, it is important to note some of the reasons why socialist ideology has not enjoyed greater popularity in South Africa" (Gerhart, 1978, p. 10).

As I briefly mentioned in chapter two; in Lembede's view, communism from a Marxist standpoint renders as an unfavourable concept for him (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 134). To such an extent where, he became wary to integrate it into the black struggle i.e. becoming alarmed at the growing presence of communists in the ANC (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 47). Gerhart's on the other hand, talks about the reality of several black people whom have consequently lacked the knowledge and education of the workings of their own society. So much so that the intellectual sophistication required in order to achieve the more analytical points of Marxists theory is virtually absent (Gerhart, 1978, p. 10). Furthermore, due to Lembede's political and economic status which falls into the realm of the middle class under segregationist rule, she confers that, "For the typical educated middle class African in recent decades, socialist ideas have usually had even less appeal" (Gerhart, 1978, p. 10). Gerhart's indirectly refers to figures like Lembede here because the 'educated middle class' description matches his persona. According to Gerhart, the main cause of this lies in a conditioned background that regards communism as materialistic. This directly reverts and explains the rationale behind Lembede's distinct views on Marxism.

Lembede's stance on communism deserve a deeper focus because the claims he makes on communism is in and of themselves fairly ambiguous. He documents his thoughts on the subject in his 'Know Thyself' piece written on the 30th of June 1945 within the *Bantu World* journal. The ambiguity I find is that it is relatively unclear if Lembede's stance on communism is swayed by the general narrative around Marxism proliferated by Western capitalism which describes the

ideology as unstainable or whether the Lembedian belief, that the spread of communism renders futile remains uninfluenced by the West. Either way and for the sake of this research, this research will assume Lembede's criticism and lack of faith in communism because he explicitly states that "it (communism) will undoubtedly prove fruitless and abortive" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 134). Be reminded of Lembede's stress that Africans cannot just mindlessly replicate ideologies in order to build African Nationalism (Lembede, 1996, p. 134) but should instead be critical during the *borrow and assimilation* procedure (in which I went into great detail, in the previous chapter) of western epistemologies that would solely fit and further Africanism.

Moreover, Lembede's conceptualisations of African Nationalism were deeply aligned with his theism. His spiritual writings together with their conceptual links to politics and economics became an integral part in the optimal function of the ANC Youth League. Briefly drawing upon Lembede's 1945 MA thesis titled 'The conception of God as expounded by or as it emerges from the writings of great philosophers-from Descartes to the present day' for the first time in his research, he fundamentally declares that "the conception of God, In this dissertation-I must not omit to mention-I take Ultimate Reality as synonymous with God" (Lembede, 1945, p.1). Thus according to Lembede, the reality of the black subject could then possibly be equated to that of a divine one. Lembede's hint at the underpinnings of a non-secularist state using Africanism as a device will be discussed further in the third and final section. Furthermore African Nationalism's applicability towards the eradication of a fascist state during segregationist South Africa will be elucidated further in the section to follow.

It is said that Lembede preferred not to operate in a space of political obscurity and thus opted for certainty in his politics, "In South Africa this meant making the ANC and black leadership central to the national struggle" (Lembede, 1996, p. 44). Black Nationalism for Lembede gives rise to the kind of leadership he envisions for South Africa. There is a need on Lembede's part, to describe the genesis of where the ideology stems from and the exposition is such that there should be an acknowledgement of Africa as a mother continent in relation to the rest of the earth. The Lembedian justification goes, "it (Africa) was the mother continent from which America and Australia, according to geological and geographical evidence, must have broken away" (Lembede, 1996, p. 127). Historically speaking, the specific mention of both Australia and America is unsurprising due to the global label of these two continents as spheres of influence or

even global forces in their own right. These nation's paradigms are well articulated by the existence of the 1800s slavery epoch with the Jim Crow era as an offspring of this epoch, fostered by a white American administration as well as the existence of the Stolen Generation period of the Aborigines that occurred in Australia during the early twentieth century. To a certain extent; the consideration of their nationalist agendas respectively is relatively warranted. Therefore the concise account of the historically inclined institutionalised racism is justified because despite the racial intolerance experienced by these two continents, this does not take away from the reality of their superpower status. This gives premise to the mother continent metaphor. For Lembede the foundation of Africanism is a matter of geographical positioning together with the multiplicity of implications that come with this positioning. He makes reference to Africa's location, in that the 'mother continent' finds itself situated between the West which emphasises knowledge production and the drivers of spiritualism, accentuated by the East. According to Lembede; the outcome of Africa's placement amid the two compass points of East and West, dictates centeredness which induces a balance of some sort; particularly Africa's equilibrium in both nationally endorsed factors of spiritualism and knowledge (Lembede, 1996, p. 128). The balance in focus here establishes some grounds and innerworkings of Africanism.

Prior to my discussion into the Lembedian outline of 'some basic principles of African Nationalism', Toyin Falola handles some of the substructures of African Nationalism from an epistemological standpoint. Similar to the approach Lembede adopted earlier on about Africa's middle ground embrace of both the Western stress on knowledge and the weight the East places on spiritualism, so much so where Lembede thinks that the combination of the two components fuels Africanism as a viable construct. Falola however has a tendency to lean more towards the knowledge based interpretation for the feasibility of African Nationalism and in turn the way in which this kind of "nationalism has (also helped) shape the production of knowledge and influenced politics in Africa since the nineteenth century" (Falola, 2004, p. xvii). The exposition on African Nationalism is that African academics offer an in-depth reasoning to the ideology of African Nationalism, detailing its rationale (Falola, 2004, p. 3) i.e. Lembede, whilst both academic and non-academic Africans contribute a wealth of empirical knowledge through their respectively lived experiences. Despite African Nationalism acting as a "widespread consciousness among the literate" (Rotberg, 1966, p. 35), Lembede argues that African Nationalism is deeply rooted in the African experience. In saying this, some of Lembede's basic

principles of African Nationalism deserves unpacking in order to fathom the gravity in which this Nationalism upheld some of the core doctrines denoted in the ANCYL. The principles reverberated throughout his writings saw a publication date of the 24th of February 1945 (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 129), this occurred more or less a year after his inauguration. The creed is largely tailored to echo a set of values that foreground African Nationalism as both an ideology and a philosophy to live by; such that in turn, it enhances comprehension and perceptions around it.

According to the 1996 volume as the primary text for this dissertation, his collated writings reveal six principles noted down with no evidence of priority but yet order is shown. Lembede thinks that African Nationalism recognises "the ethical system of our forefathers based on ancestor worship (and) that people (Africans) did certain things or refrained from doing certain things for fear of punishment by the spirits of dead ancestors" (Lembede, 1996, p. 131). However he urges that the sustainability of African Nationalism stems from a morality code of conduct fostered by Christianity as a western conception. Therefore as a result Africans as the collective and the majority over foreign colonial rulers should "retain and preserve the belief in the immorality of the spirits of our ancestors but (at the same time) our ethical system today must also be maintained…on Christian morals since there is nothing better anywhere in the world" (Lembede, 1996, p. 131). Lembede manages to marry both of the seemingly paradoxical concepts of African ancestral devotion and Christianity as a religion. The attempt here is to enable a sense of coexistence between the two dichotomous belief systems and the demonstration of this merger should thus be seen in African Nationalism. The other principles or values that come before the Ethical Basis is the 'Historical Basis', the 'Scientific Basis', the 'Philosophical Basis', the 'Democratic Basis' and the 'Economic Basis'. The first three bases mentioned of: scientific, historical and philosophical which come after the Ethical Basis all chiefly relate to the knowledge orientated conversation that is founded on reason and encourages insight production of African Nationalism by black intellectuals.

