

**RACE, CLASS AND INEQUALITY: AN EXPLORATION OF
THE SCHOLARSHIP OF PROFESSOR BERNARD
MAGUBANE**

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my Late Grandfather, Mr Simion Kaseke, for his vision and value for education which he instilled in my mother and all his children, for always seeing the best in people and speaking to the treasure in them. Above all, for believing in the potential of all his grandchildren to excel in school, for calling out the academic treasure of excellence and instilling confidence in me. For believing in me, for convincing others of my potential and seeing only the best. This is for you Grandpa, I made it this far and I finished strong.

ABSTRACT

This thesis begins with the assumption that the theory of academic dependency provides an adequate framework within which the relationship between social science communities in the North and South can be understood. Present problems of social scientists in the South have very often been attributed to this dependence and it has been concluded that academic dependence has resulted in an uncritical and imitative approach to ideas and concepts from the West (Alatas, 2000). This dependence has also resulted in the general regression among social scientists based in the South and in a marginalisation of their works within the social science community no matter how significant and original they may be. The problematic invisibility of the works of prominent South African scholars is a dimension of a wider crisis of academic dependence, if unchecked this current trend will also reinforce academic dependence. From the nature of the problems generated by academic dependence, it is obvious that there is a need for an intellectual emancipation movement. This movement may take different forms that may range from but are not limited to a commitment to endogeneity which involves among other things, knowledge production that takes South African local conditions seriously enough to be the basis for the development of distinct conceptual ideas and theories. This requires transcending the tendency to use ‘the local’ primarily as a tool for data collection and theoretical framing done from the global north. Secondly, there is a need to take the local, indigenous, ontological narratives seriously enough to serve as source codes for works of distinct epistemological value and exemplary ideas within the global project of knowledge production. Endogeneity in the context of African knowledge production should also involve an intellectual standpoint derived from a rootedness in the African conditions; a centring of African ontological discourses and experiences as the basis of intellectual work (Adesina, 2008: 135). In this study, it is suggested that the recommendations highlighted above can only succeed if scholars make an effort to actually engage with locally produced knowledge. There is therefore a need to make greater efforts to know each other’s work on Africa. This demand is not to appease individual egos but it is essential for progress in scientific work. African communities will benefit from drawing with greater catholicity from the well –spring of knowledge about Africa generated by Africans. In the South African context, transcending academic dependence in the new generation of young academics requires engagement with the work of our local scholars who have devoted their lives to knowledge production. This thesis explores the scholarship of Professor Bernard Magubane

by engaging with his works on race, class and inequality by locating his works within the wider debates on race, class and inequality in South Africa. The specific contributions of Professor Magubane to the enterprise of knowledge production are identified and discussed in relation to his critique of Western social science in its application to Africa. The making of Professor Magubane's life, his career, scholarship and biography details are analysed with the intention of showing their influence on Magubane as a Scholar. The examination of Professor Magubane's intellectual and biographical accounts help to explain the details, contexts and implications of his theoretical paradigm shifts. This helps prove that Professor Magubane's experiences and theoretical positions were socially and historically constituted. The research from which this thesis derives is part of an NRF-funded project, on *Endogeneity and Modern Sociology in South Africa*, under the direction of Professor Jimi Adesina.

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To God be the glory

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AJOL	African Journals Online
ANC	Africa National Congress
APEX	African Periodicals Exhibit
ASSAF	Academy of Science for South Africa
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science
DARE	Database of Abstracts of Reviews of Effects
ZIBF	Zimbabwe International Book Faire
UCLA	University of
UNZA	University of Zambia
UCONN	University of Connecticut
MPLA	Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General introduction of the study

Like other issues affecting intellectuals globally, the problem of academic dependency has long been a subject of scholarly enquiry. Among the issues that have engaged scholarly attention with regard to academic dependency are issues of the brain drain, scholarly publishing, international division of labour in African studies and invisibility of African scholarship, to mention but a few. The notion of academic dependency refers to unequal structure of production and circulation of knowledge within the international scientific system (Alatas, 2008). It has been a recurring concern for peripheral intellectual communities. As a theoretical tradition, it is related to dependency analysis and the debate over cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism emerged as a persistent problem in the social sciences in the Third world and relevant contributions have been made on the subject of cultural imperialism. Syed Farid Alatas (2003) has argued that the mode of conditioning of the captive mind in academically dependent social science communities is determined by the dimension of academic dependency that is operating.

These are i)Dependency on ideas; ii)Dependency on the media of ideas; iii) Dependency on the technology of education; iv)Dependency on aid of research; v) Dependency on investment in education and Dependency of scholars in developing societies on demand in the knowledge powers for their skills (Alatas, 2003:604). As a result, a structure of international academic hierarchies emerged, in which social science powers (United States, United Kingdom, France) have a global reach, while peripheral social science communities (Third World countries) borrow research agendas, theories and methods from the social science powers. Although scholarly communities in the South have tirelessly pointed out the biases in the Western social sciences and made grave efforts to improve knowledge production by supporting the emergence of autonomous, alternative theoretical traditions, the emergence of independent social science communities in the South is yet to be seen, given that the dependency of theories and concepts generated in the context of Western historical backgrounds and cultural practices still continues (Alatas & Sinha-Kerhoff,2010).

Despite the general negative impact of academic dependency on knowledge production in Africa, the ASSAF report (2009:62) revealed that the African publishing industry as a whole

is showing growth not only in the textbook publishing sphere but also in general book output. This is an indication of some degree of knowledge production since scholarly production is only able to flourish in a context where there is a sustained and robust production of knowledge. South Africa has the largest publishing industry in Africa, and academic publishing (which comprises scholarly publishing and higher education textbooks) accounts for about 10% of the industry's turnover (ASSAF, 2009:64). However despite the extensive production and publishing of scholarly works, "university presses are still faced with the problem that local academics are not keen to purchase these books as they generally view imported titles as being superior quality and readily obtainable through the internet" (ASSAF,2009:64). This among other reasons has resulted in the general regression among social scientists based in the South and in a marginalisation of their works within the social science community no matter how significant and original such works may be.

This study is an attempt to address the problem of the invisibility of African scholarship by engaging with the works and scholarship of Professor Bernard Magubane. The problematic invisibility of the works of prominent South African scholars is a wider crisis of academic dependency, an issue that has been a concern for generation of scholars from the global South. Addressing this problem requires taking the works of South African scholars seriously enough to be the subjects of intellectual debate and contestation of ideas. This is a central dimension of self knowing fundamental to the recovery of intellectual nerve. In the case of South Africa, overcoming the absence of any serious engagement with the works of Magubane and a lack of visibility of his works in the curriculum is an initial step in the process of self knowing" (Adesina,2006a).

Despite the attention to ways of addressing academic dependency at different levels which include but are not limited to theoretical activity, data collection and interpretation, publishing in international journals to increase readability and visibility of works, there is still a considerable gap between the knowledge produced particularly in the South and the actual amount of that knowledge that is actually known or cited by other scholars. This is an indication of poor engagement with these works as well as a marginalization of the producers of such knowledge. This study is based on the need to take the work of South African Sociologists as well as scholars to be the subject of international debates and contestation of ideas. The study does this by exploring the scholarship of Professor Magubane and his contribution of knowledge production on the subject of race, class and inequality. The need to

engage with the works of local scholars stems from the realisation that regardless of the general crisis of academic dependency on the North, there are scholars in the South who have gone out of the way to create culturally independent and hence universally meaningful knowledge.

1.2 Research objectives

From a broadly critical perspective, the purpose of this research is to address the problem of academic dependency through an exploration of the scholarship of Professor Bernard Magubane by examining the social and epistemological bases of his works on race, class and social inequality.

The research will seek to:

- Collate and critically engage with Professor Magubane's scholarly outputs on race, class and inequality.
- Undertake a textual analysis of his works and map the contours of his ideas as they developed over time.
- Pursue the above by situating Magubane's work within the wider milieu in which he operated as well as the intellectual debates within which we seek to make sense of his ideas. Rather than a venture in biography, I am more concerned with the biographical dimensions of his scholarship and the distinct contributions that can be gleaned from his ideas.
- Examine the epistemological bases of his work on race class and inequality, and his distinct contributions to South African Sociology.

1.3 Research motivation

This research is motivated by some important observations. Firstly, the invisibility of the works of prominent South African scholars (Magubane and Mafeje among many) in the sociological curriculum and debates in South Africa. Secondly, attempts to engage with the works of South African scholars, an examination of their works and contributions to the body knowledge, as I see it has not been done in a consistent way. An engagement with the works of prominent scholars is a necessity in increasing the visibility of works of excellence from

the South and it is also a way of liberating scholars from the western way of defining problem areas, methods and standards of excellence. This liberation comes from engaging with local knowledge whose relevance and importance lies in the cultural, ideological and political contexts embodied and conveyed by such knowledge. This avoids the danger of losing Africa's identity and of under developing or undervaluing the unique forms of knowledge from the South.

Given the wide acknowledgement of the scholarly works of Professor Magubane across the African social science community and North America, the absence of his works from the curriculum and debates in South Africa is intriguing. His 1968 paper ("Crisis of African Sociology" published in the *East African Journal*) and his 1971 paper ("A critical look at the indices used in the study of social change in Colonial Africa" published in *Current Anthropology*) were received with critical acclaim within the scholarly communities in Africa and North America; the latter paper established Bernard Magubane as a critical intellectual force. Judging by the curriculum in many of the sociology departments in South Africa, there is generally very limited knowledge of what Magubane contributed to the literature on race, class and inequality and this is in spite of the fact that his works are widely available in published form. This lack of critical engagement with the works of local scholars such as Magubane and Mafeje produces alienating curriculum. There is much in Magubane's works (particularly his literature on race, class and inequality) that deserves valorising as relevant literature in our class rooms.

On this ground alone, this study is an important act of "self-knowing." Transcending academic dependency in the new generation of South African sociologists and young academics requires an intellectual engagement with local scholars and valorising the works of such scholars. Beyond self-knowing, however, the study is also concerned with exploring the extent to which the body of his works on race, class and inequality represent what Connell (2007) called 'Southern theory'; a subversion of intellectual extraversion and an intellectual form of speaking back.

1.4. Research design and methodology

The overall design of the research is qualitative, located within an interpretive framework which is informed by social constructionism. This study is underpinned by several philosophical assumptions that come from the interpretive tradition and this implies a

subjective epistemology and ontological belief that reality is socially constructed. The assumption here is that knowledge is sustained by social process through daily interactions between people and the environment they live in (Burr, 1994:4).

The second assumption of the social constructionist paradigm is the 'historical and cultural specificity of knowledge', in other words, knowledge is socially and culturally embedded in the context in which it is created (Burr, 1994:4). The concerns of constructionism resonate with the interpretivist's emphasis on the world of experience as it is lived felt and undergone by social actors. This paradigm is particularly useful because it offers an opportunity to situate Professor Magubane's discourses in the wider context in which he worked, and which shaped his ideas. There is therefore a need to acknowledge Magubane's experiences and key events in his life as these help put into perspective the factors that contributed to his scholarship and works on race, class and inequality.

Gergen (1985:63) emphasises the importance of social processes in sustaining knowledge and points out that meanings are made through a relational process, which become embedded in ongoing ways of talking, which in turn may become accepted versions of reality in a particular local context. Gergen's (1985) concept of social constructionism also reflects the idea that the social world people create in the process of social exchange is a reality. This approach is predicated upon the assumption that the terms by which the world is understood and social artefacts are products of historically situated interchanges among people. The extent to which meanings continue to be accepted depends not simply on empirical validity but the day to day workings of social process in a particular time and place. What comes to be accepted as real serves a function within a particular historical and cultural context with no claim to truth beyond the context.

There is a high possibility that Professor Magubane acquired various ways of thinking by participating in different relationships in different contexts. Shotter (1993) pointed out that meanings are unlikely to remain constant since, as a consequence of our participation in different relationships, versions of reality are always open to further or revised specification offering the possibility of new meanings to emerge via a social process leading to a new or revised version of reality. It is therefore necessary to locate Magubane's discourse of race, class and social inequality in the wider context in which he worked, and which shaped his ideas. This study therefore situates Magubane's scholarship within his specific milieu and

doing this reveals that his writings did not develop in a vacuum. Neither did they arise independent of the complex dialectical realities, which informed his thoughts and concerning which he wrote. In fact those ideas make sense only when juxtaposed with, rather than separated or isolated from the complex interactions of social forces and the mode of production of his time (Arowesegebe, 2008:8).

The intensive analysis of Magubane's work and an exploration of his life and scholarship were framed within an interpretive paradigm which is characterised by assumptions such as knowledge is created through the fusion of the horizons being studied by a researcher. According to Neuman (1997:67-73), interpretive social science provides an underlying basic approach to society and social research which allows for understanding the 'movement', and emphasises a detailed reading or examination of text, referring to conversation, written words or pictures. Furthermore this happens by way of the researcher interpreting other people's meanings within a specific epistemology, social constructionism in this case, with values and prejudices playing a part in the interpretation (Scott, 1996).

The use of the interpretive framework in exploring the life and scholarship of professor Magubane made it imperative to give credence to the experiences and perspectives of Professor Magubane, not just what he did, but why he did it- the meaning attached to an action. The interpretive approach also gave insight into Professor Magubane's 'world by producing data which revealed the meanings, values, rules and interpretive schemes for his social reality.

Advantages and justification for the use of an interpretive social science to the study include its reflexive nature of agency and structure. Interpretive social science, being the "systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds" (Neuman, 1997:68), coincides with Giddens with regard to agency and reflexivity in that the lay agent participates in the creation of society. This approach therefore facilitates the exploration of the agent's understanding of his/her world and the implications of this understanding for the reflexive re-creation of social structures. The interpretive framework necessitated the use of content analysis of the scholarly outputs of Professor Magubane on race, class and inequality and this was supplemented with in-depth interviews which were conducted with Professor Magubane.

Content analysis is a systematic research method for analysing textual information in a standardized way that allows evaluators to make inferences about information (Weber, 1990: 9). Content analysis was used to summarise the formal content of Magubane's scholarly outputs on race class and inequality and these included his autobiography- *My Life and Times* (2010), *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (2007), *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979), *Race and The Construction of the Dispensable Other* (2007) and *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and The Union of South Africa* (1995).

Content analysis tends to allow for the vast accumulation of information and it was useful for examining patterns such as paradigm shifts in Magubane's conceptualisation of the development of racism in South Africa. Content analysis was supplemented with in-depth interviews which involved face to face interaction with Professor Magubane. Two sets of interviews were conducted by my supervisor, Professor Jimi Adesina and these interviews focused on the turning points in Professor Magubane's life and his interpretation of the events that have been significant in terms of the development of his ideas. These life history interviews were important in that they were an entry point into understanding the social, economic and political factors that shaped Professor Magubane's life and his scholarship. The interviews, though conducted before the content analysis of Professor Magubane's works, also allowed me to explore some tentative ideas that had risen during my initial content analysis of his published works.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 is a discussion of the context of the research. The qualitative, interpretive social science approach to the thesis is introduced and justified. The research question is outlined and data collection methods explained.

Chapter 2 provides a review of literature on academic dependency, a framework within which the research problem, the invisibility of African scholarship can be understood. The other forms of extraventions which are indices of this dependency are also discussed. More focus is placed on the indices of the invisibility of African scholarship, a research problem that this thesis seeks to address. The assumption here is that academic dependency functions in a way to perpetuate the marginalisation of African scholars as well as the invisibility of their scholarly outputs at both an international level and local level.

Chapter 3 examines the study's methodology. It provides a description of the research methods and techniques used in the study. The aim of the study is to explore the scholarship of professor Magubane by engaging with his works on race class and inequality. This is done through an analysis of his works on race, class and inequality as well as the interpretive analysis of data obtained from interviews conducted with him and his published biography- *My Life and Times* (2010). Qualitative research methods were conducted, with the use of in-depth interviews with Professor Magubane and content analysis of his four published scholarly out puts; *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979), *The making of a racist state: British imperialism and the Union of South Africa* (1995), *Race and The Construction of The Dispensable Other* (2007) and *My Life and times* (2010).

Chapter 4 is a review of literature on the race-class debate in South Africa. The development of the race-class debate and the conceptualisation of race, class and inequality in this debate are important in understanding the significant contributions of Professor Magubane to race, class and inequality studies in South Africa.

Chapter 5 chapter provides a discussion of various biographical factors, intellectual influences and inspirations which shaped Professor Magubane's life, his career and scholarship. It also traces the historical factors, experiences and contours which shaped his personality, worldviews and writings. It captures the range of issues, processes and developments which influenced different periods and aspects of his thoughts and the development of his theoretical orientations on race, class and inequality issues in South Africa

Chapter 6 provides a critical engagement with the works of Professor Bernard Magubane on the intersection of race, class and inequality. The books, *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979), *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and The Union of South Africa* (1996), and *Race and The Construction of the Dispensable Other* (2007) are thematically analysed in an attempt to show Magubane's conceptualisation of the subject of race.

Chapter 7 discusses Professor Magubane's contributions to knowledge production and this is done by locating his works within debates and literature on the subject of race, class and inequality.

Chapter 8 provides the conclusion and recommendations of the study

CHAPTER 2

KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND THE GLOBAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

2.1 Introduction

This section begins with the assumption that the concept of academic dependency provides an important framework within which the invisibility of the works of African scholars can be understood. Of great importance in this discussion is the global division of labour between social science communities in the North and South, which exists within the context of academic dependency, a notion elaborated on by Syed Alatas. For Alatas (2001:53), the idea of academic dependency linked Western and third world social scientists in ties that bind unevenly and unequally. Any attempt to define the global division of labour and academic dependency would therefore benefit from a prior discussion of a related idea, 'intellectual imperialism'. According to Alatas (2001:53), 'Intellectual imperialism' is a phenomenon that is analogous to economic and political imperialism meaning imperialist relations in the world of social sciences parallel those in the world of international political economy. Intellectual imperialism in this sense began in the colonial period with the setting up and direct control of schools, universities and publishing houses by the colonial powers in the colonies (Alatas, 2001). Hountondji (1990:2) makes the same argument and argues that the "third world is scientifically dependent in the same way as it is economically dependent". He attributes this dependency to the steady integration of the third world into the world wide process of intellectual production managed and controlled by the Northern Countries. Among the important consequences of this dependency noted by both Hountondji and Alatas is the absence of theoretical activity. This theoretical vacuum was just as specific to colonial scientific activity as the industrial vacuum was to economic activity. According to Hountondji (1990:8), "in the overall process of the production of knowledge, colonies functioned as immense data banks, as storehouses of bare facts and information that was exported to the ruling country, just as they used to serve as storehouses of raw materials that were exported to the same ruling countries." The forms of academic dependency in the colonial period will be discussed in detail but the important point to be made is the fact that colonial dependency has brought about changes that no longer allow us to denounce the "theoretical vacuum". Yet the question remains: what has emerged from these changes, how profoundly have they changed the relationship between North and South in the field of knowledge production and dissemination? In this section it will be argued that, despite all

these changes, knowledge production remains basically extraverted, alienated and dependent on an international division of labour that tends to make knowledge production a monopoly of the North, while confining Southern countries to the importing and application of these inventions. Although the main focus of this research is on addressing one of the indices of extraversion which is the invisibility of the works of scholars from the South, it is imperative to discuss the other related indices as well since all these indices are interdependent and affect the development of each other in one way or the other. The following section provides a discussion of the old forms of academic dependency which will be followed by a discussion of the new forms of academic dependency with a special focus on the invisibility of the works of African scholars.

2.2 Academic dependency and the global division of labour

The division of labour is historically a direct consequence of ‘intellectual imperialism’ but also in turn function to perpetuate academic neo-colonialism and dependency (Alatas, 2003:606). Historically, the production of knowledge in the social sciences can be traced back to the colonial period. This statement is not in any way to diminish the importance of pre-colonial knowledge; on the contrary, the whole matter is really about the fate of this pre-colonial heritage, its real place and status in the context of modern knowledge production in the social sciences. An understanding of the factors underlying the marginalization and the neglect of scholars from the South would benefit from a discussion of “academic imperialism”. According to Alatas (2003:600), academic imperialism is analogous to political and economic imperialism in that “there are imperialistic relations in the world of the social sciences that parallel those in the world of international political economy”. Academic imperialism in this sense began in the colonial period, with the setting up and direct control of universities and publishing houses by the colonial powers in the colonies.