Lembede's configuration of those principles philosophically see self-realisation by black subjects as dependent on representation. The type of representation he confers here is through physical structures, "we Africans, have still to erect monuments to commemorate the glorious achievements of our great heroes of the past e.g. Shaka, Moshoeshoe, Hintsa, Sikhukhuni,

Khama, Sobhuza, Mozilikazi, etc." (Lembede, 1996, p. 130). The general idea is that an African perceives themselves through other Africans who were black agents of change that operated in a past time. Once this sense of self-reflection and in turn "native" introspection is included in this perception of black identity, then the title of Historical Basis becomes justified. Variation and difference is concisely highlighted in the explanation given for the Scientific Basis, where Lembede uses the English biologist and naturalist Charles Darwin in concretising his own points for the viability of African Nationalism. In the same way that Darwin "pointed out the profound significance of the law of variation in Nature, (drawing from the Theory of Evolution via Natural Selection that) one can never find two leaves of plants that are exactly and in all aspects the same…nor two humans beings nor two nations" (Lembede, 1996, p. 129). It seems as if Lembede uses Darwinist principles as a way to contribute towards his conception of African Nationalism. By somehow using Darwinism to give a definite form to the ideology of Africanism. Interestingly; Darwinism or more specifically social Darwinism as a philosophy, is premised on a deeply rooted construction of racism. To such an extent where Darwin's co-discoverer of the principle of Natural Selection, Alfred Wallace, clearly delineates natural selectivity which concerns the social branch of human race.

> According to Wallace, "savage man" would inevitably disappear in encounters with Europeans whose superior intellectual, moral and physical qualities make them prevail "in the struggle for existence, and to increase at his expense", just as the more favoured varieties increase among animals and plants, and "just as the weeds of Europe overrun (Africa,) North America and Australia, extinguishing native populations" thank to their inherently more vigorous "organisation" and their greater capacity for existence and multiplication (Paul, 2003, p. 3).

Although it is ironic that Lembede would apply the implications of this colonial scientific belief of racialised Natural Selection which would be deemed pseudoscience in the post-imperial arena. Lembede seems to deliberately do his own version of tactful selectivity of Darwinism, mainly through his idea of 'borrow and assimilation'. He uses Darwinism in order to build the African identity. Lembede does this by utilising the means of Afrocentrism to dilute the European prejudices attached to social Darwinism. This in turn creates effective unifying strategies like his point on; the power of natural variation mentioned above, to show some of the reasons for

African Nationalism and the motive for its design. Lembede thinks that each and every nation including the African nation, encompasses its own unusual yet unique contributions towards its own formation. This is to develop a black version of mankind through plans that are welfare orientated. These idiosyncratic differences are seen in the diverse cultures and traditions within black-kind and thus continue to be key features in nurturing the African spirit.

From an economic and democratic background, Lembede alludes to collectivism as the cornerstone for both of these bases. The central idea to render African Nationalism socially plausible is for equal wealth distribution among Africans to occur that is both systematic and attainable. Pragmatic endeavours would assist in the transition from an abstract space to a more practical perspective. Interestingly; despite the indistinct contempt Lembede shows towards Marxist ideas depicted earlier on, he admits that "there was, for instance, no individual ownership of land in ancient Bantu society…land belonged virtually to the whole tribe and nominally to the King and Chief" (Lembede, 1996, p. 130). This response elicits an advocacy of socialism on Lembede's part which is fascinating if one were to consider the way in which both communism and socialism fixate themselves in this idea of the collective as opposed to the individual. Whilst nuanced disparities between communism and socialism do exist such as communism's support in state owned means of production.

It then seems within reasonable bounds for Lembede to favour more of what socialism harnesses than communism because the distinctive idea behind socialism is that all of the citizens democratically governed by it, share economic resources equally and the resource insinuated in his writings is land. Therefore the objective of African Nationalism "is to develop (a socialism which stems from ancestral legacies) by the infusion of new and modern socialistic ideas" (Lembede, 1996, p.130). The nationalism spoken of here thus seems to also infer a strong sense of modern liberal thinking, as the measurement of human value. According to Lembede's implications, this is dependent on leadership that prioritises the exclusion of hurdles that prevent individuals, specifically black subjects from fully realising their potential. Obstacles that hinder individual freedom and endorses lost potential usually come in the form of poverty and discrimination. It can then be gathered that some of the prerequisites of freedom will generally dictate the antithesis of the previously mentioned social complications, where the ideal will rest in financial stability and collective concord. My own deduction is such that Lembede may

therefore suggest that a liberty of this kind may possibly be reached through structures that enable "moral and spiritual qualities (where the framework of this) legacy (is) to be preserved, developed and highly treasured in our hearts" (Lembede, 1996, p. 131). It is at this point where Lembede displays a level of sentiment in his writings which transfers into his politics. However his partiality has a tendency to recognise the spirit of the black subject that is on the liberation struggle trajectory.

The Youth League took into account that without the effective integration of the spirit of Africanism into both of their trusteeship and statement policies; then it will fall victim to the very old and dated schools of thought that they made attempts to digress from, from the onset and I'll explain this shortly. Firstly African Nationalism in the *Ilanga lase Natal* journal (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 129) was sufficiently equipped for its application into the formation of the ANCYL. The African National Congress Youth League as it came to be known as after "a resolution was passed by the conference of the African National Congress (the ANC) held in Bloemfontein in 1943" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 89). Writer Chitja Twala frequently characterises the coalition of the ANCYL as a 'kingmaker'. Although his piece is a 21st century contextual analysis of the ANCYL's presence in the province of Limpopo's city of Polokwane, a corroborating statement is made in Twala's evaluations with similar claims remarked on in Edgar and ka Msumza's 1996 volume where he articulates that "the ANCYL (pronounces) that the ANC (or the African National Congress) is rich with leaders of particular qualities and competencies from who it selects a 'king'" (Twala, 2009, p. 154). King in this case is up for interpretation but the likelihood of its symbolism reflects that of presidential stature which is generally higher than any other leadership figure. This remains relevant when the reasons for the presumption of the ANC grows an affinity to the outcome of the ANCYL's 1944 conception. The connection is with Anton Lembede's election as the first president of the Congress Youth League. In the same breath as Twala's kingship recollection within the newly formed branch sprung from the ANC, the issue by the Provisional Committee of the Congress Youth League launched in March 1994, delivered the Congress Youth League Manifesto (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 89). The stipulation in Lembede's writings set precedent for the actualisation of Africanism as a normative product of the Youth League, largely because the expectation of the 1944 federation was for the "African Youth must be united, consolidated, trained and disciplined

because from their ranks future leaders will be recruited" (Lembede, 1996, p. 89). Again this speaks to the above thoughts expressed by Twala concerning The League.

Lembede noted the great potential this kind of coalition contains in the traction buildup meant to fuel the liberation struggle against white domination. The most salient yet prevalent realisation lay in the groundwork of the ANCYL, whereby racial redress is dependent on a dynamic approach of revitalisation (Posel, 2013, p. 59). The crux of the League is resolute in its stance on the rejuvenation project of the ANC. Reaffirmation of the above position lies in the fact that "it (The League) has had a significant impact on the development of the ANC" (Posel, 2013, p. 60). The ANC's 1912 formation, saw black subjects from all walks of life become supporters. In turn and as time went by there was a growing need for members of the party to welcome new kinds of thinking into its political entity. The *statement of policy* which Lembede discusses in great detail, partnered with the area on *trusteeship* foregrounds several motives that compel the ANC to extend and expand into new levels of thinking. To begin with; the 1940s South African setting provides a demonstration that concerns its context existing at the face of colonial adversity. The challenge is simplified as a "complex problem… (seen as) the White race, possessing superior military strength and at present having superior organising skill has arrogated to itself the ownership of the land and invested itself with authority and the right to regard South Africa as a Whiteman's country" (Lembede, 1996, p. 90). The conceptions the ANCYL confederation took inspiration from black based youth groups that existed and shaped themselves even before the induction of the ANCYL took place i.e. "a final factor that produced the Youth League was the challenge posed to the ANC by the newly formed African Democratic Party (ADP)…" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 32). Despite the fact that, "black youth (from a general standpoint) is not and has never been a homogenous category in South Africa (Posel, 2013, p. 60) where the miscellaneous African thinkers that made up the various and respective black youth conglomerations, the ANCYL included at a later stage ranged in age groups in order to keep the system of thought or think tank of the ANC fluid and relevant.

The liberation struggle that comprised of these groups identified a mutual or common adversary, the white man. Anton Lembede therefore argues that the original trustees of South African land were "Natives" and due to this historical fact, these

> But the Trustees were not satisfied with the emasculation of an entire community (also known as segregationist South Africa on a smaller scale but Africa as a continent, on a wider scale). (Practical examples of this strong sense of unsolicited paternalism is shown) in the 1927 Native Administration Act, (where) they (the white people themselves) established the White race as the Supreme Chief of the African people (Lembede, 1996, p. 93).

The infantilised approach adopted by whiteness and thus projected onto black individuals like in the way the white government treats black individuals as "a perpetual minor" (Lembede, 1996, p. 91) via the trusteeship narrative saw the momentum of defiance by Africans pick-up. This meant that the range in ages of the individuals that consisted of the early stages of the ANCYL membership was not so much dependent on age as such but innovative thought-processing to combat the white rule. The concept of 'youth' therefore, is a relational metaphor that should rather be interpreted on a figurative level from within the black collective as opposed to a literal form. This would also be known as the focus should not necessarily be on the actual ages of black political activists in general but rather in the extent of their radical thought contribution to the party. The symbolism lies in the notion that idea and knowledge production should stem from a source of novelty. Moreover there should be a willingness of ANCYL to remain dynamic, fluid and subject to change in order to induce improvement methods when it comes to black strategy formation in order to overthrow imperial institutionalisation. The commitment displayed in the above areas that characterise the underpinnings of the conceptualisation of 'Youth' will somewhat guarantee the maintenance of the ANCYL but in turn and more importantly the preservation of the ANC as the mother-body throughout the decades to come. To further avoid the unrecognition of African citizenry under the Union of South Africa, Lembede sought after alternative yet abstract routes to perpetuate and seal his theoretical work as practical. One other frequently mentioned or recurring philosophy in his writings is the way in which religion plays an instrumental role in mobilising African Nationalism for black subjects. Whereby the ultimate end goal of black self-determination proven by "natives" themselves becomes more foreseeable and within reach, if and only if divine convictions are included in the struggle.

4.3. The Shift from Hypothetical Politics to Material Politics

There have been numerous instances within each chapter that sought after a superlative Black Africa. This abstract version of Africa may arguably be considered a Lembedian romanticisation of the black subject. The writings compiled in *Freedom in Our Lifetime* reflects a large number of ideals that Lembede envisioned for the people that both looked like him in racial appearance and who shared his common experience. Lembede was a pragmatic figure who was socially aware of the limitations under the conditions he was writing under but he still remained an optimist, who imagined a better dispensation for South Africa. There is a deep-rooted realisation on Lembede's part, of the lost potential that the African "native" underwent as a consequence of colonialism and segregationist policy. To then make use of romanticisation as the descriptive term for his thought process has to be done very carefully because the implications of it produce a false sense of impracticality. The reason for treading cautiously into a territory in which some authors may consider to be unrealistic solutions, is mostly to avoid deeming Lembede's ideas that were generally crafted to suit the black agenda as too idealistic; to a point of them becoming improbable in a pragmatic sense.

The key to the preservation of his writings remains in the visualisations he meticulously articulated for a polity spearheaded by black people. It is for this reason he "began a legal career that held great promise for the suffering African people" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 238). The choice Lembede made to continue on the LLB path or to further his bachelor of law studies where he was subsequently "articled to Dr P Ka I Seme, BA, LLB an attorney of long-standing in Johannesburg" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 237), jumpstarted the distinction between his philosophies in theory and the way these same beliefs transitioned into the reality of black lives. The moment Lembede was elected as ANC Youth League president is important because the opportunity to articulate his theoretical ideas came about during his tenure. The above mentioned paradigm is crucial because during his short lived presidency, his nationalist persona was its most prevalent in such a way that it signified an opportunity to bring his intellectualism to life. By this I mean the passion he had for Africa was represented in a significant amount of his texts and the demonstration of his Afrocentrism was put forward as a systematic display of his cognitive ability. The patriotism he showed towards his home continent as a whole was exceptionally apparent but despite the direct approach in the form of his overt and fervent assertions in relation to the land of the "native" such as; "I am one with Africa. Look at my face; it is black like the soil of Africa" (Lembede, 1996, p. 240), he managed or at least attempted to

support most of his claims with empirical knowledge based on the racially divided space he existed in. Lembede's ideas on racial divide, evokes what Badroodien's describes as "images of crisis" (Badroodien, 1999, p. 49) because the way in which segregation based on skin colour promoted disorder and inequality, a crisis experienced particularly by the black subject.

This order resembled a segregationist state model that saw white people sitting at the apex of the social hierarchy and black Africans positioned at the base of that same hierarchy. This kind of order in turn, created a form of irony because it sparked; "images of disorder, mayhem and social chaos" (Badroodien, 1999, p. 49). The disorder inwardly stemmed from the resentment of black people who did not necessarily find or experience any sort of privilege from this type of rendering hierarchy. African action that translated as counterattacks in a system that favoured and fostered white supremacy would come in different forms, one of them being Lembede's African Nationalism as a prime example. Badroodien would probably yet rightfully render these kind of black driven responses as criminal offenses which are specifically deemed as such within the above described system of imperialism. "Non-white criminality" (Badroodien, 1999, p. 49) as it is coined were the various ways in which "natives" fought against institutionalised imbalances implemented by a white administration in order to ensure that black subjects remain politically, socially and economically disadvantaged.