This had consequences for the way of thinking and the production of knowledge in the colonies. Alatas (2000:24) argued that “the political and economic structure of imperialism generated a parallel structure in the way of thinking of the subjugated people”. This for Alatas was reflected in the parallel relationship between academic dependency and economic dependency. Garreau (1985:114-115) conceptualised academic dependency in the social sciences as the dependency of social science communities in the North on the ideas of western social science such that “research agendas, the definition of problem areas, methods

of research and standards of excellence are determined by or borrowed from the West”. Alatas (2001:603) considered the parallels between economic dependency and academic dependency as a “condition in which the social sciences of certain countries are conditioned by the development and growth of social sciences of other countries to which the former is subjected”.

Hountondji (1997:3) made the same observation and argued that the South was significantly dependent in much the same way as it was economically dependent and this was a manifestation of the steady integration of the third world into the world wide process of intellectual production managed and controlled by the Northern countries. Hountondji (1997) also acknowledged the parallel relationship between academic dependency and economic dependency in the colonies. He noted that the standard feature of economic activity in colonial territories was the practical absence of industry and a similar standard feature of scientific activity was the absence of theoretical work. The colonies were only involved in data collection of all ‘supposedly’ useful information, so that it could be immediately exported to west for theoretical/ experimental processing and interpretation (Hountondji, 1990:8). Apart from providing raw materials, Hountondji noted that colonies also served as outlets for industrial and other products from the metropolitan countries. Additionally, colonies specialised in the consumption of specific knowledge and products, in much the same way that they specialized in the consumption of finished industrial goods (Hountondji, 1997:3).

Colonial economy was in this sense extraverted or externally oriented since it was “organized in such a way that it responded to the demand of industries located elsewhere, and more generally, to the consumption needs of people in the ruling country”(Hountondji,1990:8). The lack of theoretical activity identified by Hountondji resulted in the dependency on ideas, a dimension of academic dependency highlighted by Alatas (1999). Like Hountondji, Alatas (2001:604) argued that “there is hardly any original theoretical analysis emerging from the third world. While he acknowledged that there is a significant amount of empirical work generated in the third world, he however argued that much of this takes its cues from the research in the west in terms of research agenda, theoretical perspectives and methods.”

Alatas (2000:31) warned about the dangers of academic dependency especially with regards to the lack of theoretical activity and the dependency on ideas. He noted that academic

dependency conditions the mental attitude of those who have been caught in its web and apart from encouraging docility it stifles creativity. The phenomenon of the ‘captive mind’ refers to a way of thinking dominated by Western thought in an imitative and uncritical manner. Alatas (2006:37) summarised the characteristics of the captive mind as the inability to devise original analytical methods, alienation from the main issues of indigenous societies, uncritical imitation of western social science manifested in the areas of problem selection, choice of research methods as well as the levels of theory and substantive work.

Altbach (1978) actually argues that the ‘captive mind’ is a kind of intellectual bondage that is not directly brought about by intellectual imperialism, rather it is self induced. In brief, a captive is one who is imitative and uncreative and whose thinking is based on western categories and modes of thought. This self-induced captivity is the result of the overwhelming preponderance of western intellectual influence on the rest of the worlds. This form of self imposed dependency forms what Hountondji (1990) referred to as new forms of scientific dependency that still persists even in the post-colonial period. Academic dependency has therefore remained a problem in the South despite the growth of higher education and this is partly because of the shortage of research funds, the prominent role of international donors and the growing influence of citation indexes which all create this division of labour and dependency in new ways. The new forms of academic dependency can be understood in terms of a broad-spectrum of problems being faced by the African intellectuals and the predicament they find themselves in.

2.3 The predicament of African intellectuals and the crisis of knowledge production

Political independency has however brought about a change both in the economies of the former colonies as well as the field of knowledge production. Hountondji (1990:9) noted that “we have by all means left behind the heyday of the colonial pact, when economic life in our countries was totally devoid of industry”. Hountondji acknowledged that scientific activity is no longer marked by an absolute lack of theoretical facilities and endeavour since political independency has brought about an increase in the number of research facilities and sometimes an improvement in their quality. He further elaborated on the current situation in the academic field and pointed out that “we now have more and more scientists and academics, better and better equipped laboratories, enhanced scientific potentialities that no

longer allow us to denounce the “theoretical vacuum” in Africa.” In spite of all these developments, Hountondji argues that

Scientific activity remains basically extraverted, alienated and dependent on an international division of labour that tends to make scientific invention a monopoly of the North while confining Southern countries to the importing and applications of these inventions (Hountondji, 1990:9).

Hountondji acknowledged the change in the North South divide between academic communities and pointed out that

One thing has certainly changed, in a number of sectors, the periphery (the south) is no longer exporting raw, untreated data because the preliminary process of transformation is increasingly taking place there (Hountondji, 1990).

He further argues that the multiplication of facilities for intellectual and scientific production in the peripheral countries has however mainly served to facilitate the export of information and has thus intensified data outflow and pushed ‘traditional’ knowledge to the fringes of respectability, thereby reinforcing and deepening the dependency of the periphery on the centre (Hountondji, 1990, 1996).

According to Hountondji, scientific extroversion in Africa can be observed in a number of steps. While he originally mentions at least thirteen of them, more focus will be placed on the last one which forms the research problem in this study. The other indices are however important in the development of the last indices which is the lack of communication among scholars from Africa, and for this reason they need to be explained in detail. The new forms of academic dependency identified by Hountondji and other scholars are explained in the section that follows. These indices can best be understood in terms of the centre-periphery relationships between the North and the South research communities.

The starting point of this section is that a centre periphery model seems to be a valid tool for the description and comprehension of academic dependency and the global division of labour in the process of social scientific knowledge production, diffusion, reception and scholarly communication at both an international level and local level. From a global perspective, sociologies in Western Europe for instance and the United States appear to constitute the centre of the discipline, whereas those from the South, despite claims of internationalisation and globalisation of the discipline, occupy today a rather peripheral position. According to Keim (2008:23), there are a number of reasons for and multiple manifestations of the

hierarchical relationship between scholarly communities, their institutions and their research output. One of the reasons is that, after decolonisation, the structures of scientific dependency more often than not remained intact. Several authors address these current issues in terms of the centre-periphery relationship. Hountondji links the present situation of the sciences in the global south to historical subordination.

Drawing on dependency and world systems theory, Hountondji understands underdevelopment in the south as a consequence of their historical annexation to the world market and transposes this explanatory scheme to the domain of scientific development (Hountondji, 1990:7 & Hountondji, 1994:2). Keim (2008:27) argues that knowledge production in Africa in general occupy a marginal position within the international scholarly community. He argues that intellectual output in Africa generally lack intellectual recognition, and not only are they ignored in the rest of the world, but that ignorance is not even considered to be a problem. Additionally, they rely on institutions and scholarly production of the centre; either because they have no local alternative-in this case marginality combines with underdevelopment and dependency- or because they remain oriented, despite local alternatives, to locations in the international field that is regarded as more prestigious. The following section provides a discussion of factors and manifestations of marginalisation and dependency that are mentioned in the literature; invisibility of African scholarship, forms and dimensions of the unequal division of social scientific labour and the problems of the different forms of extraversion.

2.3.1 Lack of original theory building and the unequal division of scientific labour

According to Keim (2008:27), African intellectual production in general occupies a marginal position within the international scholarly community. Marginality also refers to the function that scholarly communities perform within global knowledge production. Hountondji points to an unequal global division of labour, which dates back to the colonial period and parallels economic and geopolitical centre –periphery structures (Hountondji, 2001:2). Alatas S.F. differentiates between three levels of this division of labour: the division between theoretical and empirical intellectual labour, the division between other country studies and the division between comparative and single case studies (Alatas, 2003:607). According to the generally accepted hierarchies of knowledge, the Social Sciences of the global South produce

knowledge only at the lower levels of abstraction and generalisation, whereas the North holds almost a monopoly on prestigious comparative research and general theory building, i.e. the more universalising social sciences knowledge (Sitas, 2006). Keim (2008:32) noted that empirical research on the North-South inequalities revealed that the South is mainly involved in data collection whilst scholars from the north were more involved in the central tasks of conceptualisation, interpretation, theory building and publication. This problem is well known among African scientists (Hountondji, 1990, 1994, 2001; Sitas, 2006) as well as Mkandawire who considers it to be of particular importance, also referring to the fact that it is mostly regional specialists who are interested in social and scientific research in and on Africa (Mkandawire, 1989:2).

Hountondji (1990) argued that the “means of production” for theory-building have to be imported, as a result scholars spend their time imitating, trying to be accepted and trying to gain approval from the group from whom they look up to. For him the African problem is the lack of the second stage which is the processing of data. With regards to the importation of theories, Hussein Alatas (2008:29) warns that we should not close our minds to genuine knowledge from any part of the world; however we should assimilate as much as possible from all sources, from all parts of the world. He nevertheless cautions that this should be done with an independent spirit, without turning our back on our own intellectual heritage, and at the same time he warns that we should still possess individuality and a sense of independency, rather than an imitative personality. Hussein (2008) argues that the importation of theories and dependency in this sense stifles creativity and encourages docility.

Dependency in this sense results in what Hussein Alatas referred to as the ‘captive mind’. According to Alatas (2006:10), the ‘captive mind’ merely extends the application of the western social sciences to its own setting without the appropriate adaptation of the imported ideas to a particular setting or context, an indication of continuing intellectual domination. The captive mind refers to a way of thinking that is dominated by western thought in an imitative and uncritical manner. Among the characteristics of the captive mind are the inability to be creative and raise original problems, the inability to devise original analytical methods and alienation from the main issues of indigenous society. According to Alatas (2000), the ‘captive mind’ is trained almost entirely in the western societies, reads the works of western authors and is taught predominantly by western teachers, either directly or through

their works. It is the 'captive mind' that uncritically imitates western social science and this is manifested in the areas of problem selection, choices of research methods, as well as the levels of theory and substantive work. The 'captive mind' is a kind of intellectual bondage that is not directly brought about by academic imperialism, it is self-induced and it is the result of the overwhelming preponderance of western intellectual influence on the rest of the world. Alatas (2001) conceptualised the extent to which imported approaches influence the development of a 'captive mind' and the lack of originality.

He pointed out that "the lack of originality does not lie in the appropriation of western thought per se but rather in the uncritical and imitative manner in which western knowledge is assimilated" (2001:8). The scholarly writings of the 'captive mind' have many negative aspects that affect the nature of the knowledge that is produced. According to Alatas (2001:8), knowledge produced by the captive mind is inapplicable due to the non-accordance between assumptions and reality hence the practical problem of inapplicability of theories, concepts and models. The lack of originality and inapplicability further suggest the alienation of knowledge produced from its context.

This lack of original theory building and importation of theories also results in the domination of external values since the universities in the South for instance, are closely tied to the northern dominated systems and also many of the norms and values of the academic profession in the North have been adopted by the South (Altbach, 2003:6). The third world looks to the North for validation of academic quality and respectability. For example academics are expected to publish in Northern academic journals in their disciplines and promotion often depends on such publication. Even when local scholarly publications exist, they are not respected. While it is understandable that small and relatively new academic systems may wish to have external validation of the works of their scholar and scientists, such reliance has implications for the scholars- for instance scholars might have to be guided by the methodological and topical predilections of their immediate colleagues and as a result less interested in the work done by third world authors.

Moreover the authors are also at a distinct disadvantage because they do not have access to the library and laboratory facilities available at the major universities of the north (Altbach, 2003:6). Thus in many ways, 3rd world academics rely on the North to validate their academic work. In most respects, academics in South look to the north for both validation

and models of higher education development and professional norms. An over reliance on these norms distorts academic development and introduces unrealistic expectations for institutions and for the academic profession. (Altbach, 2003:7).

From the nature of the problem generated by the captive mind, it is obvious that an intellectual emancipation movement should take place. The development of an autonomous social science is necessary if we are to do away with the captive mind and other problems associated with academic dependency. Imitative thinking arises from overdependence on the western intellectual contribution in the various fields of knowledge, not so much at the practical level of the applied science, but at the level of intellectual reflections, planning, conceptualisation and the need to establish a genuine and autonomous social science tradition. While others opted for the indigenization of the social sciences, which again is a way of addressing academic dependency, Hussein Alatas (1995: 4) rejects the notion of indigenization as opposed to autonomous development of the social sciences, or any science for that matter.

His main argument for this stance was based on the belief that a social science cannot be indigenized but only its application that is the production of knowledge. He goes further as to assert that indigenization of the social sciences is, in reality, actually impossible. Though indigenisation cannot apply to the sciences, it can however apply to their use. Therefore, indigenization of knowledge production should not be confused with indigenization of the social sciences. In what follows, indigenization is to be understood in the context of the different levels at which it can be carried out and these include among other aspects, the level of ontological assumptions, epistemology and empirical theory.

Indigenization is a loose category that subsumes the works of various authors from a variety of disciplines in the social sciences, all of which are concerned with the problem of irrelevancy and the generation of alternative scientific traditions. The Indigenisation project seeks to contribute to the universalisation of the social sciences by not acknowledging but insisting that all cultures, civilizations and historical experiences must be regarded as sources of ideas. This it does by being self conscious of cultural dependency and ethnocentrism (Kim, 1996). Without indigenization projects throughout the world, it is one set of indigenous (western) discourse that dominates.

Furthermore, the project of indigenization is to be carried out at the level of ontological assumptions, epistemology and axiology, and empirical theory (Kim, 1996). While the various calls for indigenization, nationalisation, endogenous intellectual creativity, decolonization, globalization, or sacralisation of the social sciences may come under different names, what they have in common is the effort to critique and transcend the Eurocentric and Orientalist elements that inform the social sciences. Alatas (2001) refers to these as alternative discourses because they set themselves in contrast or oppose what they would define as mainstream and largely Euro- American-oriented discourses.

Alatas (2001:18) defines alternative discourses as works that attempt to debunk ideas that have become entrenched in the social sciences, partly as a result of colonialism and the continuing Euro centrism in the social sciences. The term alternative discourses should be understood as a descriptive and collective term referring to that set of discourses that had emerged in opposition to what was understood to be mainstream, Euro American social science. The aims and objectives of alternative discourses are not to be understood simply in negative terms that are in terms of a de linking from metropolitan, neo-colonialist control. It should also be understood in a positive way that is in terms of the contribution on non-Western systems of thought to theories and ideas. Non western thought and cultural practices are to be seen as sources of theorising, while at the same time Western knowledge is not to be rejected in toto.

Being alternative thus requires the turn to indigenous philosophies, epistemologies, histories, art and other modes of knowledge, which are all potential sources of social science theories and concepts. Such activities are deemed to decrease intellectual dependency on the core social science powers. Nevertheless, most observers and proponents of alternative discourses do not understand this as constituting a rejection of Western social science. For example, Hettne (1991:39) suggests that the solution to academic imperialism is not altogether doing away with Western concepts but to adopt a more realistic understanding of western social science as reflecting particular geographic and historical context. What is alternative in this case is that which is relevant to its surroundings, creative, non imitative and original, non-essentialist, counter-Eurocentric, autonomous from the state, and autonomous from the national or transnational groupings. Academic dependency shapes African scholarship in so many ways, however it is important to note that attempts were made in the past and are still made to address this problem.

In the preceding section various diagnoses of the state of the social sciences was described. In addition to such works that carried out assessments of the state knowledge, there have also been prescriptions of one variety or another of alternative discourses to serve as correctives to the type of social sciences that had been introduced during colonial times. Both indigenous and endogenous developments are required in the effort to develop relevant social sciences (Alatas, 1995:92). The emancipation of the mind from the shackles of 'intellectual imperialism' is the major condition for the development of a creative and autonomous social science tradition in developing societies. The call to indigenization is a call to go beyond simply tackling local problems with sporadic attempts to modify western concepts and theories. The call to indigenization suggests that it is possible to create bodies of knowledge based on the indigenous culture in the same way that Western social science is based on western historical experience and cultural practices (Alatas, 1995:90).

On that note it goes without saying that there are scholars in the African context who have contributed significantly to indigenous knowledge production on the African context. The works of Diop, Obenga and Oyewumi are examples of such indigenous and distinct epistemic contributions which do not ascribe to the theory of the 'captive' mind. Debates on Egyptology, ancient Egypt and black Africa highlight the important role of African scholars who are at the centre of knowledge production. Theories formulated by Diop and Obenga have continued to make an impact that has displaced the Eurocentric bias in Egyptology. Diop's work belongs to the growing body of research that attest to the African origin of Egyptian civilization and it is an attack on the integrity of western Egyptology. Diop almost single handedly turned the intellectual tables on a tradition (Egyptology), that for the most part had seen Africa as a subset of the European experience. Diop's contribution to African scholarship rest essentially on his re-interpretation of perspective upon the facts that gave him new and powerful answers to the puzzles in African historiography and cultural studies. His intellectual arguments were directed toward the support of the thesis that the Pharaonic Egyptians were black. He demonstrated the anteriority of Egypt to other African civilizations and the commonality or universality of the African cultural experience in the continent. In his works, Diop tries to solve the puzzle of the origin and the nature of African unity and he takes on leading American and European thinkers in an attempt to show the inadequacy of their arguments in relation to the unity of African culture. Indeed, where European and American scholars had argued that there were many cultures, Diop shows that the variety of

African experiences gravitate around a single matriarchal centre. His argument unfolds on the basis of linguistic, philosophical and cultural evidence and this is the very essence of an Afrocentric outlook.

The works of Oyeronke and Oyewumi are also important in that they do not ascribe to the theory about the ‘captive mind’ looking for affirmation by scholars from the North who specialise in gender studies. These scholars hope that by focusing on an African episteme, they will avoid any dependency on European theoretical paradigms. Oyewumi has highlighted the point that at present, gender scholarship is predominantly dominated by Western feminist scholars as they present the source of much knowledge on women and gender hierarchies. ¹Due to their efforts, gender has become one of the most important analytic categories in the academic enterprise of describing the world and the political business of prescribing solutions. Thus, whilst the quest for understanding cannot ignore the role of western feminist, we must question social identity, concerns, and race and class interests of the purveyors of such knowledge.

Some of the key questions that have been raised include: “can gender, or indeed patriarchy, be applied to non- European cultures? Can we assume that social relations in all societies are organised around biological sex difference? Is the male body in African societies seen as normative and therefore a conduit for the exercise of power? Is the female body inherently subordinate to the male body? What are the advantages and disadvantages of using explanatory categories developed within the North to understanding different African realities? (Oyewumi, 2007). These questions are addressed by the Nigerian theorists Oyeronke Oyewumi in which she argues that gender looms so large in the lives of white women to the exclusion of other factors like race which African women consider fundamental (Oyewumi,2004:2-3). On this note, she claims that gender is first and foremost socio-cultural construct and on this basis, Oyewumi emphasises the difference amongst women and the need to theorise multiple forms of oppression particularly where inequalities of race, gender and class are evident.

¹ Oyewumi, O. 2004. ‘Conceptualising gender: Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies.’ *CODESRIA, African Gender Scholarship: Concepts, Methodologies and Paradigms*. Dakar

2.3.2 The dominance of academic discourse by countries of the North

According to Evans and Seeber (2000:180), this is probably the most complex and the most difficult of all the problems facing South African and African scholars in general. Like Hountondji, they argue that we remain colonised in academic life and this is particularly because of a striking fact that African studies, including African studies, as scholarly discipline is conducted largely in the UK and the USA. The history of African scholarship in colonial and post colonial times, Paul Zeleza claims, demonstrates a strong movement from colonial universalism, dominated by the west, towards nationalism, operating in a developmental paradigm. African scholars working within Africa tend to focus on local studies, and there are few who undertake comparative and regional research. This remains the preserve of American and European African scholars, including Africans in the diaspora (Zeleza, 1997:92-3). The dominance of academic discourse in the South African context has also been compounded by the failure of South African academic writers, on the whole, to find a truly African voice. Hemmed in by the academic boycott and cocooned by international isolation, academic authors in the humanities and social sciences-the essential terrain of the university press became more microscopic in their focus. Broadly based comparative studies, which might reach a lucrative international market, have been most notable for their absence on the South African scene (Gray, 2000:182).