4.4. The Effective Integration of African Nationalism and Christianity as the Key Combination that Holds and Sustains the Liberation Struggle.

There is a running commentary on the difficulty of separating theological matters from state affairs because religion has a tendency to be innately recurrent in paradigms associated with the social and political. Norman Etherington relays that, "secular historians have built up an impressive library of case studies on the impact of Christianity in Africa…" (Etherington, 1976, p. 592). The statement made here is not so far removed when it comes to Lembede's impression on what constitutes as politics of a good and ideal nature. The contextualisation of the segregationist system in whichever constituency it operated in, dictates a high level of malevolency that is usually attached to it. Racial segregation is a system that is spawn from centuries of colonialism and due to the prolonged imperial invasion that took place in South Africa, overtime the nation became defined by colonial sovereignty. The enclosure of blackness

saw an infiltration of white domination whereby this event was engulfed in systematic violence and coercive force of one race by another. The colonial architect, Jan van Riebeeck's 1652 African experience transformed and expanded well into a 20th century timeframe. This includes the 1940s conditions in which Lembede was writing under. The sense of community that Lembede aims to justify is one that embodies the values of African Nationalism as a collective that conforms to an obligatory relationship with God (Lembede, 1996, p. 71). There are several case in points throughout Lembedian writings that are characterised by religious activity. The recurrence of this theological theme is unsurprising, mostly because "a study of the first fifty years of Christian missions in southeast Africa suggests…that the missionary contribution to African political education has been overstressed" (Etherington, 1976, p. 593). Lembede further substantiates this claim through the documented observation he made about South Africa. His writings specify that "this country is predominated by Christian religion: therefore I shall base my discussion on Christian principles and ideals…religious activities are largely relevant to the spiritual side" (Lembede, 1996, p. 72). It can be assumed that the 'side' Lembede refers to here, is the amplification of the African spirit. A spirit that requires building a unique and distinct black identity in order to combat imperial infringements on the "native's" psychology, cultural traditions and psyche. Writer Etherington continues this fascinating discourse on the hegemonic presence of Christianity in Africa, particularly in South Africa by divulging into a premise for this cause. He thinks that "in Natal, Zululand, and Pondoland, the social composition of the early black Christian communities played a more significant part in the making of African nationalists than did the policies of European missionaries" (Etherington, 1976, p. 593).

The primary Black Nationalist in focus here is Anton Lembede who again is a figure from Natal belonging to the Nguni tradition. Etherington reveals that in the 1800s there were a number of attempts by Christian evangelists to proselytise the Nguni people and as an initial response by the Nguni ethnic group was to oppose the missionaries' conversion endeavours. For a while the resistance proved effective in maintaining because by "the end of that period the hundreds of (Christian) missionaries employed in the struggle had attracted to their stations only a tiny fraction of the total African population" (Etherington, 1976, p. 594). Over the years however, the sustained resistance driven by determination began to dwindle as more missionaries began to infiltrate African communities. Due to Lembede's roots stemming from the Nguni society, a concentration on this ethnic group warrants a brief discussion. A few reasons given for the fall in

opposition to the Christian missionaries was that there were those prospective African converts who grew weary of abiding to some of their own demanding customs i.e. “a related cause for breaking loose was the rejection of a proposed marriage partner. Nguni marriages were arranged, and heavy pressure was put on any girl who defied parental choice” (Etherington, 1976, p. 596). One major aspect of African tradition and customs was that matrimonial practices, something generally regarded as in contempt of European standards. This is in terms of what these standards deem as civilised nuptials and although the Christian missionaries had a tendency in their historiography to “undoubtedly exaggerate the plight of suffering (Nguni) virgins betrothed to leering old polygynists, it appears that a significant proportion of (Nguni) female converts was drawn from the ranks of unwilling brides” (Etherington, 1976, p. 597). The missionaries as a result, offered a sort of safe haven for the Nguni girls that were in turn ostracised by their communities for their negation efforts surrounding the arranged marriages (Etherington, 1976, p. 597). This is just one of a few other motives behind the rising appeal of Christianity for some “natives” which encouraged its subsequent popularity and momentum within Lembede’s context. In spite of the demands made by African Nationalism’s superlatives regarding the purity in African epistemologies to assist with its effectiveness. African Nationalism basis a part of its functioning on strategic integrative methods which belong to western constructs, a prime example being Christianity.

Taking the significance of Christianity’s operation within Africa’s environment into cognisance, Lembede brings about a theoretical extraction of one of Christianity’s denominations in which he expounds on in order to highlight any inadequacies that some other alternatives to Africanism present. One distinct alternative for example is the multiracial cooperation as one of the drivers of the liberation struggle. Lembede hints that such an alternative offers little to no authenticity to an issue that is distinctly a black struggle and without the intense recognition of this reality, it will somewhat lead to the lack of faithfulness towards African Nationalism thereof. He does not fully support multiracial cooperation because he thinks that some races like the coloured and indian race, despite their classification as non-white similarly to Africans, they still enjoyed more freedom and rights over the black subject and therefore cannot deeply and fully relate to black struggles during segregation.

> Lembede also argued that, in the hierarchy of segregation, Indians and coloureds benefitted from an 'inequality of oppression' that accorded them slight privileges that were closed off to blacks. If indian and coloured leaders were put in a position to advance their own political and economic interests, blacks could not realistically expect thee to side with black causes (Lembede, 1996, p. 45).

The black faith and African spirit of unity that he speaks of, are guided by the benevolence of a higher being. The divinity of God's desired presence in order to contribute towards the erasure of colonial rule marks the beginning of an African utopia in which Lembede suggests in his writings. Briefly citing the 'borrow and assimilate' technique again, it seems as if the method in and if itself is designed to recognise white assistance in abstract ways. These ways are exemplified in the implementation of European concepts which are strategically manipulated and altered to suit the interests of the African, where in turn they aid African bodies in the physical realm of politics. "Now I stand for the revolt against this psychological enslavement of my people…Of course this does not mean that we reject all political assistance to us by some kind, sympathetic and benevolent white people" (Lembede, 1996, p. 179). The technique however, still finds domineering support and prime backing from white individuals unacceptable. An example of what Lembede finds deplorable are the overridingly active white liberals who are for the dismantling of segregation but do not fully grasp the struggle as black owned or that it belongs to black people because the rule of law under it, profoundly impacts these people the most. Moreover in Lembede's 1944 response to an *Inkululeko* journal article which likened him to the German anti-Semitic and fascist dictator Adolf Hitler stated; "'lending assistance' is to my mind, not the same thing as 'arrogating to oneself (whiteness) the role of leader" (Lembede, 1996, p. 179). He does encourage however, white theoretical and passive relief as a contribution to the African plight of segregationist policies. This in a nutshell projects a core prerequisite of Pan-Africanism and that is to refuse most of the solicited and physical help from co-operative white individuals. The expectation of African Nationalism together with Pan-Africanism as a baseline put simply, is that black people will help themselves with the acquirement of their own freedom through God's grace and guidance.