2.3.3 Permanent scientific tourism

According to Grusovnik (2008:128), the natural consequence of this state of affairs is “academic nomadism” a condition whereby scholars are permanently forced to travel abroad in order to conduct research. From this perspective, the much discussed brain drain that takes Southern intellectuals on a Northward trip reveals a novel aspect. *Brain drain* is an extreme consequence of this tourism and it is also a complete expatriation of homeland scholars to foreign countries. Hountondji (1997:9) further elaborates on this and points out that this phenomenon of the brain drain is an existential expression of the general extroversion of our intellectual life. Hountondji (1990:10) notes that institutional nomadism is by no means the monopoly of the African or third world scholar but it is also the usual condition of the scholars from France, Britain German and many other countries insofar as these scholars too are increasingly attracted to countries like the United States, and more rarely Japan.

Poor working conditions in the institutions of higher learning in Africa has resulted in a mass exodus of scholars whose scholarly publications have addresses of foreign countries. Reasons for these migrations include among other factors, low and eroding wages and salaries, unsatisfactory living conditions, social unrest, political conflicts and wars and declining quality of educational systems, lack of research and other facilities, inadequacy of research funds and lack of professional equipment and tools (Zezeza, 2005). The desire to do better research is not the only reason why scholars from Africa and the third world choose to expatriate. Yet beyond the many subjective motivations of individual scholars, beyond the economic, political and other objective factors that may account for the expatriation of scholars, the process is also, from a macro-sociological standpoint, an inevitable consequence of the international relations of production in the field of science and technology (Hountondji, 1990:11).

A thorough understanding of academic dependency requires an assessment of the role played by African intellectuals in knowledge production as well as their experiences. The study of intellectuals has gained currency during the last decade and this interest in intellectuals was sparked partly by anxiety over the brain drain (2008:1). Ki-Zerbo (cited in Mkandawire,2005:79) argued that “ in the domain of ideas and spiritual hegemony, the intellectual is indeterminate, independent, critical called upon to change, to overtake and bypass others and this is the source of his grandeur and misery, and one of the reason why he is an alligator at ease in every river or ill.” Ki-zerbo makes a very important observation and pointed out that intellectuals can play a positive or negative role in the society.

“Like the griot, they can successively destroy and edify, magnify or drag one and the same person through the mud” (Ki-Zerbo cited in Mkandawire, 1995:79). (Mkandawire (1995) portrayed this community of intellectuals, in rather broad strokes by dividing it into three generations of scholars trained in the post-colonial era. The purpose of this section is to discuss the characteristics of the different generations. The generational changes had both temperamental and intellectual implications for scholarship in general. If academic dependency is to be addressed, the knowledge production issues of each generation have to be identified and dealt with accordingly.

These generations have witnessed changes in their countries’ economic fortunes and political trajectories, as well as cultural and societal transformation. All these factors have impinged

on the nature and meaning of academic careers of the intellectuals (Mkandawire, 1995:75). Although distinctions can be drawn from the three generations, it is however important to note that generations are not neatly separated into discrete groups as suggested by Mkandawire. It is important not to put African intellectuals in a bracket for they in some way or other have different histories that have shaped their scholarships. Grouping them according to generations makes it easier to understand how their careers developed and it also portrays a better understanding of the issues that have impacted on their scholarship where knowledge production is concerned.

1) First Generation

Some of the scholars in this generation consist of scholars who were educated by missionaries. They influenced Professor Bernard Magubane whose intellectual heritage is also defined by them. A prime example here is William Ngidi whose intellectual interventions during discussions with Bishop Colenso of the Anglican Church led to a huge outcry in England with Disraeli proclaiming a wish to meet this “savage” who has influenced Bishop John William Colenso to ask uncomfortable questions about inhuman conditions fostered by colonisation and imperialism.² This group also consists of scholars who went abroad immediately before or after independence. Most of these were to return home to constitute the first significant presence in the African teaching and research scene. According to Mkandawire (1995:75), this generation was largely produced abroad through such programmes as the African students programme in American universities. They were also to provide the first set of indigenous scholars in the indigenization of African universities. Their return was motivated by both material and moral incentives. The academic standing of a considerable number of this group was high, having had articles accepted in major journals and books published by international publishers attracted by the vibrancy of their work and the financial well being of area studies in American and European universities.

Members of this generation enjoyed international recognition and even to this day those still academically active continue to have access to the international academic community. It was this generation which was responsible for the setting up of such pan African research networks and institutions as CODESRIA, and in the early years these networks reflected the

² Guy, J. 1997. ‘Class, Imperialism and Literacy Criticism: William Ngidi, John Colenso and Matthew Arnold.’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23(2):219-241.

understanding and the needs of this generation. This first generation was self-consciously anti-neo-colonial and considered decolonisation of national institutions and of the intellectual terrain as major tasks. They were also pre-occupied with problems of intellectual dominance and the continued dependency of their respective countries on their erstwhile colonial masters.

According to Mkandawire (2005), this first generation of intellectuals accepted the development agenda of the political class and joined the quest to join the unholy trinity of poverty, ignorance and disease. He called this a period of affirmation of the nationalist project and rejection of imperial intellectual domination and neo-colonial machinations. Intellectual independency was an aspiration that was quite broadly shared in African intellectual circles and across the entire ideological spectrum. The independence sought ranged from the simple right to set out research agenda or identify problems specific to circumstances to a fundamental question of the basis over which the West had captured the epistemological ground and how it had come to know Africans, or as an extreme, to invent them (Mkandawire, 2003:5).

According to Mkandawire (2008: 276) these intellectuals emerged during the late 1970's and this era was an era of affirmation of the nationalist project and rejection of imperial intellectual domination and neo-colonial machinations. The significance of this generation of scholars lies in the fact that it was amongst the first to reject imperial intellectual domination and colonial machinations. With regards to the production of knowledge about Africa and on Africa, the first generation of scholars focused on proving that Africa had a history, and such tended to focus on written documents, grand monuments and themes familiar to most of their peers in the United States and European institutions they had attended. Over time, however, they began to worry about the fact that the histories they were writing bore no relationship to those recounted and remembered by Africans themselves. They became concerned that their interpretations, while possibly "accurate" in a broad sense, were neither relevant to Africans nor captured the meanings of the past to Africans. In South Africa, this was located in the changing roles of South African historians in the struggle against formal apartheid and its legacies over the last few decades. The profession of history for instance, for much of the twentieth century, was dominated in turn by English-language British imperial histories and Afrikaans-language which intellectually propped up decades of white rule. However, some of the scholars in the first generation challenged this and began to retell the history of the

country and this marked the early stages of the Africanisation of South African history and a shift away from ethnocentric and particularly white ethnocentric approaches

ii) Second generation

The second generation who also form part of Professor Magubane's intellectual heritage are also missionary educated Africans from the then British colony of Natal. They went abroad to pursue further education at Universities and institutions of higher education, particularly in the United States and Britain. They include the renowned Dr John Mavuma Nembula, the first African in South Africa to qualify as a medical doctor. Other prominent figures include Pixley Isaka ka Seme, Alfred Mangena and Richard W.Msimang, to name a few. The second generation of intellectuals who influenced Professor Magubane also include those who did not pursue further education abroad. One outstanding figure is Solomon Thekiso Plaatje whose book *Native Life in South Africa* was described by Magubane as one of the best books on Sociology published in South Africa. In his autobiography, Professor Magubane also cites this book in explaining the impact of colonialism on his family, particularly the way his father and grandparents were evicted from their land³. Quoting from Plaatje, Professor Magubane noted that "overnight all Africans became foreigners in the land of their ancestors",⁴ and this is how his grandparents and his father became squatters on the farm he was born in 1930. The second and third generation are important in terms of understanding revolutionary theories that underpin peace studies, studies on human and social rights. Intellectuals belonging to these generations are also the main propagators of cutting edge theories in internationalism, anti-colonial resistance and liberation struggles throughout the world

iii) Third generation

The third generation to influence Magubane was educated within the borders of South Africa, particularly at the University of Fort Hare. It is this generation that is assuming the reins of power in the universities and beginning to constitute the medium to senior levels of the academic hierarchy. They include Professor Z. K Matthews and Govan Mbeki, among others. Professor Magubane's political imagination was imprinted by the radical and political

³ Magubane, B. 2010. *My Life and Times*. Scottsville, South Africa : University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. Pp 4

⁴ Plaatje, S.T. 1982. *Native Life in South Africa: Before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

tradition promulgated in the pages of *Liberation magazine* by outstanding figures such as Govan Mbeki. In a key note address delivered by the Deputy President of the republic of South Africa – Kgalema Motlante, he pointed out that in the pages of the liberation publications, the writers were concerned to define the conditions of oppression and chart the historical basis of discriminatory practices. To these intellectual activists, he noted, it was not enough to simply describe the social circumstances without appreciating the structural conditions that deprived the majority of people of their human rights. The materialist conception of history which Professor Magubane embraces therefore draws to the fact that in every generation, intellectuals emerge who manage to interpret the social conditions under which they live and accordingly, develop a clear vision to a better future.

Members of the third generation also include Dr Bhambata (or sometimes known as Benedict) Wallet Vilakazi, the first African to obtain a PhD at a South African University. He received his doctoral degree at the University of Witwatersrand in 1945 but never officially attained the status of a lecturer at the said University.⁵ In terms of scholarly contributions, Vilakazi served as a role model to all the students at Marriannahill and Africa in general. Vilakazi together with his contemporaries published in African languages for more than sixty years before Ngugi discovered the virtues of such an empowering approach. In 1933, Vilakazi released his first novel *Nje nempela* ("Really and Truly"), one of the first works of Zulu fiction to treat modern subject matter. He followed it in 1935 with the novel *Noma nini* as well as a poetry collection *Inkondlo kaZulu*, the first publication of Western-influenced Zulu poetry. Whilst working at the University of Witwatersrand in 1936 he also created a Zulu English dictionary with C.M. Duke. Vilakazi's teaching position made him the first black South African to teach white South Africans at the university level. The third generation also includes those who were not necessarily University educate, the likes of Chief Albert Luthuli, who was very instrumental to Magubane's politicization.⁶

iv) Fourth Generation

The fourth generation intellectuals include the highly educated ANC youth leaguers such as Joe Matthews, OR Tambo, Walter Sisulu, and Nelson Mandela (all three were also educated

⁵ Peterson, B. 2000 *Monarchs, missionaries and African intellectual: African theatre and the unmaking of colonial marginality*. Johannesburg, Wits University Press.

⁶Magubane, B. 2010. *My Life and times*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of Kwa Zulu Natal Press. Pp 27

at the University of Fort Hare). This group also includes the like Of Mazisi Kunene who was Magubane's mentor and colleague at the University of Natal. Members of this group had a profound effect On Magubane's Life as they influenced his love for politics and particularly the need to write about the struggle. This generation also include friends such as Jordan Ngubane, Harriet Ngubane and Martin Legassick, accomplished scholars in their own right, all of whom were based in the USA and had different ideological orientation to Magubane. For example, though both Harriet and Jordan later joined the IFP, they remained on friendly terms with Magubane for they studied together at the University of Natal. This generation also form part of elaborate and incisive analysis in SADET Volumes 1 and 2 on the *Road to Democracy in South Africa* and their voices loom large and are captured in discussions about particular events.

2.3.4 Adjusted audience

The problem of an adjusted audience is in most cases concurrent to the challenge of publishing books with a potential international market. The need to publish books with a broad appeal and international readership influences the selection of topics that are too narrowly regionally focussed and which appeal to the interest of international readers. This to a larger extent involves selling Africa to the rest of the world, and publishing most works in African studies. Academic credibility requires a global focus and the most appropriate response to globalisation, from an academic point of view, is not simply to import international products and ideas, but to introduce the African dimension into the global debate (Evans and Seeber 2000:180).

The unequal division of labor, often combined with local scientific development problems (the lack of integration into scholarly communities, isolation as well as communication infrastructure) and the prestige of institutions in the centre, have a combined effect on the cognitive level of sociological knowledge production. These factors lead to what Hountondji neither called 'extraversion', referring to the fact that African scholarly production is oriented neither towards the local peers nor to one's own society, but towards the overseas public (cf. the works of Hountondji). Extraversion manifests itself in the choice of research topics and in the degree of generalization that, according to Hountondji, are oriented towards the interests of the North Atlantic audience: "This is one of the most pernicious forms of extraversion: theoretical, or socio-theoretical extraversion, the fact that we allow the content of our

scientific production, the questions we pose, and the way we deal with them to be pre-oriented, pre-determined by the expectations of our potential readers' (Hountondji 1990 : 11).

An awareness of the fact that their publications will be read more in the North than in the South causes scholars from the South to address issues that are primarily of interest to a Western public, and in one way or another, relevant to the state of knowledge in the West (Hountondji, 1990:11). This fact represents a special problem: "African philosophers will tend to accept the foreign perspective of the western public- and therefore predetermine their thinking" (Grusovnik, 2008:121). By this, Grusovnik (2008:121) argues that they will actually not only select which issues to address and which themes to pronounce more than others, but will also try to find answers to them from a foreign perspective. Once again genuine theory-building stage is missing and we face only data collection and application phases.

According to Mlambo (2007:18), this dependence on knowledge imported from the North has serious implications for the African people's self image and pride in Africa's institutions and practices. As Mugambi correctly observes, where knowledge is generated and packaged is very important because of the cultural and, ideological, political contexts which it embodies and conveys. Africa as a net importer of published knowledge generated above, runs the danger of losing its identity and of under developing and under valuing its own unique forms of knowledge (Mlambo, 2007:18). Moreover, adds Mlambo (2007:18) "in the quest to combat 'truthful lies' about Africa, it is important that knowledge of Africa must reflect on Africa's reality not as constructed through Eurocentric prisms, but through a deep emersion of Africa's popular realities". For Mlambo (2007:19), this also means that it is important for African scholarship to investigate African solutions to African problems. To put it differently, good and valuable scholarship on Africa should be rooted in African realities, drawing on the African lived experience and knowledge and relevant to African concerns. It should therefore inform policy and help develop strategies to address the problems and challenges confronting African societies. In addition, "Africa must make its own unique contribution to world knowledge and forge the 'theoretical and philosophical lenses through which Africa can be truthfully understood" (Obi, 2001).

2.3.5 The lack of communication among Southern scholars and the invisibility of African scholarship.

According to Grusovnik (2008:121), communication among third world scholars is currently missing in the face of expropriation to the North. Hountondji (1990:13) argues that African scholars are much more involved in a vertical exchange with scholars from the North than in a horizontal exchange with their fellow scholars from the South, hence the non existence of any internal space for scientific discussions or debates. Hountondji's idea of *communication among Third World scholars*, mentioned above, bears much resemblance to Dussels's idea of South South dialogue. The Lack of communication among scholars results in the marginalisation of their works. Publishing trends in International bibliometric databases among other factors are indicators of this marginality and they are also instruments of this marginalisation.

According to Ondari-Okemwa (2007:16), Scholarly publications emanating from sub Saharan Africa and the entire African continent lack visibility. Such publications may appear in prestigious journals in the North, but they are hardly noticed by scholars in the North. Not many scholars in the North cite such publications, leading to the publications getting buried in an obscure corner of the world output of knowledge. Scholarly publishing is a fundamental aspect of research dissemination and knowledge sharing process and authors of scholarly publications come from diverse backgrounds of scholarly traditions and writing dispositions. It is the aspiration of every scholar to publish in top peer refereed scholarly journals, normally of international standing. Many scholars from southern Africa never get to publish their articles in top referred international journals, leading to invisibility of scholarly publishing emanating from the South (Ondari-Okemwa, 2007:17)

A common method of measuring the contribution of individual scholars or of a given scientific communities to the advancement of their disciplines is scietometry, especially bibliometry. According to Keim, the conventional usage of bibliometric databases to measure scholarly production is however questionable, especially with regards to countries of the South since these databases cover by definition "those products of scholarly labour that have already had considerable 'international impact', i.e. the most frequently cited ones, thus creating a vicious cycle were only those that are recognised have chance to gain even higher visibility" (Keim, 2008:28). An analysis of these databases with regards to the origin of

articles show that the included scholarly production is highly concentrated geographically and thus can serve as an indicator of the marginality.

Keeping in mind the sources for errors, which bibliometric analyses can hardly avoid, an evaluation of the visibility of national social science literature nevertheless produces critical results. Keim (2008:29) cautions that instead of erroneously taking these results as the reflection of scholarly production, they should be understood as indications of the degree of centrality or marginality of given national communities. The producers of bibliometric databases, through their criteria of selection, determine which social; science communities are central and constitute the mainstream, and which are supposedly of no interest to the international community. Insofar they have to be understood as an indicator of marginality and at the same time as an instrument of marginalization, strengthening the domination of the North. Keim (2008:27) gave an example of a small database, DARE, containing social science journals from all over the world and he noted that DARE is not representative. He also analysed two other databases SSCI and FRANCIS sociological abstracts which ignored two of the long standing and probably most prestigious journals of the continent, CODESRIA's 'Africa Development' and the former 'South African Sociological Review, today 'African Sociological Review' edited by CODESRIA as well. This Keim (2008:30) argues, confirms the hypothesis that African social science production is highly marginalised within the international mainstream.

Knowledge is a critically important element of any society as it contributes to economic growth, technological development and political communication. Knowledge is created by many agencies such as universities, and distributed through many channels- books, journals. Also knowledge is preserved by libraries, universities and institutions (Altbach 1978: 301). The publishing of research output is very important for the dissemination of knowledge as it greatly reduce the cost of acquiring literature from the North, promote a reading culture and a tradition of research among scholars in Africa and redress the marginalization of African knowledge's by Northern scholarship and encourage the development in Africa of a uniquely African epistemological and research tradition. The following section explores the challenges facing scholarly publishing in Africa in relation to the invisibility of works from the South, and also argues for the importance of strengthening the production and dissemination of knowledge among Scholars from the South.

2.3.6 The case for promoting African scholarship and overcoming the invisibility of works from the South

According to Bgoya (2007:2), one of the issues in scholarly publishing is its marginalisation internationally. This for Bgoya is partly a reflection of the low volume of production, although he argues, “ even if there had been greater interests in western academic institutions for African books, the scarcity should have given rise to greater demand of every African scholarly contribution” (Bgoya,2007:2). Despite claims to the contrary, the international book market place is only marginally interested in African books. The predominant attitude of the European and American book trades from buyers to book sellers to librarians is at best to disregard African intellectuals’ output and at worst to deny any place in international knowledge production to Africa and the Africans (Bgoya, 2007:3).This is indicative of the pervasiveness of this attitude that even when books by African academics are published by western publishing houses, they are mostly ignored, as is evident by “the extent of reviews and citations by fellow academics, which is decidedly lower than would be the case if those books were by American or European scholars, or to call a spade a spade, if they were white” (Bgoya, 2007:3).

Meanwhile, the lack of adequate publishing outlets in Africa and the African scholar’s dependency on Northern publishers discourage the development of a uniquely African research tradition and epistemology. According to Zeleza (1997), leading journals are based in the West and controlled by western academics, as a result, African debates and perspectives find it very difficult to get fair and adequate representation. Moreover, Zeleza argues, when manuscripts by Africans are not simply dismissed for being ‘uninformed’ by current debates and related literature’, they may be turned down for challenging conventional wisdom and traditional assumptions about the continent. Therefore, in order to get published, scholars may have to compromise their views and adjust their perspectives and interpretations to make their papers acceptable to the prospective publishers (Bgoya, 2007:17). This for Bgoya, has meant that

The African continent has not been able to claim her rightful place in the world of knowledge community and to develop her own unique African intellectual tradition in the same way that some continents and societies have made their mark in the field of knowledge production” (2007:17).

Yet, it is vital that Africa makes its own unique contribution to world knowledge, forge the theoretical and philosophical lenses through which Africa can be truthfully understood (Obi,

2001) and, in the words of Bgoya, develop its own knowledge production centres and knowledge producers, recognised not only locally but internationally as well.

The general proclamation of the invisibility of the works of African scholarship should not overshadow attempts to resolve this problem. According to Smart (2005:7), throughout the last decade, publishers, librarians, and development organizations have agreed that there is a need to promote and index all African journals to facilitate their exposure to the research community. In 1993, the African periodicals exhibit (APEX) was launched at the Zimbabwe international book fair (ZIBF) with the aim of displaying African published journals so as to illustrate the range and diversity of contemporary African research and scholarship. Journals are generally acknowledged as the most important means of accrediting and disseminating knowledge and research outputs. Introduction of the internet has led to a radical change in the way that research is discovered and transmitted. It has been rapidly adopted by the research community as the main tool for locating and disseminating information (Lawlor, 2004). These developments have dramatically changed academic research and accessibility of research outputs from institutions around the world. Efforts have also been made to index all African journals in order to increase the visibility of African journals. AJOL is one such example of a database of African –published journals, providing free access to journal information-including contact details and guidelines for authors. Although such resources provide a window for scholars In Africa to locate information published in Africa, it is however surprising that most of these works remain invisible in academic debates and school curriculums.

Olukoshi and Nyamnhoh (2007:57) noted that the creation of CODESRIA was also motivated by a perceived need for greater recognition and representation for what Africa and African scientist had to offer in debates where they were often reduced to passive observers whose role was to implement and not to think. They argued that the “prevalent high rejection rate for African scholarship in Northern journals and books, for example meant that African scholars had basically to choose between bending over to accommodate debates whose origins and assumptions were at variance with the burning questions and concerns of their continents, or create and sustain alternative outlets of their own research informed by greater relevance in the theory and practice, and in turn with the diverse expectations and aspirations of Africans” (Olukoshi and Nyamnhoh, 2007:57). Henceforth, African social scientists and scholarship would not perish simply as a result of rejection by publishers elsewhere.

Gray (2000:178) writing on academic publishing in South Africa, also commented on the marginalization of African scholars and pointed out that academics themselves are not innocent bystanders in this predicament they find themselves in. He pointed out that “while academics are keen to publish, they seem much less eager to buy locally produced academic books.” (Gray, 2000:178). This for him is part of an international trend in a market which has become over- traded with university press books. However, Molteno (1997:49) regards the major problem to be the narrowness of the markets for books. He noted that there are insufficient universities and colleges and libraries willing to purchase such books and too few serious readers in the community with enthusiasm for serious books. This is actually the case in South Africa, especially were the works of Bernard Magubane are concerned. The very absence of his works in the race curriculum is a cause for concern. It is rather shocking that debates in South Africa on the subject of race engage more with western literature on South Africa, yet no efforts thus far have been adequately made to engage with the works of local scholars who have written on the subject and in most cases have some form of firsthand experience of racism in South Africa.

A further contributory trend to this neglect of works has been the reluctance on the part of South African academics to pay for local books. International titles are perceived to be of greater value, and local books are expected to be cheaper than publishers can reasonably afford to price them. This decline in demand for locally produced scholarly works has also been aggravated by a steady trend in academic bookshops away from stocking anything other than mainstream undergraduate textbooks. This has meant an equivalent decline in the clientele of academic bookshops, as academics are less and less likely to visit a campus bookstore that does not stock the titles for which they are looking (Gray, 2000:178).

One can therefore argue that academics themselves have not been innocent in this predicament of the invisibility of their works. Mkandawire (1997:29) also identified the marginalization of African scholarship as one of the reasons for discontentment among scholars. He pointed out that Africa is probably the only part of the world about which it is still legitimate to publish without reference to local scholarship. He also argued that “Africanist scholarship precedes blithely as if its African counterpart did not exist and one is struck by the deafening silence over and unqualified dismissal of African scholarship” (Mkandawire, 1997:29). This therefore calls for greater efforts to know each other’s work. Both the north and the south communities will benefit from drawing with greater catholicity

from the well spring of knowledge on Africa by Africans. There is therefore a need for the establishment of a relationship where community of scholars come to a place where they become aware of each other's contributions, citing each other's works critically or otherwise. There is a need to engage and promote the works of local scholars. In the past such efforts have involved book fairs and book festivals which provided a platform for researchers/writers as well as the intended audience of the books to engage, share experiences while simultaneously ensuring visibility for the scholars engaged in the production of the books.

Such efforts to engage with the works of intellectuals and writers in general have included writer's festivals which are normal gatherings of writers and readers. In the last five decades writers' festivals have emerged in cities across the world, and during this time they have expanded their literary discussions and debates to include numerous other topics of broad interest to society (Stewart, 2009:1). These festivals usually feature a variety of presentations and readings by authors, as well as events delivered over a number of days, with the primary objective of promoting the authors books and fostering a love of literature and writing (Wikipedia). These writers' conferences are also sometimes designed to provide an intellectual and academic focus for groups of writers (Starke, 2000).

According to Stewart (2009), the majority of writers festivals take place in 'peripheral' locations and the Hay Literature festival in Wales and the Edinburgh Book Festival in Scotland are among the most acclaimed 'peripheral' writers' festivals today. Beyond these 'peripheral festivals', festivals that take place in 'international' centres of literary production and circulation tend to focus on literary prose and poetry and position themselves as elite sites in world literature. In South Africa efforts have also be made to engage with the works of local scholars although much still needs to be done. A case in point is also the book festivals normally held in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The main purpose of these book fairs is to provide a public and visible platform where the key social partners (writer, authors, readers and publishers) in the promotion of a culture of reading and writing can come together. The coming together of these partners is crucial in promoting the works of writers and it also creates an ongoing cycle in which each of the parties reinforce each other and create a strong reading and writing culture. Most of these festivals are done on a yearly basis and are not sufficient for the promotion of the works of scholars.

In the global academic community, the success of any research finding is the ability to attract readership from colleagues through the journal or other vehicles of scholarly communication process. It is however unfortunate that the developed countries of Europe and North America control large chunk of both print and electronic information and thus have continued to maintain scholarly information divide between the developed and developing countries (Lor, 2007). This has made African scholars heavily dependent on developed countries for assessment and publication of their scholarly works. Lor (2007) has argued that “the knowledge society only dawns in a country when its scholars are not merely users of imported knowledge, but they contribute to knowledge creation. This implies active participation in scholarly works, not merely absorbing knowledge produced elsewhere”. The need to engage with local works is somehow implied in this statement. The assertion that people read only what are available to them is indisputable. This implies that publications that are not seen are not read. Visibility of journals and access to books is not an issue in South Africa. Clearly, the problem in Africa or South Africa for that matter is not necessarily the lack of knowledge production nor the visibility or access to the produced knowledge. Although scholarly outputs such as the produced knowledge is the form of books or journal articles are easily accessible, the problem that remains is the lack of engagement with these works as well as their citation by other local scholars and this is largely a result of the dependency on western literature hence the marginalization of local research outputs.

On that note it is also worth mentioning that the construction of scholarly knowledge about Africa, South Africa included has always been an international enterprise. Mkandawire (1997:16) argues that, it is outsiders not African intellectuals who tend to set the terms of debate in African Studies. Perhaps there is no other region that has suffered from what Pauline Hountondji’s concept of theoretical extraversion, where externally derived intellectual perspectives ,preoccupations and pervasions play such a powerful role in scholarship, not to mention policy formulation and even popular discourse. The situation of academic dependency that Third World scholars find themselves in leaves them susceptible to neglect of their local scholars, imitation and wholesale adoption of western ideas and techniques. With regards to the invisibility of African scholarship, Mkandawire concludes that “the invisibility of African scholarship has gone for so long that we are inclined to attribute deliberate attempts to render it invisible” (Mkandawire,1997:16).

If unchecked the current trends (invisibility of works and lack of scholarly production and publishing) will reinforce the international division of labour, whereby African universities and social scientists will continue to import appropriate packages of universal theory and , at best export empirical data: to be consumers of advanced research conducted in the universities of the North. The African academic enterprise has long suffered from a cultural imported scientific consumerism. This culture established during the colonial era spread after independency despite rhetorical protestations to the contrary and ritual obeisance to local cognitive needs. African academics continue to exhibit strong tendencies of what Hountondji has called theoretical extroversion, the legitimating and respectability from the intellectual establishments of the North (Hountondji, 1997).

The high premium placed on publishing abroad is a sad commentary on the persistence of the external gazing structure and ideologies of colonialism. It is not a sign of the African academics confident universalism but of their insecure provincialism, reflecting a desperate search for intellectual legitimating from academic systems and epistemological traditions that have historically dismissed and infantilised them. It becomes a vicious cycle, weak journals and monograph series attack weak contributions, which makes the journals and series even weaker. Thus the questions of intellectual autonomy and authority are critical to the construction of vibrant research communities and cultures. Zeleza (2007) points out that the struggle for academic freedom and research productivity for African social scientists is also an epistemological one against paradigms, theories and methodologies that trivialise misrepresent and oversimplify African experience, conditions and realities.

in addition, Cyril Obi (2001), highlighted the need for African scholars to transcend the limitations of 'truthful lies' or imperialism at the level of the sociology of ideas which have characterised Africa's relationship with the north since the days of European colonialism and which have privileged colonial 'knowledges'. The deliberate marginalisation and silencing of African knowledge and voices facilitated the north mission to construct and perpetuate 'truthful lies' about Africa, which presented colonialists as 'saviours, initiators, mentors and arbiters' in what was in the words of Ake, 'imperialism is the guise of scientific knowledge. This tendency continues to manifest itself in these days of globalisation where African continues to be marginalised and to be subjected to western paradigms, research methods, knowledge production and dissemination and the measure of what should be regarded as authoritative scholarship.

African scholars' attempts to challenge and correct such distortions have sometimes run into the problem of a lack of outlets through which to disseminate their research and viewpoints. The weakness of the African scholarly publishing industry, the paucity of African-based scholarly journals, and the global politics and economics of publishing have all conspired against the African scholar. The African scholar is then left with little alternative but to approach Northern based journals, which will only publish such scholarship on condition that it meets 'authoritative scholarship' standards as defined by them, yet, this concept is not neutral, for, as Adebowale points out, 'the decision of what constitutes such scholarship may be influenced by factors other than merit', whether the decision makers are aware of this or not (Mlambo, 2007:17).

2.4 Conclusion

As has been argued above, academic dependency and the impact of western social science, have led to a domination and marginalisation of the works of Southern scholars through imposing an alien world view, institutions and practices on African societies, being dismissive of African knowledge's and promoting Western ones. It has also been argued that there is a need for African scholars to develop an independent and truly African tradition to enable them to reflect on African problems and address the challenges confronting African societies and also undo the distortions that have resulted from the importation of irrelevant theories and failure to engage with local theories and knowledge. From the nature of the problems generated by academic dependency, it is obvious that an intellectual emancipation movement should take place. As already noted, this movement may take different forms that may range from developing critical and autonomous thinking, establishing South-South collaborations in research publishing, resisting research conditionality's imposed by the West, to mention but a few. The recommendations highlighted above can only succeed if scholars make an effort to actually engage with locally produced knowledge. There is therefore a need to make greater efforts to know each other's work on Africa. According to Mkandawire (1997:34), this demand is not to appease individual egos but it is essential for progress in scientific work. African communities will benefit from drawing with greater catholicity from the well –spring of knowledge about Africa generated by Africans. In the South African context, transcending academic dependency in the new generation of young academics requires engagement with the work of our local scholars who have devoted their lives to knowledge production. The main purpose of this research is to address the issues of

the invisibility of African scholarship through a close encounter with the scholarship of Professor Bernard Magubane. This will be achieved by exploring his scholarship and engaging with his works on race, class and inequality. The point in doing this is to identify the factors that contributed to the development of his ideas and to identify the specific themes running through his works. These are important for an understanding of Professor Magubane's contribution to knowledge production in South Africa and the relevance of his works and ideas.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have provided the overall context on the exploration of the scholarship of Professor Magubane, the motivations for the research as well as the theoretical influences that inform the study. This chapter discusses the choice of research methods that underpin the study and presents the methodological underpinnings of the study. The goals of the research, research design, methods of data collection and analysis as well as ethical issues are also elaborated on.

3.2 The Goals of the research

From a broadly critical perspective, the purpose of this research is to explore the scholarship of Professor Magubane through an engagement with his works on race, class and social inequality. In doing this we will examine the social context of his scholarship and the epistemological basis of his works. The need to engage with the work of Professor Magubane is driven by the fact that although academic dependency is a reality, there are scholars who have taken the initiative to actively involve themselves in knowledge production. A lot can be gleaned from Magubane's scholarship and writings and engaging with his works allows the opportunity to discover the factors that played a part in shaping his scholarship, scholarly contributions and his career in general.

The research will seek to:

- Collate and critically engage with Professor Magubane's scholarly outputs on race, class and inequality.
- Undertake a textual analysis of his works and map the contours of his ideas as they developed over time.
- Pursue the above by situating Magubane's work within the wider milieu in which he operated as well as the intellectual debates within which we seek to make sense of his ideas. Rather than a venture in biography, I am more concerned with the biographical dimensions of his scholarship and the distinct contributions that can be gleaned from his ideas.

- Examine the epistemological bases of his work on race class and inequality, and his distinct contributions to South African Sociology

3.3 Research design

This study utilised a qualitative research design which also necessitated qualitative research methods.

3.4.1 Research methodology

The study relies on qualitative data and two distinct research techniques with each method associated with a particular phase of the research project. Qualitative research has been defined as the study of things in their natural settings, and attempting to make sense of or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The three distinct features of qualitative research justify the decision to use the research method. Qualitative research is concerned with meaning and this stems from the assumption that meaning is embedded in social action. Second, it assumes that meaningful action should be studied in their natural contexts and stipulates that the phenomena of interest should not be isolated from the context which facilitates their interpretation. Lastly, qualitative research allows for the experience of the individual to be paramount and endeavours to study human action from the insider's perspective (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:53).

The following reasons justify the choice of the qualitative research paradigm:

a) Qualitative research facilitates the validity of personal experience.

Qualitative methods involve emphasising meanings, experiences and descriptions. Whereas the data from quantitative data tends to be numerical or categorical, the data for qualitative research such as interviews, scholarly outputs and autobiographies in this case, generally consists of in-depth descriptions and interpretations as well as direct quotations which capture people's personal experiences. Qualitative data obtained from interviews and other methods mentioned above also facilitate the revelation of personal opinions and interpretation of personal understandings of the actor's personal experiences and events.

b) Qualitative research allows insight into the insider's perspective and understanding of events, actions, and processes in their context.

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:271), qualitative research methods allow the researcher to view the world through the eyes of the actors themselves. Whereas quantitative, statistical descriptions focus on counting and quantifying patterns in human behaviour, the emphasis on qualitative description is on “thick description” which is a lengthy description which captures the sense of actions as they occur and places events in context that are understandable to the actors themselves (Barbie and Mouton, 2001:272).

Whereas the quantitative researcher usually aims at analysing variables and the relationships between them in isolation from the context or the setting (so as to increase generalizability), the qualitative researcher takes the exact opposite approach by describing and understanding events within the concrete, natural context in which they occur. This is particularly relevant for an understanding of the scholarship of Professor Magubane, for one cannot separate his writings for instance or his academic career from the political, social and economic conditions which facilitated or impacted on these developments. It is only if “one understands the background of the whole context and how such a context confers meaning to the events concerned that one can truly claim to understand the events” (Barbie & Mouton, 2001:271).

Although qualitative research has its own limitations, research within the qualitative paradigm remains the best suited approach for the exploration of the scholarship of Professor Magubane because of its emphasis on the experience of the individual and its ability to facilitate research on the level of exploration and understanding. This study utilised two main research methods; content analysis of the scholarly publications of Professor Magubane on race class and inequality, literature by other scholars on the same issues as well as his autobiography. This method was supplemented with in-depth interviews with Professor Magubane conducted by my Supervisor, Professor Jimi Adesina.

3.4. 2 Content analysis

Content analysis is a systematic research method for analysing textual information in a standardized way that allows evaluators to make inferences about the information (Weber, 1990: 9). Berg (1998:223) defines content analysis as any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages. The specific type of content analysis approach chosen varies with the theoretical orientations and the problem being studied (Weber, 1990). This research utilised qualitative content analysis which allowed for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the

identification of themes and patterns running through Professor Magubane's scholarly outputs as well as literature by other scholars who also engaged with the question of race, class and social inequality. Qualitative content analysis emphasizes an integrated view of speech, text and their specific contexts and it goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a particular text. It therefore allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner (Zhang & Wildermuth, 1966:1). Additionally qualitative content analysis explores the meanings underlying message and is mainly inductive grounding the examination of topics and themes as well as the inferences drawn from them, in the data.

Qualitative content analysis in this study involved an analysis of purposively selected texts which informed the research questions being addressed by the study. The kinds of material that were deemed relevant for content analysis ranged from Magubane's autobiography, scholarly outputs on race, class and inequality and in-depth interviews. Magubane has published seven books and numerous research papers, covering *inter alia* themes such as African social problems; Urban Sociology; race, class and inequality; poverty; revolutionary thought, and the political economy in state formation in South Africa and Africa in general. *The political economy of race and class in South Africa* (1979), *The making of a racist state: British imperialism and the Union of South Africa* (1996), and *Race and the construction of the dispensable other* (2007) are good examples on how he deals with the racial and class bases of social inequality.

His 1979 book is an extended intervention in the race/class debate that explains racialism largely as a function of capitalism's pursuit of profit and this book is an initial step of what turned out to be a long project. The three books together with his autobiography '*My life and times*' (2010) which was published last year as well as two sets of interviews conducted with him were used in assessing the development of his scholarship. This book presents Magubane's biography which is important in understanding his life. The appeal of a biographical analysis is that it explores, in diverse methodological and interpretive ways, how individual's account of life experiences can be understood within the contemporary cultural and structural setting. Biographical research also has the important merit of aiding the task of understanding major social shifts, by including how new experiences are interpreted by individuals (Roberts, 2002).

Qualitative content analysis assisted in condensing Magubane's literature on race, class and inequality into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation. This process involves inductive reasoning by which themes and categories emerge from the texts through the researcher's careful examination and constant comparison. Content analysis also helped summarise and describe the formal content of Magubane's written material and also revealed his attitudes, personal opinions and perceptions. A further advantage of content analysis is that it provides a means for studying the processes that occur over long periods of time or that may reflect trends in society (Berg, 1998:244). In order to fully understand the development of Magubane's scholarship it was imperative to undertake an analysis of his early and recent writings, autobiography, biography as well as interviews conducted with him. This was important for tracking the development of his ideas in different contexts and time. Magubane's scholarly outputs on race, class and inequality were then situated and evaluated within the larger body of scholarly works on race and class in South Africa for it is in this process that one is able to identify and appreciate his specific contributions.

Furthermore, an analysis of Magubane's scholarly outputs and interviews conducted with him, allowed the opportunity to examine events or combinations of events in order to uncover what happened in the past through the interpretation of text thus providing a broader understanding of how Professor Magubane conceptualised race, class and inequality. Additionally, an analysis of Magubane's autobiography summarised in "*My life and times*" (2010) helped make sense of relationships of events from the past and their connection with the present. Berelson (1952:31) highlighted the validity of content analysis in tracing or exploring the development of scholarship and had this to say: "knowledge of the content can legitimately support inferences of the non- content event." A basis of inferences dealing with the psychological state of authors is provided by an analysis of the material produced by persons about whom inferences are drawn.

3.4.3 In-depth interviews

Content analysis was supplemented with in-depth interviews which involved face to face interaction with Professor Magubane. The two interviews were conducted by Profesor Jimi Adesina and they focused on the turning points in Professor Magubane's life and his interpretation of the events that he considered significant in the development of his academic scholarship as well as ideas that influenced his writings. These life history interviews were relevant for they provided an entry point into understanding the social, economic and political

factors that shaped Professor Magubane's life and his scholarship. These interviews also allowed me to explore some tentative ideas that had risen during my initial content analysis of his published and non published works. These interviews also allowed the opportunity for independent assessment, explanations and assessment of Magubane's scholarship.