Dana L. Robert's discusses the relationship between the concepts of Christianity and Nationalism. Robert thinks that the merger amongst the two concepts is most prevalent in its

ability to bring widely scattered people from various geographical standpoints together somehow. “For the first time, African Christians from different parts of the continent met each other” (Robert, 2000, p. 50), Christianity then saw itself as one of the most influential religions in terms of rallying up a crowd to focus on a cause of some sort and the outcomes of these causes were more often than not dependent on the economic, social and political climates of the time. A standard and practical example that Robert makes is the way in which modern day Christian mission schools managed to provide certain tools in attempts to challenge byproducts of imperialism such as World War II or commonly written as WWII. Before I go on to explain and decipher the previous statement, it must be reminded that colonialism to a certain extent displayed propensities of a double edged sword nature. In that; in as much has the intrinsic behaviour of this occurrence fostered and projected a negative aftermath onto the global spaces the event took place in, there are some relatively positive results that came out of it as well. Significances that come in the form of Christianity’s Catholicism (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 239) according to Lembede.

Indeed there is an irony that should be noted. A paradoxical realisation of Christianity’s spiritual contestation efforts to fend off colonially driven matters that are considered to be socially malignant because of the way in which these affairs go against a Christian based morality doctrine. However in a similar breath, the Christianity in focus here is also a direct derivative of the same western colonialism it tries to challenge; “Africans are a deeply religious people. To them the doctrines of Christ… do not sound strange, queer or foreign” (Lembede, 1996, p. 159). Over the centuries, cultural imperialism has seized and subjected the minds of African “natives” which includes African Christian Nationalists to authoritarian treatment for so long that a psychological response from the oppressed black mind has subconsciously developed to form a connection or even bond with the oppressor. This particular bond (whether or not is can be described as positive is up for interpretation) is characterised by an affinity expressed by black nationalists like Lembede to Christianity. The reason is centered on the way in which the religion portrays itself i.e. “We need Christianity for its sublime and lofty ethical values. Morality is the soul of society” (Lembede, 1996, p. 173).

After the consideration of Christian western symbols such as Christ, Lembede uses this to explain the reason for the eagerness of Africans to readily accept and adopt Christianity as their

own (Lembede, 1996, p. 159). Lembede subtly applies his *borrow and assimilation* idea even through the justification process of Christianity's embrace by Africans. Firstly he clarifies that any assumption made "that Africans did not know God before the advent of the Europeans to this country" (Lembede, 1996, p. 159) is misguided and uninformed. Instead, he uses Christianity as a means to better define and make the conception of God clearer, especially since "the Second World War revealed to be the rotten underbelly of European imperialism" (Robert, 2000, p. 50). A sample of Lembede's writings which became known as "Mr Lembede Replies" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 178) was conceived during wartime conditions, World War II to be more specific. WWII was a circumstance that affected many parts of the globe and evidently South Africa as well. The premise for his response to the 1944 *Inkululeko* journal has been specified above but he sheds light on the fact that the journal "is the organ of the Communist Party of South Africa" (Lembede, 1996, p. 180). The implication is that; due to Lembede's slight condemnation of communism, the possible ulterior motive of the *Inkululeko* article of equating Lembede to Hitler could be a smear campaign directed at Lembede. Despite the inference however, Lembede still urges the journal article to "not embark on a policy which may culminate in creating or widening a gulf between Communism and African Nationalism in this country nor…to crush, destroy or extirpate the national consciousness of the African people" (Lembede, 1996, p. 180).

The above suggests that Lembede may have taken an almost neutral like position when it came to the conflict between communism and capitalism because in spite of his attitude towards communism, there is little which suggests that he is in full favour of capitalism either. The concern seemed to be directed more towards upholding the standards of African Nationalism, just as long as neither capitalism nor communism stood in the way as obstructions to this Lembedian desire. South Africa played a noteworthy role towards the Allied forces during World War II. The Hertzog administration's attempt for South Africa to remain impartial was unsuccessful as a response to Britain's 1939 war declaration on Germany but because General Smuts gathered support to join the British wartime effort, this among other reasons triggered the transition of the Smuts administration as South Africa's government. As a result of Smuts decisions, this lead to Deon Geldenhuys' third characteristic in his article whereby South Africa formed "very close military ties with the United Kingdom" (Geldenhuys, 1978, p. 1). This is one among the five characteristics Geldenhuys outlines. He goes on to remark that because Britain as

South Africa's coloniser had to defend or protect their construct; also known as Union at all costs, it subsequently became the foundation of South Africa's defense force (Geldenhuys, 1978, p. 1). Since some of the aims of the Allies in WWII was to a larger degree, to apprehend the German assailant of the Jewish people; Hitler and to a lesser degree (before the cold war) regulate and weaken the appeal of communism under Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Another implication of (the anti-communism agenda) and this Nationalist view of the communist menace was that it became a major objective of South African foreign and defence policies to enter into formal defence arrangements with the Western powers" (Geldenhuys, 1978, p. 3).

For Lembede however, "it must be remembered that practically every African is a nationalist at heart…(and that) true nationalism lies in love for and pride in one's own people, not the incitement of hatred against others" (Lembede, 1996, p. 180). In saying all of this; Lembede's version of what Nationalism is, deviates from the Western account or implication put forth above. It strays away in a sense that, the Nationalism he visualises does not seem to have an aspiration to neither be violent nor infringe onto the objectives of other nations, such as establishing a paradigm shift to determine which ideology is better; communism or capitalism. "World War No. 2 has come to an end after a most barbaric human slaughter in the history of our planet" (Lembede 1996, p. 110). Lembede therefore did not necessarily envisage a 'world domination' end goal for African Nationalism but instead, his nationalism would rather empower black subjects and work towards placing them as equal contemporaries with the rest of a society that has an inclination to think of these subjects as everything but equals. "Africanism or African Nationalism fully realises the importance of Christianity in our in our national struggle" (Lembede, 1996, p. 174) and with that said, Lembede considers Christianity as a formidable ally to African nationalism in order to obtain the nationalism he envisions for the South Africa and Africa as a whole.

Another feature of Lembede's intellectualism is marked by his Master of Arts in Philosophy or MA registration in 1943 at the University of South Africa, commonly referred to as UNISA. This is the same institution where he completed and submitted his MA dissertation in 1945 (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 161). The conception of God as expounded by or as it emerges from the writings of great philosophers – from Descartes to the Present Day" (Edgar and ka Msumza, 1996, p. 161). The attempt in this feat was to engage with some of Lembede's actual writings as

opposed to the sole reliance on Robert R. Edgar and Luyanda ka Msumza's 1996 volume of Lembede's compiled body of work. Despite the limited availability of Lembede's texts which are documented, this piece of writing or rather his original 1945 dissertation gave a better perspective with respects to his overall style of writing, especially if I were to compare it to the other themes reflected in Edgar and ka Msumza's volume. Interacting with Lembede's original thesis allowed for my text dependency to slightly broaden in spite of placing all my academic trust on the few Lembedian secondary sources that do exist.