Although these interviews were conducted before the content analysis stage, detailed accounts of Professor Magubane's life and scholarship discussed in the interviews made it possible to verify inferences drawn from the content analysis since in these interviews, Professor Magubane provided detailed descriptive information on the development of his scholarship. This research method was selected for it enables the researcher to get elaborate data concerning the respondent's experiences, opinions and feelings (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991). Moreover, in-depth interviews allow substantial room for the respondents to express themselves more openly and for the researcher to be able to probe explanations.

Interviews conducted with Professor Magubane were in-depth and also took the form of a life story and this made it possible to arrange his experiences and also relate them to other events in his life. This method was also useful in understanding specific social, cultural and historical issues in Professor Magubane's life and also made it possible to explore the link between his life as an individual and the wider public influences.

3.4.5 Data analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis and interpretation serves the purpose of assigning meaning to the collected information and determining the conclusions, significance and implications of the findings. An analysis of the interviews with Professor Magubane was conducted by organizing the interview data into common themes which were related to the development of the scholarship of Professor Magubane as well as the different influences that impacted on both his life and his academic career. The scholarly outputs of professor Magubane, interviews conducted with him as well as his biography were analysed in order to explain the factors that influenced his scholarship .The relevance of these forms of data rests on the view of individuals as creators of meaning which form the basis of everyday life. Additionally individuals act according to meaning through which they make sense of social existence. Magubane's autobiography was analysed in a historical way and according to Berg (1998), this allows researchers to slip the bonds of their own time and descend into the past. Historical analysis provided access to a broader understanding of the making of Magubane's

career and also helped gain insight into the experiences and contours which shaped his personality, world views and writings. Understanding the historical nature of Magubane's scholarship was imperative for this study for it made it possible to identify the advances that Professor Magubane made in knowledge production over time and also gave insight into the context within which these developments occurred.

Additionally, establishing such vital connections helps one to show that, far from being abstract, Magubane's experiences and theoretical positions were socially embedded in the different academic and social contexts in which he lived and concerning which he wrote. In other words, just like those of other scholars, Magubane's theoretical positions were socially developed and historically constituted. This suggests that the consciousness of men can never be independently understood nor entirely abstracted from the specific social contexts and experiences within which they were developed (Arowesegebe, 2008). Historical approach made it possible to identify the factors that impacted on the development of Professor Magubane's scholarship and also provided insight into his paradigm shifts and this was achieved by an analysis of the context of his contributions and the specific social history that gave rise and meaning to them.

Smith (cited in Denzin, 1998: 198) also highlighted that historical analysis assists in bringing out the context of ideas and with regards to the exploration of aspects of individual lives they noted that heroes do not exist in isolation but context also exist in lives. This suggestion made it imperative to theorise Magubane's scholarship as a lived essentialism. This is necessary because moments and aspects of Magubane's life may throw up features and developments that could make primary determinants of his consciousness assume the forms of secondary determinants of his scholarship and vice versa. It is therefore, theoretically mistaken and methodologically incorrect to use specific aspects and manifestations of Magubane's life to generalise about the character of his scholarship. Rather, the forms and contexts of those manifestations were critically interrogated, analysed and explained by focusing on the details of his entire life (Arowosegbe, 2008).

A summative approach to content analysis was utilised in this study and this approach starts with identifying and quantifying content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content. This approach goes beyond mere word count to include latent content analysis which is the process of interpretation of content. In this

process, the focus is on discovering underlying meanings of the content. Unlike the conventional approach, the summative approach allows for the opportunity to develop a complete understanding of the context hence the identification of key themes. In mapping the development of Magubane's ideas, the specific context in which he operated was taken into consideration. Magubane's biographical information contained in *My life and times* (2010) was useful in interpreting the content of his works. An analysis of his autobiography provided insight into his changing experiences and outlooks, what he saw as important and how this impacted on his work and his career.

3.5. Ethical issues

According to McNeill and Chapman (1989:12), research can have a very powerful impact on people's lives; therefore it is important for the research to be guided by ethics and moral principles. Many researchers believe that research participants have a right to know what the research is about and to refuse to take part in it or to answer particular questions. According to McNeill and Chapman (1989:12), this is informed consent meaning that "people should know research is being carried out upon them and how the results will be used so that they can make an intelligent choice as to whether they want to take part." Professor Magubane was informed about this study on his scholarship and he also provided his unpublished manuscript of 'My life and times' as well as manuscripts of interviews conducted with him. The biographical nature of this research required special attention to issues of honesty and ethical use of research findings. With regards to honesty, I owed it to Professor Magubane to represent the biographical dimensions of his scholarship truthfully without bias. Anything presented as fact was backed up by primary evidence and anything which could not be backed up was presented as general opinion.

CHAPTER 4

RACE, CLASS AND INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA: A LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a review of literature on the debate on 'race' and 'class' in South Africa. Numerous attempts have been made to comprehend the question of the relationship between racial inequality and class structure in South Africa. The concepts of 'race' and 'class' have not always been acknowledged in the South African Social science literature. Class for instance was generally dismissed by the mainstream South African social science, up to the 1970's. Magubane's *'Political economy of race and class'* (1979), is actually a direct attack on the work of liberal scholars who neglected 'class' analysis. Such liberal scholars include Van Der Berg who also rejected class analysis and generally argued that

social classes in the Marxian sense of relationship to the means of production.....are not meaningful social realities in South Africa.....pigmentation, he argued, rather than ownership of land or capital, he concluded, is the most significant criterion status" (Van Der Berg,1965:267).

In his analysis of the development of social inequalities, Magubane (1979) criticized liberal analysis for neglecting class and he on the contrary, considered class analysis important, and argued that class correctly identifies the basis of exploitation in capitalist society and directs inquiry to the fundamentals of racism as an instrument for extracting surplus value from the labour and keeping the working class divided (Magubane, 1979:17).

Second, race itself was often treated in a problematic way; cultural anthropologists would speak in ethnic/tribal terms, which highlight a sense of common supra-ethnic/tribal identity. Numerous attempts were made to comprehend the question of the relationship between race and class structure in South Africa. In the 1970s, these attempts were subsumed in a broader debate on the effect of capitalist economic growth on racial inequality and on apartheid, more generally (Posel, 1983:50). It should however be noted that in these debates, the duality of race and class was not always recognised. Whilst some authors emphasized the analytic primacy of race over class, some emphasized the analytic primacy of class over race in the South African social science literature. These early debates are important in understanding how the concepts of 'race' and 'class' were conceptualised in South Africa and the social

consequences of their conceptualisation. On that note it is important to note that the way a problem, for instance racial inequality is formulated will highlight the variables that are considered important, the relationships between variables and how the problem is to be resolved. One of the goals of knowledge production is to inform the process of change and with regards to inequality in South Africa, it is important to understand the complex interplay of forces that functioned or are still functioning in a way to promote inequality in South Africa. An analysis of the debate on 'race' and 'class' and also their intersection not only expands the scope of inquiry into South Africa's past, it is essentially pertinent to a realistic assessment of the contemporary period.

4.2. Debating 'race' and 'class' in South African scholarship

Traditionally, Historical writing on the history of South Africa has been divided into broad categories or historical schools, namely a British imperialist, a settler or colonialist, an Afrikaner Nationalist, a liberal and a revisionist or radical school (Visser, 2004:1). Alexander (2002:9) argued that the first attempts at partial or total description of the history of South Africa were, understandably written from a completely Eurocentric point of view. Indeed, Cory (1965) is a classical example. Between 1910 and 1939 six volumes of *The 'Rise of South Africa'* were published. Cory's Eurocentric point of view stemmed from the fact that he presented the history of the districts of the cape, with the British settlers at the centre, and he saw the history he described from the point of view of the white colonists (Visser, 2004:2). Visser adds that this Eurocentric approach was also coupled with the prominent and central role played by the Afrikaners and white communities in the history of South Africa. Alexander (2002:10) also made the same point and argued that "none of the earliest historians, again for understandable reasons, ever thought of looking at the history of the colony from the point of view of the indigenous African people whom the Europeans found living there"

In view of the conservative historians who formed earlier attempts to describe the history of South Africa, the conquest and expansion of Europe into South Africa was viewed as 'divine will', that is 'Gods plan', but always in terms of 'progress and the civilising mission' of the Europeans (Alexander, 2002: 10). Consequently, the indigenous people were portrayed as 'savages' and 'barbarians' who had no culture worthy of adoption or emulation. The scientific superiority of Europeans over the Africans was thus taken not only as a gift of God

but as bestowing on Europeans the moral right to rule over all other peoples anywhere on the planet.

As far as the conservative chronicles of South African history were concerned, the social place of the different groups and individuals was determined by inherent biological and especially intellectual characteristics. In this way, Alexander (2002:12) argues that “they were merely following the tradition of British and much other European historiography of the late 19th century, which instrumentalised historical writing for the purpose of explaining, that is justifying, the class divisions in Western European capitalist societies”. In South Africa, nevertheless, this historical practice both affirmed and consolidated racial ideology and obscured the class element in the evolving social scale.

Consequently, the enslavement of the Khoisan people and the importation of the Indian plantation labour was thus seen as an inevitable accompaniment of the modernisation project which, initially was conceptualised and justified in religious and moral terms. For conservatives, race was the dominant social reality in South Africa, and therefore the key element in any explanation of the overall course of South African development (Alexander, 2002:12). The conservative historiography also overlapped with the liberal- pluralist explanations of South African history which later resulted in the famous ‘race-class debate’.

The most remarkable theoretical feature of the race-class debate was the failure to engage the question of what race actually was, either in general as a theoretical term or as historical reality under apartheid. On the Marxist side, the concept of race was never explicitly defined, but tacitly, it became the signifier of all that was not ‘class’, in a debate that in fact confined itself both empirically and theoretically to a cluster of concerns about class. On the liberal side, scholars of apartheid tended overwhelmingly to take the realities of race and racism as given, the burden of analysis falling on showing how the features of the apartheid system supported Afrikaner Nationalist political causes and ambitions. According to Hyslop *et.al* (2001:11), this lack of theoretical interest caused these silences on the engagement of questions of what was actually ‘race’ or ‘class’. Additionally these silences were also associated with a discursively demonstrable discomfort with the issues of race. Moreover, Hyslop *et. al.* (2002:11) argues that, “the discomfort with the issue of race was also closely bound up with the politics of intellectual production during the apartheid era.” Theoretical emphasis and priorities were thus thoroughly embedded in political and ideological concerns.

Etherington (1996:10) made the same observation and pointed out that “the efflorescence of scholarship in South Africa on South Africa from the 1960’s to 1980’s was directly related to the intensification of apartheid oppression: in the years between the tragedy of Sharpeville and Mandela’s triumphant emergence from prison, historians of many different tendencies saw their research as a useful tool in the fight against injustice.” The tendency to steer of the subject of race was intertwined with the politics of non racialism on the left. With the language of race being the language of the apartheid state, Hyslop *et. al.* (2002:14) argued that the dominant tendency among apartheid critics was to advocate themselves as advocates of non-racialism. The race-class debate took the shape of scholarly discussion, whose participants, to a larger extent, split into two principal camps: the liberal school and the radical revisionist school. Two closely related questions can be discerned: how did segregation and apartheid policies reproduce and promote capitalist interests? And how has the course of capitalist development in South Africa determined the shape of its racial policies. These early debates are important in understanding the relationship between racism and capitalism and how the conceptualization of the concepts of ‘race’ and ‘class’ evolved over time.

The section that follows provides a background to these debates which dominated the historiography of apartheid in the 1950’s through today. The almost total absence of black historians and scholars in the race- class debates between the radicals and liberals is conspicuous. Although there were good examples of outstanding black history writers, they were invisible in the institutional communication of history⁷. There has however been a shift, and Professor Magubane is one such example of scholars who have taken the initiative to present and defend Africa’s history. This can be seen in his disapproval of the analysis of the Zambian society offered by the Manchester school of Anthropology. Professor Magubane criticised the Manchester school for ‘studying African societies as if they were static and frozen in space and time’.⁸ Specifically, Magubane noted that these studies completely ignored the colonial situation in explaining the cause of inequalities in African societies. This explains his bold and unapologetic approach in writing books that were critical of approaches

⁷ Motlhabi, M. 1984. *The Theory and Practice of Black Resistance to Apartheid: a social-ethical analysis*. Skotaville history series, Johannesburg, Skotaville Press; Mbeki, G. 1964. *South Africa: the peasant’s revolt*, England, Penguin; Luthuli, A. 1962. *Let my people go. An Autobiography*. Glasgow/London, Collins.

⁸ Magubane, B. 2010. *My life and times*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of Kwazulu Natal Press. Pp144

that misrepresented Africa's history and particularly race and class studies in South Africa. The historiographical debate between Jabulani Sithole and Martin Legassick is also another indication of the boldness of African intellectuals.⁹ It proves the point that African scholars are now able to voice their opinions and offer a stiff challenge to white academics as a dominant group in the field of history. The historiographical debates between Sithole and Legassick are important in that they highlight the fact that Sithole and others resist being Legassick's intellectual captives. Professor Magubane is also at the centre of these historical contestations.

Bernard Magubane's article *Whose Memory- Whose History* deals with conflicting interpretations of South African history in which he argues that early colonial history writing was made up deliberately to justify genocidal wars. What in Magubane's opinion is striking is the almost complete absence of the African as a historical subject in spite of the long history of national struggles. In Magubane's view, almost nothing of what has been written from both liberal and neo-Marxist perspectives about the African experience has taken into account the African memory. The author's central argument, therefore, is that any discourse on historical memory in South Africa should of necessity focus on the African memory.¹⁰ For this reason Magubane is unreservedly and uncompromisingly loyal to a historical analysis of race and class which focuses more on the African experience. For Professor Magubane, present social phenomena cannot be adequately comprehended if we do not understand the historical specificity and period in which they emerge. What is particularly significant about Professor Magubane's analysis is the fact that his theories were not formulated in a theoretical vacuum. Material realities that shaped his life inclined him to his Marxist orientations. His times and place of birth conspired to dispose his intellectual learning to forms responsive to material experiences, hence his espousal of a Marxist world view. The following section provides a discussion of the race and class debate between the liberal and radical scholars. It provides an analysis of the debates between liberal and radical scholars in their attempts to understand and provide solutions to the South African situation.

⁹ Sithole, J. 2009. 'Contestations over knowledge production or ideological bullying: A response to Legassick on the workers movement.' *Kronos* (Bellville), 35(1).

¹⁰ Magubane, B. '2000. 'Whose memory- Whose history: The Illusion of Liberal and Radical Historical Debates.' *Collective Memory and Present Day Politics in South Africa and the Nordic Countries*. Conference of Historians, Africanists and Development Researchers, Copenhagen 22-23 August.

4.3 The context and terms of the race-class debate

In the 1970's, two processes within South African society received a great deal of attention from social scientists, journalists and politicians. These two processes resulted ultimately in the emergence of the debates between the liberals and radicals. The first is the rapid rate of growth, industrialisation and urbanisation. The second is the pervasiveness of its system of racial differentiation, the glaring disparity between white affluence and black poverty and continual decline in African living standards (Stasiulis, 1980:463). Although the historical persistence of racism was very much apparent in other advanced capitalist countries such as the United States, it is within South Africa that one of the most institutionalised and pervasive systems of racial discrimination prevailed in conjunction with continued capitalist growth (Stasiulis, 1980:463). The coexistence of these two processes within one social formation formed the radical- liberal problematic and became even to this day, the focus of scholarly debate on race relations particularly in South Africa. The debate is also centred on i) the general analytic relationship between the concepts of race, racial policy and ideology, on one hand, and those of class interests, relations and struggles on the other. ii) In particular, the relationship between policies of racial discrimination and capitalist development, from the late nineteenth century onwards (Posel, 1983:51).

Forming one side of the debate is the liberal interpretation which represents one of the major schools of Modern South African historical study. In South Africa, liberalism has been particularly marked by its concern with race relations and these liberals have been united in their concern for the interests of Black people as they have perceived them. In this way they have tended to be political and moralistic, rather than economic, in their attitudes, methods and priorities and have generally been committed to ending discriminatory legislation (Wright, 1977:5). The modern apotheosis of liberal history is generally taken to be the multi-authored and multi disciplined *Oxford History of South Africa*, edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson. Despite differences on specific issues as circumstances have changed and as personal interpretations have varied, liberals have generally agreed on fundamental principles which will be discussed later. Like liberals everywhere they have shown a particular interest in the problems of the time they were writing and described apartheid as a mental toy, operating outside history and economics and therefore dysfunctional to renewed economic growth. These principles became the very object of attack in Magubane works, particularly *The Political economy of race and class in South Africa* (1979).

As will be highlighted later in this discussion, the liberal interpretation of South African history faced a lot of opposition from a variety of individuals with interrelated perspectives. These scholars may be termed radicals both for their assault on the basic premises of the liberal historical interpretation and for their explicitly or implicitly radical economic beliefs (Wright, 1978:13). As with the liberals, the roots of the radical interpretation lie deeply in the 19th century, in this case with Marx and with contemporary radical attacks on European exploitation of colonial areas. Various Marxists stepped into this literature, working on different problems and were of influence on radical thought during this period. The publishing of the Oxford History particularly the second volume in 1971 provided the radicals with a spectacular opportunity for a direct attack on the liberal interpretation. In 1972 alone, four influential reviews by four South Africans living abroad (Martin Legassick, Shula Marks, Stanley Trapido and Antony Atmore) directly challenged the assumptions, the interpretations, and the social value of liberal historians (Wright, 1977:13).

A number of radicals have written articles on the various aspects of the history of South Africa and the adjacent territories to justify and substantiate and amplify the radical position. Magubane (1996) also reviewed the *Oxford History of South Africa* and criticised it for taking for granted key events and developments in South Africa that were crucial in explaining the questions concerning who was responsible for the entrenchment of racial exploitation and oppression so deeply into the fabric of life. One other misconception that Magubane criticised in the Oxford History of South Africa is the unarticulated assumption that South Africa in 1910 became an independent State and that the struggle of the African people was a civil rights struggle in which Africans would have to be absorbed in the political institutions that were created in 1910. Magubane (1995) accuses the *Oxford History of South Africa* together with other schools of their inability to confront what it meant to the Africans to be deprived of the franchise and the claim that South Africa was a white man's country.

The following section provides a background of the origin of the race/class debate. It is undeniable that the controversy between liberals and radicals is not new, it is still going on even to this day. At present the historical schools, liberals and radicals, in all aspects, in methodological assumptions, in general contemporary perspectives, in factual substance appear in direct confrontation. One commentator concluded that the radical-liberal conflict over South Africa is "a conflict between two separate co-existing, but at the same time separately encapsulated and self contained, schools of interpretation that are not susceptible

to rational debate.” This conclusion may seem extreme. To consider the matter, one must examine the premises, the use of evidence, the arguments, and the inferences of the two interpretations. The following sections provide a discussion on the main premises of the two camps and this is followed by an evaluation of the assumptions of these two schools.

4.4 The liberal position

The question of the place of race has been at the centre of the debate about the character of the South African problem and the strategies necessary to solve it. The liberals viewed race as the dominant and determinant variable shaping the nature and content of the South African society. And because of the bourgeoisie’s inability to comprehend society in terms of class struggle, the concept of class did not enter their analysis of the South African situation. The strategy for the solution of the South African problem thus involved the elimination of apartheid and its replacement by non-racialism. The term liberal has been rather loosely used by radicals to describe conventional political economists from very different intellectual traditions. Liberals in this debate rested their argument primarily on faith in the free (or free-er) market, hence opposition to the apartheid segregationist and white protectionist policies stemmed logically, though not exclusively, from their understanding that markets functioned better without state interference (Natrass,1991:658). Like conservatives, liberals tended to view racism as the root cause of South Africa’s disequilibrium, the divisive factor in its life. In the inter-war period, however, the salience of ‘race’ as a factor in the formulation and the implementation of the policy of segregation under smuts and Hertzog, whose governments were responding to the gradual development of a secondary manufacturing industry in South Africa, and to the concomitant demand for skilled black labour, led to the professionals, specifically liberal historians rewriting the history of the country in terms of a ‘race-relations’, later a ‘plural society’, paradigm of these, the most significant were Eric Walker (1928), C.W. de Kiewiet (1956) and Macmillan (1963) to mention but a few.

Although Macmillan and De Kiewiet made some effort to introduce notions of class into their historical research, in the final analysis they perpetuated the view that racial ideology, racial prejudice and racial discrimination were inimical to capitalist development and economic development (Alexander 2002:13). While the relevance of the social class was not denied by the liberal pluralists, they all agreed with the view expressed much later by Van Den Berghe (1967:267) who had this to say “social classes in the Marxian sense of

relationships to the means of production, exists by definition, as they must in any capitalist country, but, they are not meaningful social realities. Clearly pigmentation, rather than ownership of land or capital, is the most significant criterion of status in South Africa.”

Radical revisionists in the debate often interpreted liberals as treating racial prejudice, rather than class struggle, as the heart of the conflict and inequalities within South African society. Liberals thus regarded the dynamics of racial discrimination as the prime mover of the country’s history. Race is the primary variable in liberal analysis, in which class relations are seen to be treated as secondary to, even derivative of, racial; conflict. Secondly, liberals argue that racial polices imposed irrational and unnecessary constraints on the vigour of capitalist growth in South Africa. In Fredrick Johnston’s (1976:1-2) words “the system of racial domination in modern South Africa is seen and explained as a dysfunctional intrusion upon the capitalist economic system, stemming from non-material factors outside it such as prejudice racism, nationalism, but doomed over the long term to destruction by the inexorable imperatives of rational industrialism and colour blind capitalism.”

The liberal position is thus characterised as a declaration of the analytic primacy of race over class, and of the complete dysfunctionality, rather than functionality, of segregation broadly and the apartheid policies, specifically for capitalism in South Africa. For liberals, apartheid systematised and institutionalised racial discrimination to the point of economic irrationality and in their eyes apartheid had created a contradiction between the economy and racial policy (Wright, 1977:12). Intent on exposing the effects of this contradiction the liberals tended therefore to concentrate their research and analysis on the problems of African labour in the country which they saw as the heart of the contradiction. For the Liberals it was the apartheid policy of labour market and broader social segregation which lay at the root of apartheid’s economic irrationalities. Additionally, Liberals believed that the capitalist economic system and racial domination was doomed over the long term to destruction and this assumption rested on the belief that the power of the market would ultimately prevail, bringing the apartheid state to its knees (Posel *et al*, 2001:v). If apartheid and capitalism had inverse logics, for these liberal, writers it was the power of the market that would ultimately prevail, bringing the apartheid state to its knees. It is worth noting that the liberals did not actually specify how this was expected to happen and this further confirms the fact that much of

liberal analysis of apartheid was more an expression of faith in the free market and a demonstration of this force at work within society at the time.

The idea that apartheid negative effects on capitalism outweigh any positive effects such as cheap labour was and remains the basic tenet of the liberal position. Natrass (1991:659) cites a more recent example, in a more recent analysis were Brombreger and Hughes re-asserted that the net effect of the major political policies of the post war period has been to slow economic growth below its achievable level. Although these recent discussions are more sophisticated than the earlier liberal works, they are similar in stressing the negative effects of apartheid on productivity growth. However, Natrass (1991) argues that these kinds of analysis cannot be proved with reference to empirical sources as no precise figures can be placed on the importance of apartheid repression for political stability and hence as a stimulus to investment and growth. The liberal understanding of the contradictory relationship between apartheid and economic expansion, and of this desirability for the market economy, is in the final analysis derived more from a faith in the efficiency of the market mechanism than from empirical findings.

Another aspect of the liberal schools that is worth mentioning and also had a permanent influence on South African historiography and social science was the bringing of the African people on the stage of history (Saunders, 1988). It was only in the late 1960's with the publication of the first volume of the Oxford history of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson, 1969) that it became possible to speak of African agency becoming manifest in mainstream South African historiography. This work indeed marked the zenith of liberal- pluralist historical writing in South Africa and it had profound influence on all subsequent social science scholarship in Southern Africa. However, *The Oxford History of South Africa* unfortunately did not get beyond the liberal orthodoxy in terms of which South African history was portrayed as the interaction between white people and black people. The denial of Africans of their place and role in history is another aspect of the Oxford school that Magubane criticizes. In his manuscript of *My life and times*, later published in 2010. Magubane pointed out that the

The version of the Oxford history published in South Africa has all the 40 some pages blank of the chapter on African Nationalism.¹¹

¹¹ Magubane, B. *My life and times*. Manuscript.

He considered this to be the greatest betrayal of scholarly integrity. Saunders (1988) also made the same observation and pointed out that the liberals continued to conceive South Africa essentially in terms of the interaction of racial groups. Additionally, none of the contributors to the Oxford history spent time tracing the emergence of classes; the reader of those volumes gathered that race had been the dominant cleavage in the country's past. The liberal historians of the 1950's abhorred racism, but the obsession with race in the politics of the day made them focus on and exaggerate the importance of race in the past. In addition to this, the liberal school made no serious effort to trace the manner in which race, class and other markers of social difference intersected and either reinforced or contradicted one another in the course of social action. The liberal analysis raises various issues; these are discussed in the following section.

4.4.1 Key methodological and analytical shortcomings of the liberal school

The liberal approach has been accused of having a marginalist methodology manifestly unsuitable for answering certain questions about the nature of South African economic development. Natrass (1991:662) argues that marginalist theoretical tools can be applied successfully only to already smoothly functioning market economies and are thus unhelpful in understanding the ways in which non-market forces provided the pre-conditions for capitalist development. In addition to the accusation of not being able to answer certain questions, the liberal scholars failed to present enough evidence to support their analysis and interpretation of apartheid and capitalism in South Africa. One case in point is the presumed incompatibility of economic integration and political separation which provides an example of limited use of evidence. Wright (1977) argued that the liberal scholars did not pay attention to an alternative hypothesis about the relations between industrial growth and racial oppression. Wright argues that there is evidence to support the view that the two may well be perfectly compatible although one needs to be a radical to argue this. Blumer an American sociologist adopts the same line of thought and rejects the notion that capitalism requires racial oppression in order to succeed. He goes on to argue that for many capitalists and industrialists the rational and practical way to succeed in a society with already existing social or racial cleavages is in fact to accept them and to work within their socially prescribed limits.

Liberals scholars explain economic inequality in South Africa in terms of individual limitations or institutionalised racial discrimination alone, without incorporating an analysis

of the structural constraints on the majority of the African working class members. Then, since institutionalised racism is taken as the only systematic determinant of the inequality of resources, opportunity and income in the country, the removal of Apartheid is seen to be sufficient to restore at least equality of opportunity and resources to the population as a whole. Clearly institutionalised racism is not a determinant of inequality. The naïveté of this expectation derives directly from liberal's failure to take the combination of racial policy and objective class forces into account (Posel, 1983:61). In his conclusions about South African society since 1994, Terreblanche concludes that unequal power relations and unequal socio-economic outcomes have remained defining characteristics of the post apartheid period. He goes on to say that despite the transition to an inclusive democracy, old forms of inequality have been perpetuated and entrenched more deeply than ever before. (2002: xv).

According to Posel (1983), methodological individualism is similarly inept in the liberal analysis of the power of the African working class. In their analysis, the power of class is explained as the arithmetic sum of the individual members. So class power increases as a function of the number of the class members, moreover there is no difference in kind only in degree between the power of an individual class member and the power of the class as a whole. This sort of analysis fails to grasp the nature and significance of the working class power to withhold its labour in any capitalist society, including the South African case. According to Magubane (1979), the power of the working class derives from its structural position in the process of production and for this reason in the South African case; the relationship between the state and African work force should be grasped with the framework of a class analysis.

In defence of the importance of class in the analysis of capitalist development in South Africa, Posel (1983:61) points out that class analysis does not involve the application of a complete, ready made general theory of class relations to particular historical cases, rather the very nature and significance of class relations is in part historically specific and variable. She goes on to say that class relations in South Africa have been constituted in part along racial lines: that is access to ownership and control of the means of production in the country has itself been a racial issue. Therefore one cannot fully make sense of the structural position of the working class without also taking account of their race, as the basis of what some radicals such as Fredrick Johnston (1976:20) have called "ultra exploitability" of African workers that is "the use of extra economic coercive measures to facilitate a supply of ultra cheap labour for

capitalist enterprise” (Magubane, 1979:16). It is therefore methodologically sterile to insist on a variant of class analysis of South African society which depends on hierarchically ranking class over race, as the fundamental variable which accounts for all others but which is itself self-explanatory. Racial cleavages, argued Posel (1983), contribute to an explanation of class differentiation itself. Thus, what is fundamental and distinctive about the South African case is the unity of class and race as the source of structural differentiation in the society.

Furthermore, Magubane (2007:211) reiterates the race and class duality that has often been ignored by liberal authors especially, and he points out that although the system of racial inequality principally benefitted the bourgeoisie and sustained by their political and economic power, it did not altogether eliminate class contradictions. He rightly points out that racism is an exploitative and oppressive social relation which cuts across class lines and can therefore, often blur them by superimposing a white supremacist polarisation over the more fundamental class polarisation. In doing so, Magubane argues, “racial oppression extends the promise of racial privilege to all whites and the material substance of racial privilege to many. Whether or not the whites could achieve relatively protected positions due to their race, was however, basically bound up, with determined and restricted by their class position.” (Magubane, 2007:2011).

The liberals positions therefore stops short of an understanding of the role of objective class forces which both constrain and enable individual intentions and actions, which are not fully subject to conscious individual or group control (Posel,1983:60). Natrass (1991:664) adopts the same line of thought and points out that the liberal school left no room for the analysis of economic processes as power struggles between interest groups or classes of unequal bargaining strength. Wolpe (1978:244) also argued in a critique of the liberals that it is because they can only conceive of social phenomena in terms of the actions/motivations of individual subjects that they are totally unable to comprehend an analysis which focuses on social relations or social structures. Posel (1983) also argued that the liberals ignored or underplayed the functions which racially discriminatory policies have performed in promoting capitalist enterprise in the country. Additionally, liberals did not start their analysis from the premise that there is no single road to industrialisation. Instead, they regarded the development of liberal democracy as functionally necessary for the pursuit of economic growth in South Africa.

Wright (1977:58) summarises the weaknesses of the liberal school and points out that they lie not in its particulars but in its general approach. Its considerations of problems, economic integration and political separation, its frequent judgements, and its choices of subjects matter give credibility to its general criticisms. Wright does agree that the liberal school has produced some first rate history, however he argues that it is liable to suffer from excess. The liberal school is also accused of having focused too much on its present problems for its subject matter hence the tendency to be simplistic in its search for origins. Commenting on the liberal school's contribution to history, Wrights (1977:58) concludes that "despite its honesty, its detailed research, its patient analysis of events, its humane outlook, its otherwise excellent qualities, it is liable, if it is too liberal, to lose that subtle sense of the past complexity that is the essence of good history.

4.5 The Radical revisionist school

According to Wright (1977:1), the concept of class has greater explanatory ambitions within the Marxist tradition than in any other tradition. In its most ambitious form, Marxists have argued that class or very closely linked concepts like 'modes of production' was at the centre of a general theory of history, usually referred to as 'historical materialism' (Cohen, 1978). When the Marxists began their revisionist analysis of South Africa, they took issue with the primary role, liberal theory had accorded to the variables of race and they emphasized instead, the importance of class. By defining their position antithetically to that of the liberals, Marxist analysis amount to a reversal of liberal priorities: class gains primacy over race, and racist practices are seen as an integral element of South African capitalism (Johnston, 1976:4). By defining their position antithetically to that of the liberals, Marxist analysis amount to a reversal of liberal priorities: class gains primacy over race, and racist practices are seen as an integral element of South African capitalism. The oppositional relationship takes on a reactive form- either class or race is accorded analytic primacy.

By explaining racist practices within the context of class, class becomes the primary variable. Inherent in this approach is therefore the reduction of all social phenomena and problems and social struggles in South Africa to class and class struggle only. The essence of this class reductionism is that it implies that, in analysing, and assessing political struggles, social ideologies and events, these must be read off or reduced logically from analysis of the class structure without taking into account other social phenomena such as race. In response

to the liberal neglect of class, some of the radical's revisionists played down, and others entirely denied, the significance of race in the country's past. Legassick (1974) accepted the importance of racist ideology, but others more crudely stood Van den Berghe on his head, claiming that class explained all, and dismissing racism as mere false consciousness. While the fact of racial discrimination could not be denied, revisionists could and did argue that it was merely a cloak, a mask for class exploitation, and that the significant cleavages in South African society were, and always had been, those of class rather than race, though they admitted that the two had often coincided (Saunders, 1988).

For the revisionists, class analysis offered an exciting new tool to be used to reinterpret the South African past. When defined in antithesis to the liberal stance, the radical perspective thus amounts to a simple reversal of the purportedly liberal priorities: class now has primacy over race, and segregation and apartheid are seen as functional to, rather than dysfunctional to the development of South African capitalism.

The radical revisionists played down, and others entirely denied, the significance of race in the country's past. Legassick (1972) for instance accepted the importance of racist ideology, but others claimed that class explained all, dismissing racism as a mere false consciousness. While the fact of racial discrimination could not be denied, revisionists could argue and did argue that it was merely a cloak, a mask for class exploitation, and that the significant cleavages in South African society were, and always had been those of class rather than of race, though they acknowledged that the two had often coincided (Saunders, 1988). A similar problem emerges in Davies' (1979) analysis.

While paying lip service to racial factors, Davies gives them a subordinate place in the argument by the very terms in which the objectives of his class analysis were formulated. He had this to say

Contrary to the assertions of certain critics, the purpose of this analysis is not deny the existence and importance of racist ideology or prejudice, but rather to use these as phenomena arising in the class struggle and therefore themselves requiring analysis and explanation instead of, as in the liberal problematic, the 'self evident' starting point of all analysis and explanation (Davies, 1979:3).

By explaining racist practices within the context of class, class becomes the primary variable. Like the liberals, the radicals erred by stressing one-sidedly the undeveloping aspects of capitalist development and by presenting the class struggle as a zero-sum game. The limits to

the radical interpretation of capitalism and inequalities in South Africa have been carefully argued in academic debates and the following section provides a critique of the radical revisionist school.

4.5.1 Key methodological and analytical shortcomings of the radical revisionist school

First, the systematic ranking of class as a variable more importantly than race has tended to sponsor a base super structure model for the explanation of South African society and history (Posel, 1983:53). In explaining racial policy in terms of class factors, without posing the question of their interdependence or historically variable relationship, Radical revisionists thus accept and reproduce the terms of the race class debate as having an either or form. Class and race are presumed to be analytically independent categories, ranked hierarchically and invariably, with class as the more fundamental variable accounting for the development and functions of racial policies. The very terms in which the debate is set up thus preclude a different mode of inquiry, oriented by a different question, which does not seek a uniform ranking of one variable over another, but rather their concrete interrelationships, in the ways in which racial cleavages and practices themselves structure class relations. This would then make the concept of race analytically inseparable from our understanding and very conceptualization of existing class relations in any particular conjuncture (Posel, 1983:52).

Magubane (1996) actually criticized this reductionist tendency in the Radical approach which limited radical scholars to a choice of class over race as the primary variable. According to Magubane (1995:3), White radicals have been guilty of this as they maintain that colour oppression is no more than an aspect of class oppression, that colour discrimination is only another aspect of working class exploitation, and that the capitalist system is the common enemy of the white worker and black worker alike. Magubane argued that such an abstract class analysis not only liquidates the national question, but it ignores critical differences in the exploitation of black and white labour which are due specifically to racism. He criticises white Marxists for their failure to grasp the fact that Africans first suffered under the slave trade and secondly under colonial exploitation. Under these forms of exploitation and oppression, Magubane argued that black people sufferings in Africa were total and devastating. With the emergence of the so called scientific racism, their exploitation became as systematic in its devastation as to make mockery of white working-class exploitation.

Exploitation and oppression based on race required constituting the African not only as the other but as a species of animal (Magubane, 1995:4).

Although Magubane agrees that at a certain level the black and the white workers are victimised by the same capitalist, he shows how the black men is specifically oppressed within the confines of his race and because of it, Magubane (1996) notes that he must first of all become conscious of his race. He appraises the work of Sartre and notes that the value of Sartre's analysis lies in the fact that he underscores not only the real effects of the division inside the working class, and he also accepts the reality of black consciousness as the product of white racism and the demonizing of blackness, itself as a result of an over-valuing of whiteness.

A similar critique is levelled against the radical's views of the relationship between segregation/ apartheid, and capitalism. As if forced to choose between regarding apartheid as always functional or dysfunctional to capitalist growth, many radical revisionists have set out to show all the various ways in which apartheid has functioned to advance economic growth in South Africa. Questions about the contradictions or tensions between the two are not typically incorporated into the theoretical premises and frame work of the radical analysis. Posel (1983:52) argues that this has led many radical revisionists into a reductionism and functionalist approach to the study of South Africa, one which is needlessly rigid and inhibiting.

Given the theoretical and methodological constraints engendered by the terms of the race class debate, it is often highly reductionist and functionalist. This is evident in the writings of Johnstone (his early writings), Wolpe, Legassick, Omeara and Davies, notwithstanding many disclaimers to the contrary. The slide into reductionism is reflected in Omeara's analysis who although declaring a serious respect for the 'relative autonomy' of racial practices and ideology, still stipulated that " variations in racial policy must be seen as flowing from changes in the structure of production and the alignment of class forces in the social formation" (Omeara, 1975). Here, an inquiry into the reciprocally determining and relatively independent dynamic of racial policy seems to be precluded by methodological fiat.

By explaining variations in racial policy as flowing from changes in the structure of production and class forces, Omeara (1975), set up the enquiry in terms which foreclose an interest in, and treatment of, the possibly autonomous or irreducible of racial policy in

shaping the structure of production and the alignment of class forces. Omeara's approach therefore addresses the questions concerning the dependency of South African racial policy on capitalist processes only, this in turn inevitably leads him to treat this dependency as sufficient to explain the development of the country's racial policies, hence the tacit reduction inherent in the form of his enquiry and ensuing explanations.

The point here is not that the radical revisionist thinkers have explicitly denied or deliberately excluded the salience of racial factors as contributing in part to an explanation of capitalist development and class struggles themselves. Rather, any declared interest in these questions is involuntarily rendered mute and impotent by the terms in which the relationship between capitalist production and racial factors is examined and evaluated. It is this foreclosing of inquiry that produces reductionist explanations, and which evidences the presence of a perhaps unintentionally reductionist problematic.

Another weakness of the radical analysis is the tendency to explain the nature and development of apartheid wholly in terms of the functions it performs in strengthening capitalist production. Martin Legassick (1974:269) explains the specific structures of labour control in post war South Africa in terms of the functions which they performed in serving the interests of capitalist growth in the South African situation. This was based on the assumption that this produces a complete explanation of the said structures of labour control. Although the radicals may not have intentionally precluded the possibility of conflicts of interests between apartheid and capitalist development in South Africa, the terms of their original questions and the resultant closing off of important areas of inquiry, involuntarily produced functionalist moulds for the forms of explanation given in answer to these questions. Posel (1983) argues that writers who channelled their inquiry into a study of the functions of apartheid excluded a simultaneous grasp of its possible dysfunctions and therefore denied themselves the opportunity of conceptualising the effects of apartheid as a specific and historically variable combination of functions and dysfunctions.