Freedom in our Lifetime offers a wider range of Lembede's thoughts on white supremacy in South Africa but because his philosophical study at MA level was archived, grappling with his original dissertation gave a deeper insight on the way he conceptualised religion. More importantly the manner in which he saw God's immersion within African Nationalism by using European philosophers as devices to illuminate God's required involvement in reaffirming the black identity. One of Lembede's resolute and unwavering declarations is that "Africans are essentially a spiritual and religious people (who) believe in a spiritual reality…" (Lembede, 1996, p. 173). This is a good starting point in terms of revelation buildups that relate to his 1945 thesis. 'Good', because it is a claim in which he has a tendency to reiterate throughout most of his writings on theology but is usually stated in different ways. It will be refreshing to finally cite Lembede's actual MA piece of work, instead of only dealing with summarised accounts. In spite of the short supply of any of his original literature that may still exist, using his MA research will come in handy with a fair guarantee that none of his thoughts have been lost in translation.

Immediately into the first few pages of his fifty-two paged dissertation in its entirety, he introduces a Karl Marx phrase that suggests his own restricted willingness to be open to the possible censures regarding religion. "The criticism of religion is the beginning of all criticism – Karl Marx" (Lembede, 1945, p. 2). Religion to a certain extent acts as a platform for the notion of harmony to stand on and because he philosophises God at the center of religion, he embarks on the various expositions that "trace the concept of God from Greek philosophers to modern philosophers such as Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza, Hume, Kant, Hegel and William James" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 161). The aims Lembede hopes to achieve by doing this compare and contrast endeavour with the different schools of thought, is to expound the role God plays within the cosmos that is inhibited by a varying human nature expressed by physical beings. This

in turn is meant to pave a clearer route towards a sense of understanding that goes with thinking about God as a "spiritual being – perfect, infinite, immutable, omnipotent, omniscient" (Lembede, 1945, p. 17).

After taking into consideration of philosopher's such as Leibniz's account of God's actions which is a perfect God that constitutes constant elements of 'all knowing', 'all powerful' and 'all good' components in which monads or single units come from because no other monad exhibit those exact same qualities all at the same time. This makes God the supreme Monad because all other single units who emanate from the Supreme Being in question come from God but in human form and carry an imperfect spirit with them if and only if it is compared to God. The awareness that surrounds human imperfection dictates that "in man there is something of a blind force and the feeling of longing and yearning for something higher and better than ourselves" (Lembede, 1996, p. 172). If one were to begin to decipher some of the reasons that go into the credulous nature of human beings, it would probably give some sort of underpinning to the preservation of prejudice intolerance and bigotry reflected in most global societies.

People regardless of their race, gender or class have an inclination to readily believe in a construction of ideas which subsequently form a system of some kind. The concept of 'good' and 'bad' is mostly relative but after dealing with Lembede's thoughts on the matter, it could be said that what he deems evil is the institutionalisation of racism. This speaks to the culture of credulity because more harm than relief is usually demonstrated in instances where people in general, show a readiness to accept and believe whatever their surroundings convey without critically assessing these beliefs first. By virtue of human nature succumbing to belief systems that are sometimes founded on bad reasoning i.e. a European coloniser's belief that the African is both primitive and uncivilised who has no cognitive ability to think for themselves (Lembede, 1996, p. 91), these kinds of belief systems weaken powers of self-control. This low portrayal of self-control are most prevalent in matters of violence and coercions as alternative methods. Therefore omnibenevolence or 'all good' is a constituent that people will lack, hence the narrative of imperfection is tied closely with human nature.

As a result of this human bondage to spiritual inadequacy, especially through error in reasoning; Lembede thinks that is ultimately why people yearn for something better than themselves. African Nationalism considers the improvement of the black human condition to be of utmost

importance. Bad reasoning can also be equated to the psychological disabilities or enslavement of Africans under segregationist conditions (Lembede, 1996, p. 42). The process of conditioning in relation to oppression started with Lembede, Mda, Sizulu, Mandela's predecessors. In that black people were made to credulously believe to innately have a low sense of self-worth. This is seen through the limited profession availability on offer for Africans. For Lembede the turning point for "natives" to even realise that whiteness has instilled in them an inferiority complex (Lembede, 1996, p. 44) begins with identifying that, "we, human beings, are partly phenomenal (body) and partly noumenal (soul). The difference between us and other phenomena is that we are conscious of our freedom of the will, and our membership of the noumenal world" (Lembede, 1945, p. 30). Lembede's assertion here reverts to his discourse on Africans naturally existing as spiritual beings because Africanism belongs to a noumenal world that is guided by the ultimate and flawless being, God (Lembede, 1945, p. 17).

The recognition of the 'freedom' and 'will' mentioned above is a system of philosophy that accounts for all aspects of human nature (Edgar and ka Msumza, 1996, p.172). It is predominantly for this reason as to why Lembede "deeply admires the Christian 'hypothesis' (because) for about two thousand years (it) helped to create harmony between man and his environment…" (Lembede, 1996, p.170). The human composition of both mind (spirit) and matter (science) operate simultaneously so much so that Lembede believes that science is a field of study that concerns itself with the physical and material world and that it can coexist or live in harmony with religion which channels the spiritual side of the universe (Lembede, 1996, p. 162). For example he attempts to disprove the incompatibility of religion and science discussion by drawing in on the Astronomy analogy, whereby he says "we have been taught by our religious teachers heaven, the palace of God, is situated high up, on the other side of the clouds…Astronomers, however, state that above and around us there are unimaginably vast stretches of worlds (stars, planets and moons)…no sign of heaven" (Lembede, 1945, p. 41). For Lembede, although astronomer deductions such as; there is 'no sign of heaven' are based on scientific reasoning, he tries to pacify scientific claims by stating that, "science…must refrain from its usual wild, dogmatic assertions about those things which we do not as yet clearly and distinctly perceive and conceive" (Lembede, 1996, p. 169).

Lembede seems to suggest that both religion and science are susceptible to uncertainty and fallacy so as a result, one should not necessarily discredit the other because human error such as stagnation of ideas in both cases make them liable to outdated outcomes and backward thinking. Anton Lembede fundamentally thinks of God as the absolute form of harmony (Lembede, 1945, p. 52) and because Christianity positions God at the forefront of its theology, he subsequently consolidates Christianity with African Nationalism. Christianity for Lembede, forms an integral part of the principles of Africanism through the acknowledgment and tolerance of difference and variation (Lembede, 1996, p. 129) of people such as; in the coexistence of the different races. The link between African Nationalism and Christianity will generally take into account the relationship the church has with the state. Author Hastings argues that the Christian churches in Africa as a whole, "were so much part of this world, and even of its political structures and motivation, that it (Africa) could not properly be described without them" (Hastings, 1979, p. 17). The non-secularist implications in which Hastings raises includes South Africa and the way Christianity almost has an inseparable connection to African traditions due to colonial influence which justified Christian black thinkers like Lembede's stance to distance himself from extreme revolutionary approaches in gaining racial equality. This can be largely founded on the peaceful orientated positions in which Christianity has a tendency to promote. Furthermore Africanism, like Christianity seeks concord within the African society above all else but also in relation to other societies that fall outside of the realm of the black subject, especially from an ethical point of view (Lembede, 1996, p. 131) through the means of morality.