A feature of the liberal and radical scholars is that they both deploy single explanatory units, whether race or class, and they tend to exclude the very aspects of racism that are the familiar, solid, most intimate parts of the everyday black experience of apartheid. Class and race, the units of analysis of totalising theories, provide useful tools for research, but they do so by asserting a unity in the theory and practice of the discourse which perhaps does not

exist. The Marxist revisionist approach and some of the analytic problems, which it raises, must be touched upon. In turn, this may point the way to a somewhat different approach to understanding the practice of racism in South Africa. Racism must be understood in terms of the specific relations of production of South African capitalism and it must be recognised that white supremacist policies both affect and actively disguise the nature of these relations. In Omerá's words,

Racial policy is an historical product, the agent of a system of exploitation, designed primarily to facilitate rapid capital and accumulation, and has historically been used by all classes to access the state power in South Africa (O'Meara, 1975).

4.6 Theoretical re-orientation of the radical and liberals schools.

Commenting on the race and class debate between liberals and radicals, Natrass (1991), concludes that their conclusions about the relationship between apartheid and capitalism were more a function of underlying theoretical assumptions and premises than the result of inductive reasoning from empirical evidence. Despite the fact that liberals made greater use of empirical data in their analysis, both they and the radical structuralist suffered from the same weakness; reading off their conclusions about the relationship between apartheid and capitalism (and the nature of appropriate research methodologies) directly from their theoretical paradigms. Consequently there was little scope for recourse to empirical evidence as potential means of resolving the debate.

Clearly therefore with respect to the race class debate, capitalist development in South Africa cannot be reduced to the simple reflex of class forces alone or racial policies only. Both liberal and radical analyses have shown that an understanding of South Africa's capitalist history must start from the premise that there is no single road to capitalist development. Posel (1983) supports this line of argument and points out that capitalist interest in general neither functionally necessitates nor wholly determines any one particular set of economic and political structures and policies. On that note, it is therefore important to take into account the complex interplay of economic, political and ideological forces in the country's history.

One of the most remarkable theoretical features of this debate was the failure to engage the question of what race actually was, either in general as a theoretical term or as a historical reality under apartheid. As already noted, on the Radical side the concept of race was never

explicitly defined, but tacitly it became the signifier of all that was not class, in a debate that infect confined itself both empirically and theoretically to a cluster of concerns about class. On the liberal side, scholars tended overwhelmingly to take the realities of race and racism as given, the burden of analysis falling on showing how the features of the apartheid system supported capitalist's causes and ambitions (Posel, 1983:61). Moreover, Hyslop *et al.* (2002:11) argued that the discomfort with the issue of race was closely bound up with politics of intellectual production during the apartheid era. Theoretical emphases and priorities were thus thoroughly embedded in political and ideological concerns.

Developments in both the radical and liberal schools have functioned in a way to re-orientate their approach to understanding the nature of capitalist development in South Africa. In the radical school, two developments helped re-orientate the radical approach. One had to do with theoretical shifts within Marxism in general and the other with historical changes in the late 1970's and 1980's. Carling (1986) notes that rational choice and analytical Marxism, which alters the way in which Marx is approached provided an important theoretical challenge to structuralist and functionalist interpretations of Marxism. The second development having a profound bearing on the radical thought has been the recent economic and political changes in South Africa. As early as 1976 (the year of the Soweto uprising), political developments placed great strain on the notion of a monolithic state functional to the needs of capitalism, and put the issue of agency back on the theoretical agenda.

By the 1980's it had become abundantly clear that the engine of growth which drove the 1960's boom had run out of steam. The 1980's crisis (after the decade's initial spurt) and the widespread vocal disaffection of South African capitalists with the government further undermined, the old argument that apartheid was functional for capital accumulation and that the interests of capitalism and white supremacy were coterminous. According to Natrass (1991), two broad responses to theoretical reformulation can be identified in the radical structuralist school: one is associated with Wolpe (1978), who argues for a different conception of the nature of capitalism in South Africa and the other adapts older beliefs and elaborates on them. Wolpe (1978) , in a slender volume that can be seen as a kind of limited self-criticism, put forward the thesis of the contingent relationship between race and class. He condemned the liberals for their race-reductionist approach while at the same time accusing the radicals of crude class reductionism. Instead, he stated that

The relationship between capitalism and white domination must be seen as a historically contingent, not a necessary one. Moreover, the relationship will be both functional and contradictory at the same time- functional for the reproduction of certain relations and class positions and contradictory for others. The contention is that the formation of structures and relations is always the outcome of struggles between contending groups or classes and that this outcome is *janus -faced*, being always simultaneously functional and contradictory (Wolpe, 1988:8).

Implied in this excerpt by Wolpe is the need for an interpretation of the place and role of race and class in the South African socio- formation. This therefore shows that race and class both play an active role in their dialectical interaction hence the historical materialist approach to the study of South Africa which sees the state in South Africa not only as an installer of race relations, but also as an incubator of class relations among the colonized. Magubane (2002) also makes the same point in recognition of the duality of race and class in South Africa. Commenting on the development of capitalism in South Africa, Magubane (2002:478) pointed out that as capitalism developed in South Africa, racism and classism were institutionalised, and therefore, he argued, “according to the dual character of their exploitation, blacks have constituted a ‘race’ and a ‘class’ group at the same time.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have set out two conceptualisations of South African race and class relations- the liberal and the radical schools which enjoyed great currency in scholarly debate. It is not the contention of this analysis that one view is correct and the other false. Theoretical orientations of both schools have been criticised and conclusions about the two schools of interpretation have been discussed together. It is important to note that the publication of works in the 1980’s that challenged the terms of radical-liberal debate, produced more nuanced versions of the nature and effects of class, together with more complex and uneven version of the relationship between apartheid and capitalism. This period also saw the fruits of a more diverse research agenda, with a more explicit interest in the subject of race beginning to feature more prominently. Interestingly, This new assertive and controversial interventions on the subject of race, however came from a new cohort of young scholars many of whom are black, who began to draw attention to the racialised politics of intellectual production in South Africa. In the wake of postmodern and postcolonial preoccupations with the effects of researchers / writer’s positionality in the production of knowledge, scholars like Leroke (1996) and others questioned the extent to which white scholars can effectively and

legitimately document the experiences of black people. This intervention by African scholars was also a response to the suppressed epistemology of race which was inextricably linked to the structure of academic production in South Africa in which whites shaped the historical research agenda and enjoyed preferential access to research skills and resources. The following chapter provides an account of biographical factors, intellectual influences and inspirations that shaped Professor Magubane's life. It also provides insight into the making of his scholarship and traces the historical factors, experiences and contours which shaped his personality, worldviews and writings. This is then followed by an engagement with scholarly outputs on the subject of race, class and inequality.

CHAPTER 5

BERNARD MAGUBANE: A BIOGRAPHY AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the various biographical factors, intellectual influences and inspirations which shaped Professor Magubane's life, career and scholarship. The historical factors, experiences and contours which shaped his personality, worldviews and writings are traced in order to capture the range of issues, processes and developments which influenced different periods and aspects of his thoughts and the development of his theoretical orientations. A biographical criticism approach is used in this chapter to examine the effect and influence of Professor Magubane's life on his work. The premise behind biographical criticism is that, understanding the writer's life and influences helps the reader to discover the author's intended meaning. The aim here is not to retell professor Magubane's life, rather, it is to explain and interpret his works through an engagement with the details and context of his ideas. This is necessary because moments and aspects of Magubane's life may throw up features and developments that could make primary determinants of his consciousness assume the forms of secondary determinants of his scholarship and vice versa. It is highly likely that Professor Magubane's ideas are grounded in institutional parameters which might have informed his thinking. The social, economic and political contexts in which he found himself at the different phases in his life and academic career as a whole are important in making sense of his scholarship and for that reason it will be critical to try and understand his scholarship in relation to the different environments he found himself in and the different people, societies and organisations he interacted with. This is necessary in establishing vital connections which confirm that Professor Magubane's experiences and theoretical positions are products of the material world in which he lived and concerning which he wrote.

Following this introduction, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first provides an insight into Magubane's early life from childhood, departure from the farm to secondary education. The second section provides a summary of his transition from secondary education to university in South Africa and the last one focuses on his academic scholarship at UCLA and UNZA, his writings, intellectual engagements in these different academic environments as well as intellectual influences and their role in shaping his ideas as well as his paradigm shifts.

5.2 Magubane's early life

Professor Magubane was born in 1930 on a farm near Colenso, a town named after British missionary who had come to Natal to convert the 'pagan' Zulus. He was the second of seven children, two of which had passed away in childhood as a result of the absence of doctors and hospitals in the area he lived with his parents. Magubane's early childhood until most of his adult life spanned the period of colonial domination by the British in South Africa. Magubane's grandmother stayed with them on the farm, she was a traditional woman and this was reflected by her hatred for European clothes and the fact that she never converted to Christianity among other things. Magubane's grandmother was affected by the 1846 Land and Boundary Commission which was instituted in 1843 after the area referred to as Natal was declared a British colony. This also includes the 1902-1904 Zululand land delineation Commission- both predated the 1913 Land Act and led to Magubane's grand parents becoming squatters in the land of their ancestors¹². Stories told by Magubane's grandmother about how the Zulu lost their sovereignty to the British hence their becoming squatters on the land on which prior to that they had enjoyed absolute rights, sparked in him an interest in history and politics. The 1913 Land Act had empowered white farmers to evict squatters who refused to work for them as cheap labourers (Magubane, 2010:1-4).

It is however unfortunate that there were no schools on the farms, so from as early as three or four Professor Magubane would tend sheep, goats and cattle. This used to worry Magubane's parents a lot as they valued education and didn't want their children to suffer their fate of being uneducated. His father's keen interest to see his children educated derived in part from his admiration of Dube and Seme who had studied in the United States and had accomplished a lot especially their commitment to the political struggle for the emancipation of the African people (Magubane, 2010:4). Magubane's familiarity with political developments in South Africa actually started at a tender age. Magubane recalls some of the political developments in South Africa which took place in his childhood that were often discussed by his father and his friends. This inevitably influenced his interest in politics and history in general. Of great significance to his writing career and the content and subject of his works on race and inequality in South Africa is the 1913 Native Land Act which regulated land possession in the four provinces of South Africa between indigenous African chiefdoms and kingdoms. In

¹² Magubane, B. My life and times. Scottsville, South Africa: University of Kwazulu Natal Press. Pp 4

terms of this Act, Magubane (2010:4) noted that “Africans could not own land they once occupied and on which they enjoyed usufruct.” Additionally, the Act empowered White farmers to evict squatters who refused to work for them as cheap labour.” His parents and grandparents were actually victims of this Act as they also squatted and worked on the farm which was owned by White men. Magubane (2010:4) recalled how his parents would talk about this Act and how it affected African families who lost their land and were left with no choice but to voluntarily work for the White men. In the *Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*, Magubane (1979) emphasizes the role of economic variables as leading force in the historical process in South Africa. As he analyses the development of racism in South Africa, he argues that,

Racism in South Africa has merged historically and is inextricably connected to the rise of capitalism and imperialism.....to study the development of capitalism is the best way to study race inequality. For to do so places socio-economic relationships at the heart of the problem (Magubane, 1979: 3).

The forceful acquisition of African land by the Whites which Magubane recalls from stories in his childhood, is actually one of these economic variables, which makes Magubane conclude in most of his works that, contrary to talk of the ‘civilizing mission’ which the settlers explained as the basis of their conquest, this conquest was actually motivated by economic motives, hence the use of race to justify White supremacy, inevitably creating a permanent class of proletariat on whom the prosperity of the political economy of the settler economy rested (Magubane,2007: 202). Magubane’s experience on the farm and the fact that “it was customary for the farmer to demand the services of the squatters children whenever he needed more labour” (Magubane, 2010: 14), actually influenced Magubane’s analysis and his conclusions about the relationship between the development of capitalism and racism in South Africa.

In his works, Magubane writes about the poor white problem and this is an issue that his father and his drinking buddies used to discuss. Magubane (1996:334) commented on the poor white problem in his discussion of the development of capitalism in South Africa. He argued that the emergence of the poor White problem made it obvious that it was not a sufficient answer to say that capitalism encouraged the exploitation of and oppression of black worker for its ends. This for him excused the poor Whites and was therefore an indication that both class and race factors had a part to play in the development of capitalism. According to Magubane (1996:334), the emergence of the poor white created a dilemma for

those who believed in the superiority of Whites and this problem became a subject of great concern in the Afrikaner Bond congress in the 1890's. Magubane (2010: 10) found the fixation in discourse on the poor white problem to be a bit problematic as it was an indication of the preferential treatment of the Whites. Magubane (2010:10) recalled how he often wondered,

If all this was happening to White families, what was happening to African families? (Magubane, 2010:10).

Yet, what puzzled him was the absence of the experiences of the black people in the news papers during that period. Magubane tried to find out if news papers of the time carried stories of the plight of the Africans and he found none. The neglect of the experiences of the black people is one element that Magubane criticizes in the liberal analysis of African history. It is possible that Magubane's experiences and his recall of the neglect of African experiences actually influenced his works particularly his general intellectual standpoint which is derived from a rootedness in the African conditions and a centring of African experiences as basis of his intellectual work (Adesina, 2008:135).

Magubane actually noted that the absence of the African experience is one of the questions he sought to answer in his first book *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979). After reading *The Oxford History of South Africa* as well as T.R.H Davenport's *South Africa: A Modern History*, Magubane noted that it became quite obvious to him that there was something wrong with this analysis¹³, additionally he pointed out that the very absence of the words, 'dispossession', 'oppression,' and 'exploitation' in South African History books was conspicuous (2010:254). Magubane argued further that Africans were regarded as simple objects not really actors hence nothing was said about the ANC or the labour struggle.¹⁴

In this respect Professor Magubane criticises analyses of South African racism which put Afrikaner history at the heart of the problem. He argues that South African race relations studies is bedevilled by a narrow focus on the character and experiences of the Afrikaner, rather than a systematic analysis of aspects of imperialism that foster inequality and racism. Implied in this statement, is the need to take seriously, the experiences of the Africans, their

¹³ Magubane, B. Field Interview. 29 December 2007 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

¹⁴ Magubane, B. Field Interview. 29 December 2007 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

exploitation and expropriation of their land, for instance, as central to understanding the development of race relations in South Africa. Magubane (1996: 65) argues that the experiences of the people who became the object of European domination and exploitation testify to the fact that what the bourgeoisie wanted was freedom of capital in order to enhance capital accumulation.

Magubane would almost certainly have grown up to be a farm worker had his father not moved the family suddenly to the city of Durban following a clash with the farm owner. The move to Durban conveniently opened a whole new world for Magubane and his siblings for up to that time he had never been in a classroom. Magubane's family left the farm for Durban as a result of a confrontation between his father and the farmer who had demanded services of Magubane's cousins (Magubane, 2010:11). Magubane regarded this as a revolutionary act for by leaving the farm, Magubane's father had deprived the farmer not only of his power but of the labour of his children and nephews. Magubane's family settled in Durban and Him and his siblings were enrolled at a primary school called Mount Carmel. In 1941, the Roman Catholic Church's Order of Mary Immaculate built a church and a school named Mazenod and Magubane transferred from Mount Carmel to Mazenod.

Magubane's father worked as a dockworker and earned very little so his wife would help out by brewing African beer to sell to migrant labourers who worked in the docks and factories in Durban. This was the period of the post world war and stories of what was happening in Europe would be recorded in the Daily News. When his father's friends came to drink, Magubane would read the articles out to them and this inculcated in him a love for reading and he could not help but become politically conscious. Reading articles in the daily newspaper opened Magubane's eyes to the reality of the sufferings that people were going through in Europe as a result of the war. He also got to learn about the developments on the warfront as well as political developments among Africans. Developments in the warfront that Magubane read in the newspapers radicalised Africans politically such that at the end of the war the mood amongst Africans was one of hope and expectation.

These developments also introduced Magubane to what he referred to as the 'three isms': capitalism, communism and Nazism (Magubane, 2010:24). Looking back at his own political development, Magubane acknowledges that his father's interest in political news left an

impact on his intellectual development (Magubane, 2010:21). In 1945 Magubane passed his Standard Six and his life continued to revolve around school even up to standard seven which was considered a significant milestone. He initially wanted to go to Medical School but this was detracted by the fact that he ended up going to teacher training instead of studying for the joint matriculation board. He completed Standard eight in 1947 and standard nine in 1948 which he passed well with a second class. He then went to Marriannahill for a third-class teacher's certificate in 1949 (Magubane, 2010).

Magubane's stay at Marriannahill was most fruitful because of the academic climate. The school was well equipped with well qualified teachers and resources as well. In addition to this, Magubane (2010:34) noted that his experience at Marriannahill was eye opening and this was partly due to debates on political developments in South Africa that he used to engage in. These political developments included apartheid and segregation, the charter of the United Nation and the capability of the African as well as the formation of the African National Congress. For Magubane, this was much more educational than formal classroom lessons. In these debates, Magubane was especially impressed and influenced by Bernard Chidzero who later became Zimbabwe's first prime minister of finance. Chidzero read books and spoke eloquently and this also opened his political eyes and inspired him to read widely. Magubane qualified as a teacher in 1950 and went to teach at his old school in Mazenod. As a teacher Magubane rubbed shoulders with many of the country's great academics, his passion for learning eventually led him on to the University of Natal. By 1951 when Magubane started teaching, he was already imbued with the radical spirit of African nationalism. The launch of the defiance campaign in 1952 and stories and pictures of Africans and Indians who volunteered to go to prison in defiance of the laws that segregated people opened his political eyes even wider.

These segregationist policies also extended to the education realm with the introduction of Bantu education which Magubane interpreted as preparing students for subordinate roles in the society (Magubane, 2010:24). The law, Bantu education Act was passed together with other repressive laws in 1950's. The Bantu education Act codified several aspects of the Apartheid system and enforced the separation of races in all educational institutions. Bantu education became a major point of debate as South Africans were against it. Some even left for other countries and as a result there was a major brain drain for African schools. Most of Magubane's friends left for Swaziland. Had he not been married he would have also left for

Swaziland, further, because he only had a teachers training certificate, he would not have been accepted to teach in Swaziland. Magubane ended up going to Satri College to study for the national certificate which was equivalent of the joint matriculation board which would enable him to study for a Bachelors degree if he passed.

During this time the struggles around education continued and they catapulted him into politics (Magubane, 2010:25). The main objective of the policy of apartheid was to guarantee that white supremacy should define the status quo in South Africa. As Verwoerd the architect of grand apartheid put it

Reduced to its simplest form, the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white . . . Keeping it White can only mean one thing, namely, White domination—not “leadership,” not guidance,” but “Control,” “Supremacy (Magubane, 2010:25).

In response to this speech, Edward Dlamini, a colleague of Magubane challenged the Standard six and seven teachers to approach teaching politically by encouraging students to look upon their education as a political act. The teachers applied themselves and worked with renewed zeal and as a result their students from 1953 onwards achieved the best results. Edward also encouraged students to engage with the history of South African heroes like Shaka, Mzlikazi and owing to Edwards influence, *Advance* and the later *New Age* became Magubane’s reading material. These newspapers were a response to the privately-owned liberal press that was seen as being white-oriented and pro-establishment.

Magubane’s interest in these newspapers stemmed from the fact that they addressed relevant issues which included a critique of apartheid, issues of Nationalism and class, critique of discussions of what was happening in Vietnam and American imperialism. Magubane considered this as informal education to Marxism and class.¹⁵ Magubane enrolled for Matric whilst teaching at Mazenod, he passed and Mrs Palmer a lady in charge of admissions for Non Europeans was impressed with Magubane’s results and so she arranged for a fellowship of 50 pounds at the University of Natal. He joined the University of Natal in 1954 but continued to teach part time. In this university environment many people influenced Magubane including an underground communist party that had been banned in 1952, and as a

¹⁵ Magubane, B. Field Interview. 29 December 2007 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

result his political consciousness came to maturity (Magubane, 2010:76).¹⁶

5.3 Magubane's University career in South Africa

In 1954 Bernard Magubane began his university career. He studied towards a BA in Sociology and was encouraged by Mphiwe Mbatha to do a BA (Hons) in Sociology after he completed his BA. Mphiwe Mbatha was Magubane's family friend who had joined the staff at Mazenod where Magubane was teaching. At the university, Magubane spent much of his time reading and engaging in intellectual debates about the situation in South Africa and developments abroad. At the University of Natal, Magubane met a number of ANC members and underground activists of the communist party, which had been banned in 1952. There was Ernest Gallo who was very sophisticated politically, Galeke Sello one of the most articulate members of the ANC. All these people were influencing Magubane and it was in this environment that Magubane's political consciousness came to maturity.¹⁷

According to Magubane (2010:82), postgraduate work exposed him to interesting debates over a number of ideological and theoretical issues, especially on the relevance of Marxism and Nationalism in the African struggle. It was during this period at Natal that Magubane became familiar with Marxism as well as debates around Marxism (Magubane, 2010:77). As a critical thinker, Magubane was schooled by eminent scholars within the liberal-pluralist paradigm, but emigrated towards an understanding of South Africa and African history and sociology through Marxism, a journey that shaped him as an African intellectual. Magubane took classes with Pierre van der Berghe (a visiting sociology lecturer and the author of '*South Africa: A study in conflict*' (1965) who rejected the Marxian class analysis in the study of the racial question in South Africa and favoured the concept of social pluralism.