4.5. Africanism as a Spiritual Crusade

We need to be constantly reminded that Anton "Lembede was an enemy of all forms of oppression; he did not spare himself in his attempts to strengthen the national movement" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 241). In the year 1943 where the slight upgrade in the black labour force took place, spoken about in the previous section; was also the same year in which Lembede entered the African National Congress Youth League. His biggest contribution to the movement was predominantly reflected in his writings, making his assertions on unity invaluable. Particularly **black unity** against a "white South Africa (which) tried to retain control of its destiny through a policy of segregation…both the National Party under J B M Hertzog (Prime Minister, 1924-39) and the South African Party under Jan Smuts (Prime Minister 1919-24, 1939-

48) (who) shared these basic goal" (Duncan, 1993, p. 106). The two administrations mentioned here are the white leaders that shaped and safeguarded the white supremacy that Lembede was directly subjected to.

It must be recalled from chapter four that Lembede also argued that indians and coloureds benefitted more than black people under a segregationist South Africa and one of the likely sources for Lembede's attitude was the events surrounding Hertzog's Representation of Natives Act of 1936 (Lembede, 1996, p. 45). "Although coloured and indian leaders had joined blacks in founding the All African Convention in 1935, to protest the law (Representation of Natives Act),a perception developed among some that the commitment of coloured and indian political leaders had significantly diminished once the threat to their own status had eased" (Lembede, 1996, p. 45). This Pan-African reason is among the few that existed which ultimately justified Lembede's reluctance to collaborate with other races that were classified as non-white but were not black either during the liberation struggle. Lembede thought that there were individuals that were present, who were equally non-European as the black subject is, however these associates still somehow assimilated to whiteness (Lembede, 1996, p. 45). Skinner's theory on theoretical activity in his contextual method applies to the consensus I have with Lembede's argument against the 'activity' of multiracial collaboration. "For if there must be at least some family resemblance connecting all the instances of a given activity…it becomes impossible for any observer to consider any such activity, or any instance of it, without having some preconceptions about what he expects to find" (Skinner, 1969, p. 6). Therefore a possible premise I have for the slight privileges in which coloureds and indians did experience over black individuals, could be that indian and coloured people naturally adhered more to the European standard of appearance compared to black subjects. Given the preconceptions I may have as a researcher regarding the historiography of colonialism, segregation and apartheid systems which as a whole, were systems that prioritised the human rights of white people than any other kinds of people. I think that I am fairly justified, to render examples of indian people who generally possess straighter hair in comparison to the biologically intrinsic course hair of the "native". Indians still had slightly more civil liberties than black people in a society dominated by white people who also normally have straight hair. Coloured people also portray the 'ideal white standard' to an extent because these individuals tend to have fairer skin, which resembles or leans more towards the idea of whiteness as opposed to the normally darker skin of the African.

> Every year under apartheid, some coloured people would get promoted to white. It wasn't a myth; it was real. People could submit applications to the government. Your hair might become straight enough, your skin might become light enough, your accent might become polished enough – and you'd be reclassified as white. All you had to do was denounce your people, denounce your history and leave your darker-skinned friends and family behind (Noah, 2016, p. 85).

Although Noah speaks from a 1980s to mid-1990s apartheid regime perspective, the principles of segregationist South Africa still largely remain applicable, especially because the above assertion on racial privilege is a similar argument made by Lembede even during a 1940s context. Overall both coloured and indian people had biological advantages that marginally granted them a better standard of living during white rule, compared to their black counterparts. On the particular subject of the Representation of Natives Act, Lembede commended the African National Congress for guiding African subjects to be in full support of "the indefinite adjournment of the Native Representative Council (or NRC by) categorically rejecting the recent tentative Smuts' proposals to the six members of the (NRC) at Cape Town and have taken a grave decision to boycott all future elections under the (NRC) Act of 1936" (Lembede, 1996, p. 147). It is even said that the manifestation of Lembede's legal profession was during a time where "this was a very risky course for a young African" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 228) because several impediments existed to keep the black subject at bay. Any prospect of African realisation that went beyond the bare minimum like the white expectation for black people to saturate the manual labour sector for example, was deemed an almost impossible feat for the "native" because it threatens the legacy of white sovereignty.

For a black individual; any possibility to become self-made somewhat necessitates more than simply: skill, talent, ability, aptitude or even qualifications to reach certain heights or fulfill designated goals and career paths permitted to be followed by anyone else except subjects considered as non-white, since most of these capabilities generally require physical application. Yet instead the African psyche seems to need nurturing and for Lembede, it is suggested that this will only be likely when there is a collective involved that have a shared experience. An extension of this lies in "this spirit of Africa which is the common factor or co-operation and the basis of unity among African tribes" (Lembede, 1996, p. 137). Unifying the black nation

regardless of the minor differences among Africans such as customs, respective geographical regions in the various parts of the African continent, languages etc. would somewhat nullify the imperial policy of segregation because a united or joint effort to reestablish and restore black human rights would be an effective method to neutralise white rule. Despite Lembede's tendency to be overly repetitive in several instances throughout his writings or on his literature, whereby the exposition of African Nationalism is generally spoken about in a similar expression but in a number of different ways. Exhibit A's definition can be found in the *Ilanga lase Natal* journal article of October 1945 under the 'National Unity Among Africans' heading, "African Nationalism…is a higher step or degree of the self-expression and self-realisation of the African spirit" (Lembede, 1996, p. 137).

Another interpretation but with the same meaning or exhibit B can also be located in a different journal article called *Inkundla ya Bantu* found beneath the title of 'Policy of the Congress Youth League' written in May of the following year, 1946; "a new spirit of African nationalism or Africanism, is pervading through and stirring the African society" (Lembede, 1996, p. 139). Some authors may label this action as a weakness of the writer which to a certain extent is not completely incorrect. However I would relativity regard the repetition as a partial strength because of the reiterative nature Lembede attempts to embark on when shaping the exact underpinnings of African Nationalism.

Crusade as the operative term of choice in this discourse is denoted in the *Oxford Dictionary of English* as "a vigorous campaign for political, social, or religious change" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 421). The religion Lembede consistently refers to in his writings is that of Christianity whereby his main pursuit is to make African Nationalism and Christianity compatible. Lembede firstly wants to say that an African that adopts "Christianity we (as the black race) have not suddenly discovered a new God; (but rather) what has happened is that our old conception of Deity has become clearer and better defined." (Lembede, 1996. p. 159). Lembede thinks that it was actually a "distortion of facts to say that Africans did not know God before the advent of the Europeans to this country (South Africa)" (Lembede, 1996, p. 159). This sentiment touches upon the subject of white missionaries supposedly introducing religious civilisation to Africa. A topic that Lembede would have probably found ludicrous or even "deplorable" (Lembede, 1996, p. 159) in his own words; given the statement he has made above. It seems as if Lembede's belief

system for African Nationalism, is that it should be paired with the teachings of a Christianity that embodies a benevolent spiritualism to it. Spiritual teachings that are relatively far removed from the threats of human distortion. Some of these teachings include which according to the *History* editors are "Jesus's Teachings" is " (to) Love God, Love your neighbour as yourself, Forgive others who have wronged you, Love your enemies and so forth" (History.com, 2017). It is very well known that "Lembede was deeply religious" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 239) so much so that he incorporated his passion for Christianity into his academic trajectory, i.e. his 1945 'The Conception of God' MA research study (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 238) and Rev. Father G Martin from the Orlando Catholic Church of Christ the King remarked on Lembede's "sterling qualities as a Christian" (Edgar & ka Msumza, 1996, p. 239).

Out of the few teachings mentioned above, the 'love your neighbour as yourself' Christian lesson seems to resonate the most with his notion on African unity. Without the general awareness of the contributory value that having more than two people participate in the Africanism movement but more importantly seeing the benefit of mass involvement that is of a friendly or 'neighbourly' fashion, then African Nationalism for Lembede at least would be rendered meaningless. The kind of nationalism spoken of here aims to bring about both social and political change for Africans, using the Christian religion as a tool in order to do this. The crusade definition referred to in this discussion, is thus a combination of all of the above components: political, social and a religious campaign so that an intensification of the liberation struggle fulfills Lembede's spiritual demands for the ideological movement.

In conclusion this chapter discussed Lembede's ideas around the black subject in relation to Africanism or African Nationalism. The relation gave an understanding of the "native's" role in segregationist South Africa and the way in which the classification system defined African individuals. The classification system considered black subjects as indigenous to South Africa, originally belonging to the African continent. The description of prototype for the African was the best fit for the black subject due to the different symbolisms represented by a prototype. These symbolisms resemble the circumstance of the "native", the "natives" as the first of their kind on a continent that consequently experienced an invasion of white rule. Moreover as a result of this invasion, the objectification of the black subject came into existence where they were reduced to subhuman status. A prototype is usually noted as an object so similar to a "native", in

the lens of a white segregationist administration at least; the “native” was also treated like an object because of the denial of their human rights.

Black Nationalism therefore became fundamental to both recognise the black subject as a human and first class citizen that is capable of reaching their potential. This recognition is then a vital part of African Nationalism because it initiates a process that restores the rights of black individual. This is mostly the reason for why Lembede’s recurrent idea of ‘borrow and assimilation’ making frequent appearances throughout this chapter. It is to show that although the African spirit which stems from and is endorsed by Africanism is fully aware of its identity as black which is supposed to assist black interests, a few non-African ideas can also have contributive value towards solidifying the African agenda through its Nationalism, Christianity as a primary example within this chapter. It was also important for Lembede that the theory on black ideals, come to life in some shape or form. The reality of these African ideals prevailed in the pragmatic move of forming the ANC Youth League. The League’s aim was to essentially keep the mother body or rather the ANC, along with the older generation timeless in thought production. This is done by keeping it relevant with younger minds as party members who offer innovate solutions on how to sustain the liberation struggle until freedom is attained by black subjects. The ANCYL as an organisation ensured that the principles of African Nationalism were practiced as an action of defiance under white supremacy. Christianity for Lembede is a key factor for the moral aspect of African Nationalism. The feature of morality plays a strong role towards the unity and harmonisation that Africanism seeks for the black subjects it is designed to realise and protect. The exploration of the Christianity that he favours is reflected in most of his writings but largely realised in his 1945 MA in philosophy dissertation because it represents his academic dedication to theology which ultimately translated in his religious conceptualisation of African Nationalism. The next and final chapter of my dissertation aims to collate and conclude the entire qualitative research piece.

Chapter five

5.1. Conclusion

This dissertation concludes that Lembede's writings were conditioned by the 1940s South African segregationist context where his experiences of teaching and professional training shaped his ideas around the black condition. It is in this chapter where Lembede's political ideas became grounded due to a few key individuals who honed his intellectual potential which further developed him as a political figure. A.P. Mda exemplifies some of the people that contributed towards Lembede's style of thinking. His biographical account set the contextual methodological tone required to understand Lembede's setting and the basis of his political thought regarding the black subject. Lembede's ideas can only be better understood when they are situated in its context. Skinner's contextual method showed that Lembede's notion of Pan-Africanism for example, has contemporary influence even if conditioned by context. Lembede considered education to be a necessity in which Africans ought to strive for in order to be seen as the ideal black subject. His high regard of scholarly activities largely reflected in his own scholastic abilities. Lembede's MA postgraduate studies in philosophy played a profound role in the

formation of the kind of African Nationalism he believed would enable the eradication of racial inequality.

Black poverty as one of the major themes explored in chapter three as it examined the different ways to remedy African suffering. Lembede argued that there was more than one premise for the deteriorated standard of living in which the black subject was subjected to. The various segregationist Acts that stunted the growth of the "native" was indeed deemed one of the most severe reasons for black poverty but he also indicated that a partial contributor remained the idle mentality of the African. Lembede believed that the attainment of and stress on black education through multilingualism for example, safeguarded an overall hard-working black economy. Tribal synthesis was another way Lembede thought the question on class among the black subject would resolve itself. Fundamentally speaking, this is the point where African Nationalism offers the black spirit of unity in which he proposes more than once as a way to harmonise tribal and class clashes amongst black subjects.

Lembede's conceptualisation of race politics are interlocked with the ANCYL presidential position he held in 1944. Lembede argued for the older generation of the ANC to relinquish their dated solutions in order to keep the African party afloat. Militant and extreme tactics is what he believed would bring the black subject closer to their freedom. The only way he thought this would be possible is if younger schools of thought joined the liberation struggle. Chapter four positioned Lembede's religious background as pivotal to his ideas. Lembede's belief system of Christianity therefore becomes important when exploring the African Nationalism he constructs in order to suit the ideals of the black subject. His argument ensured that his theism was underpinned his ideological precepts, as Lembede believed that the idea of God as an all good, all knowing and all powerful being belongs to all races; and to think otherwise was a misguided and uninformed way of thinking. The previous remark is largely based on the idea that the existence of God is a European construct, in which Lembede vehemently disagrees with. Lembedian literature dictates that the two concepts of Christianity and African Nationalism should not be opponents but instead allies in order to arouse the Divine intervention and desired outcome of black unity among black subjects in a racially segregated environment.

The actual and core idea of African or Black Nationalism is the idea that Lembede puts forward and reiterates throughout his writings. He argues for its worth, value and relevance in relation to

the black subject. Africanism or the ideology of African Nationalism is specifically designed to solely promote the interests of the "native". In a white dominated space which constantly compromised the security of black human rights, Lembede strongly argued that African Nationalism offered a better alternative to Hertzog's administration. For Lembede Africanism realised the innate self-actualisation potential of the black subject which to him, is capable of dismantling the inferiority complex of the African. Lembede believed African Nationalism presented itself as a tool of hope which will rebuild and repair the mind of the oppressed. The previously mentioned statement is salient because segregation policy of 1940s South Africa is known to have had devastating effects which are still felt in today's terms or rather in post-apartheid South Africa.

Overall if Lembede's underdeveloped ideas as Robert Edgar puts it, is construed as obscurity, then this was chiefly caused by his untimely death which stunted any possibility for further development of his ideas. The limited literature available on Lembede's life presents him as a multilayered intellect in his thought processes. It ought to be known that his early death was a huge loss for African political theory and the intellectual canon as a whole. Like so many other black freedom fighters who dedicated their efforts towards emancipating the life of the black subject from racial inequality but also suffered the same fate as Lembede, their story to a certain extent is also represented here. Given the assessment of Anton Muziwakhe Lembede as an exemplary figure of what Africans can achieve; black academic spaces alongside its literature that either comes in large quantities or are in insufficient supply ultimately warrant more exposure, recognition and study.

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