The writings of Van Der Berghe are typical examples of the liberal stance which take race as the primary variable and treat class relations as secondary to, even derivative of racial conflict. It is this reductionist analysis which Magubane criticizes in the *Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979), in which he deals with the class basis of social

¹⁶ Magubane, B. Field Interview. 29 December 2007 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

¹⁷ Magubane, B. My life and Times Manuscript.

inequality in South Africa by showing the intersection of both race and class in South Africa in the development of inequalities in South Africa. In his analysis of race relations in the gold mining industry, Magubane (1979:97) actually argues that the mining industry found ways of combining both skilled and unskilled labour, the levels marked as well by race and colour, and victor and vanquished. Magubane thus found the logic of class analysis as a most compelling way to explain African exploitation and oppression. He also found that in the concept of social pluralism, nothing was ever said about oppression or exploitation and it suddenly dawned on him why Marxists and those who used class analysis were subjected to banning and persecution. The many voices of the oppressed were thus conspicuous by their absence, as they were deliberately silenced (Magubane, 2010: 86). In his moment of reflection Professor Magubane also came to the realization that liberal social scientists rejected class analysis as a way of evading the burning issues of capitalist exploitation and inhumanity (Magubane, 2010:87).

The rigorous debates that Magubane engaged in as well as intellectual influences were the very foundations of Magubane's theoretical orientations which eventually determined his conceptualisation of the race question in South Africa. These debates were about ideological and theoretical issues, especially on the relevance of Marxism to the African struggle for liberation in South Africa. At the same time Magubane was reading *New Age* which offered him more pertinent ideas about class stratification in South Africa than Kuper's *An African Bourgeoisie*. Kuper (Magubane's mentor) had rejected a class analysis and argued that South Africa was not a typical class society. Here, he argued,

Racial divisions cut across class divisions; economic questions are presented as racial questions; class alignments and divisions appear as combinations and hostilities between nationalities (in Magubane, 2010:83).

As Magubane familiarised himself with Marxist literature, he found that the concept of class was also rejected by political scientists who espoused the concept of social pluralism. Kuper also rejected class analysis in the classes that Magubane took under in his undergraduate studies. At this level they never read any Marxist work and took whatever the lecturer said in class. During his undergraduate, Magubane had actually accepted that Marxist class analysis was inapplicable to situations in South Africa. However the debate at Rowley Arensteins

house changed his outlook on the application of Marxism to the oppression and exploitation of Africans. He found the logic of class analysis, a most compelling way to explain African oppression and exploitation. Class analysis which the liberals and pluralists rejected inevitably brought to the surface the capitalist basis of production which was based on race and class exploitation thus revealing the cruelty of White imperialism. This was a great eye opener for Magubane hence he made it a point in his career to criticise liberal analysis especially Van Den Berghes exposition on the theory of social pluralism.

These debates around Marxism, Magubane (2010:88) argues, raised fundamental questions about the nature of South African society and its exploitative practices which he tried to deal with in his first book, *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979). Magubane (2010:88) pointed out that Marxism aimed to change society and it was deeper than caricatured portrayal made of it by its enemies. In this regard, one can actually see the impact of Marxism on Magubane in his first book where he boldly declares the objective of his analysis in the *Political Economy of Race and Class In South Africa (1979)*. In the introduction Magubane points out that

Although the book is a glimpse at some horrors inflicted upon South African people, the purpose is not to evoke pity, but to indicate the necessity for transforming the system of oppression... (Magubane, 1979: xi).

Although Magubane acknowledge all that Kuper did for him as his mentor, he still maintained his theoretical shift from an acceptance of pluralist theories at undergraduate level to a shift to Marxism during his postgraduate studies. His differences with Kuper in analysis were therefore not an indication of him being ungrateful but rather an expression of honest intellectual disagreement (Magubane, 2010:87). Liberals rejected class analysis, arguing that it didn't apply to societies like South Africa, especially to the white working class among whom race was a material reality of greater significance than class (Magubane, 2010:97). Magubane considered this hypocritical, in view of the fact that for him the Marxian class analysis put in perspective the South African situation.

This is highlighted in his works where he continuously highlights the importance of class analysis and shows the importance of grasping the real agenda of the White Settler society in

South Africa; which was to usurp the land of the indigenous people, destroy them through genocidal wars and reduce them to a super exploited proletariat. The objective core of class was for Magubane mediated by ideology, which is the refraction of objective reality in human consciousness and therefore a historical account of class would be incomplete without ideological mediations (Magubane, 1979). Magubane's continuous engagement in academic debates broadened his insight into class analysis in South Africa. Magubane found these debates interesting and he was learning all the time and relating what he learnt to his existential situation and conditions in South Africa. In 1960, just before the Sharpsville massacre, there was a debate at Rolly Arenstein's house on whether the class analysis was applicable in situation where race split the working class along racial lines. Although Magubane had not yet familiarised himself with Marxism at the time of the debate, he could still relate to some of the issues that were raised.

He concurred with Gallo who raised the point that class and national consciousness were not mutually exclusive. Magubane could relate to that because he had learnt from Ferdinand Tönnies, the German sociologists that, in modern society, especially in industrialising society, individuals have multiple identities. All these small developments were to have an impact on Magubane's class analysis and are therefore important in making sense of the development of his ideas over time. Magubane enrolled for both Honours and Masters with Leo Kuper who had received a grant to carry out a study in Durban. It was during the Honours classes that Magubane was formally introduced to the works of Marx Weber and Emile Durkheim. Unlike his bachelors level where he had absorbed everything he was taught without questioning, at honours level he began to develop critical faculty and started questioning the relevance of whatever he was taught to the life of an African in South Africa (Magubane, 2010:45).

This helped him identify the inadequacy of some these theories in explaining political developments in South Africa and this was because theories of society were taught to them without context as if they were applicable to societies across time and space. In 1959, when Magubane was writing his MA, he got an opportunity to apply for a fellowship in the United States which he got. By then he had a wife and three children and going to America was a

difficult decision to make.¹⁸ When people asked him why he was making such a sacrifice, the only answer he could give was that he did not want to be party to Bantu education.¹⁹ Magubane arrived in UCLA in 1962, and after completing his doctorate, he spent three years teaching in Zambia. He returned to the United States in 1970 and took up a post in Anthropology at the University of Connecticut, where he spent the next 28 years. This period is very important in understanding Magubane's scholarship for it marked the development of Magubane's writing career.

5.4. Magubane's experiences at UCLA and UNZA: Towards an understanding of Magubane's intellectual scholarship and the beginning of his writing career.

Magubane's academic career is well reflected in his experiences and intellectual engagements in the United States and the University of Zambia. The move to the United States impacted on Magubane so much, as he came under the influence of different academic mentors. This was also a different political and social environment which together with intellectual influences, shaped his outlook on political developments in South Africa as well as his interpretation of crucial and related developments in America. Magubane enrolled for a PhD in sociology and Anthropology from 1962- 1966. Throughout his post graduate education at UCLA, Magubane read voraciously on any and every subject on his own (Magubane, 2010:116). It is quite possible that Magubane's historical analysis adopted in most of his works was actually influenced by some of the literature he read whilst doing his PhD.

He read a book by Appleman Williams- *History as a way of learning* in which the author argued that history helps us understand our world and ourselves so that each of us individually and in conjunction with our fellow men, can formulate relevant and reasoned alternative and become meaningful actors in making history. In his works, Magubane discusses the significance of the historical perspective in the analysis of race and class in South Africa. He also makes various arguments for the importance of including historical analysis in certain areas of study in the social sciences and he even criticizes studies that have ignored history to explain certain social phenomena. Insight into history as a way of learning

¹⁸ Magubane, B. Field Interview. 29 December 2007 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

¹⁹ Magubane, B. Field Interview. 29 December 2007 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

made him understand the United States better and more importantly these books also put in perspective the virulent anti-communism that prevailed in South Africa in the period after the Second World War

Whilst in UCLA, Magubane became friends with Tony Asika, a Nigerian who had studied at the University of Ibadan and had been exposed to a lot of literature by his professors. Tony introduced Magubane to Marxist literature. The works of a Marxist American philosopher were also a greater eye opener for Magubane.²⁰ He read the works of Burrows Dunham who had written such books as *Man against Myth* and *Heroes and Heretics*. He also read a lot of African American literature- Du Bois, Alphas Hinton and many other African American writers on whom he subsequently consulted when he wrote his doctoral dissertation (Magubane2010:120). When Magubane first arrived at UCLA, Professors and students were afraid of reading Karl Marx but this later changed. This change was brought by the rise of student movement and anti-war movement as well as the rise and growing influence of radical scholarship. One of the most impressive of these scholars was C.Wright Mills. The issues of class and exploitation were also forgotten issues in the US intellectual discourse. The arrival of Magubane's family made everything so much easier although they arrived when he was busy writing his dissertation. The dissertation also required field work and so Magubane had to decide on a topic.

He had developed interest in African American literature as well as issues of Pan -Africanism in which he got inspiration from reading a book on the ravages of imperialism in Africa. At around the same time, the question of alienation sparked a considerable discussion in the sociology department at UCLA and this in a way influenced Magubane's decision to do a library dissertation on Africa and its meaning for African Americans. This was a burning debate at the time, so he wrote a proposal which was accepted. He eventually settled on the question of African-American consciousness of Africa, which was subsequently published by Africa World Press.

Magubane submitted his dissertation in 1966 and in 1967 he took up a lecturing post in Zambia. Magubane's teaching career began in Zambia where he taught Sociology,

²⁰ Magubane.B. My Life and Times Manuscript.

sociological Theory and Race Relations. He had an option to go and teach at the University of Washington in Seattle which would mean a better salary but he chose to go to Zambia simply because it was part of Southern Africa region in the struggle and that after 1964, Zambia was hosting all the liberations and the university was new and starting in 1965. Magubane thought that going to Zambia would give him an excellent environment to test the ideas that he had been discussing with other African students.²¹ Magubane was unfortunately challenged intellectually in Zambia as he tried to figure out how he would relate everything he had learnt in UCLA to the courses he was now teaching at UNZA.²² He was asked to teach a theory class, Urban Sociology class and he also had to write notes for corresponding students. When he went to Zambia, Magubane was preoccupied with theories about the growth of cities and urban life in Europe and America and because of this he felt ill equipped for a society like Zambia. He found the works of Chicago school irrelevant to the Zambian context. Unfortunately he now had to read works by Anthropologists on what they had written about Zambia and the more he read these books the more disenchanted he became with Anthropologists approach, which studied African societies as if they were static entities frozen in space and time. This new outlook had been influenced by C. Wright Mills who had criticized sociologist for what he called the lack of Sociological imagination and John Horton who had trained him to read critically (Magubane, 2010)²³

Whilst in Zambia, two major features characterised his scholarship and career. Firstly, his intellectual tools were sharpened especially his understanding and application of Marxism. Magubane (2010:184) pointed out that he actually had to retool completely, and this meant rejecting some adopting and rejecting some theoretical frames of analysis. Secondly, Magubane set under the strong influence of and at the same time he was passionately committed to the ANC, worked closely with it whilst he was in Zambia (Oliver Tambo often stayed with his family), and became a central figure in the Anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. Magubane noted that going to Zambia was the best choice he ever made for his own intellectual and political development. He found himself in Lusaka with all the liberations movements from Southern Africa, Filimo from Mozambique, MPLA from Angola, ZAPU

²¹ Magubane, B. Field Interview. 31 December 2009 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

²² Magubane, B. My Life and Times Manuscript.

²³ Magubane, B. My Life and Times Manuscript.

and ZANU from Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia)²⁴. Being close to the ANC in Zambia kept him close to the pulse of the liberation struggle. Had he not gone to Zambia, Magubane would not have gotten the chance of attending the Morogoro conference.²⁵

This conference was called to deal with the many problems that plagued the ANC following the suspension of the guerrilla incursions into Rhodesia (Magubane, 2010:156). Not only was Magubane invited to attend the conference but he was also worked on a monthly newspaper *Mayibuye* which was concerned with resolutions to put the Morogoro conference to move the struggle forward. For Magubane, this was a matter of being in the right place at the right time. At Morogoro, Magubane learnt that, “given what was at stake for the White minority regime and its imperialist backers, the struggle would be protracted, with its upturns and downturns, but would undoubtedly be crowned with success” (Magubane, 2010:162). This is the spirit that Magubane carried away with him from the conference and it would sustain him throughout his exile years.

Magubane’s scholarship and teaching began to take off in Zambia as he progressed in his understanding of Marxism. Jack and Ray Simon’s book - *Class and Colour in South Africa* as well as the academic debates and discussions held by Jack and Ray Simmons also had a huge impact on Magubane’s conceptualisation of the South African situation. He discovered in these sessions that all he had been taught about South Africa was actually propaganda and gross distortion of everything (Magubane, 2010:163). This gave him determination to read everything he could find that Marx and Engels had written. Simmons’ *Race and Colour in South Africa* was his first encounter with a history that applied historical materialism, an approach that he also adopted in his 1979 book- *The political economy of race and class in South Africa*. This book cleared a lot of questions that Magubane had and unlike earlier conceptualization which he had read in books by liberals who conceptualised imperialism as a civilizing mission. He learnt the importance of history and of understanding the South African society as a totality (Magubane, 2010:163). Magubane had initially accepted the dominant paradigm of the Chicago school on urban sociology and of social pluralism in the study of African societies.

²⁴ Magubane, B. Field Interview . 31 December 2009 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

²⁵ Magubane, B. Field Interview.31 December 2009 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

However, given what he saw at the Copper belt in Zambia he found that he could not apply these paradigms so he completely rejected them. His travel around the Copper Belt towns of Kitwe and Ndola gave him a new perspective on the nature of colonialism and especially of so-called underdevelopment. He found an urban complex that was like Johannesburg that had been spawned by the mining industry. Magubane found that, the Chicago school of urban sociology that dominated urban studies in the US had no relevance to the situation that he saw in Zambia. The rejection of the approaches by the Manchester school is the very basis of his essays which refuted these paradigms.

As he continued to search literature in search for the material he was going to teach he continually discovered that all the material he was reading had nothing to do with what he was observing empirically. Some of the literature he found irrelevant to the Zambian context include A.L Epstein's book *Politics in urban African community*, Gluckman's book *The Khalela dance* to mention a few. These authors – Gluckman, Clyde, Meyer and others of the Manchester school were trying to come to grips with whether African migrant workers were town's people or tribesmen. Magubane argued that the concepts they used reduced Africans into caricatures and for him they seem to miss the point completely. Theoretically for Magubane, the issue was why mining capitalists did not want Africans employed in the mines, towns and cities to bring their wives and children so that they could become permanent dwellers in these urban areas, as in England's mining towns such as Newcastle (Magubane,2010:1).

From this alone it becomes obvious that Magubane's intellectual accounts were historically constituted and socially developed. He also read Marx and Engels' book, *The Condition of the Working Class* and other works by Marx and Engels and some volumes of Lenin which were a great eye opener. *The Condition of the Working Class* described the poverty of the Irish in a way that, for Magubane, appeared as though one was talking about the slum conditions in the urban areas of South Africa or the Copper Belt. He decided there and there that this is what he was going to teach his students because the book dealt with poverty as well as the fact that the white people who went to colonies were, in the main, themselves the rejects of society. He gave the students a passage to read from *The Conditions of the Working Class* and it surprised them that those who proclaimed themselves superior in the colonies

came from such decrepit condition. In this way Magubane was able to convince his students of the workings of capitalism that is a system which by means of depriving subsistence producers of their means of subsistence now employs them at miserable wages.

To divide the white and black working class it fed workers the ideology of white supremacy and differentiates them from Africans by giving them preferential treatment. The effect of this book- *The Condition of the Working Class* is later reflected in his book '*The making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and the Union of South Africa* (1996) in which he described the class background of the British settlers who came to South Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In describing the class background of the settlers he tries to make the same argument that is made in *The Condition of the working class* by showing that those who came to colonise Africa actually came from poor backgrounds but used imperialist ideology (which emphasised the existence of superior and inferior race) to dominate the black working class and to divide the workers. Magubane pointed out that

These settlers were victims of deep and thoroughgoing changes that were being experienced by British society because of the industrial revolution. Among them were unemployed tradesmen, disappointed artisans, and distraught members of the landed elite from that section of the gentry whose economic fortunes and social privilege had declined as agriculture lost its dominance in the British economy (Magubane, 1996:42)

In addition to the works of Marxist scholars, Magubane also drew insight from his own experiences as a child having been brought up in an era of colonial domination. His background and recollections of how he had left the countryside for the city, with his father being a squatter, having been in this situation, naturally gave him insights into the colonial situation and therefore enabled him to see through intellectual bankruptcy, if dishonesty in sidelining issues pertaining to the colonial situation when discussing modern Africa. One of the problems that Magubane had with colonial studies especially Anthropology colonial studies was the failure to address the terms of Africa's conquest and for this reason Magubane set to tackle all these shortcomings by addressing and criticizing theoretical approaches adopted in the social sciences as well as giving alternative approaches that for him addressed the real issues particularly in South Africa's colonial history. His dissatisfaction with the literature he read as well as some of the intellectual influences and most importantly his experiences with Bantu education propelled him into his writing career.

5.5 Magubane's writing career begins

Magubane's experience with Bantu education made it imperative for him to confront the literature he considered irrelevant by critically reviewing it. Ploughing through the literature of the Manchester school raised in Magubane a need to vent his frustrations in a critical review of the books he had read (Magubane,2010:170). He wrote his first paper – '*Prescriptive vocabularies of social change and their implications*' for the second International Congress of Africanists held in Dakar (Magubane, 2010:170). His serious interrogation of Anthropology was published in 1968 in the East African journal, and was entitled '*Crisis is African Sociology*'. This was a frontal attack on the Manchester school and it elicited a lot of reaction among scholars though African reactions were generally positive (Magubane, 2010:173). Magubane felt a great deal of resentment from these Anthropologists who were held in very high esteem in Anthropological circles. Nevertheless, Magubane wouldn't be dissuaded from exposing his students to radical scholarship that explained the colonial situation and underdevelopment. He wrote his third paper for a 1968 conference held in Makerere and it covered some methodological and ideological issues in the study of social change in Africa as exemplified in studies of migrant labour. Magubane also wrote another paper entitled "A critical look at the indices used in the study of social change in colonial Africa" which was published in the journal, *Current Anthropology*.

Although these articles infuriated the established experts on Africa, they endeared Magubane to African scholars and thrust his name into international debates, as did his paper entitled '*The political economy of migrant labour*' presented at the African studies conference, at Makerere in Uganda. This particular article was a more sustained critique of the Manchester school and it solicited mixed responses. Some responses were positive and some were negative. The hostility of some of the responses spurred him to write a simple rejoinder stating that what pleased him most was that the audience to whom his paper was directed, loved it, and the fact that people he was criticising did not like it actually spoke for itself (Magubane, 2010:216).

Magubane also criticised the theory of social pluralism which had gained currency in sociological theory after the publication of Pierre Van den Berghe's book, *South Africa: A study in conflict*. Kuper, Magubane's mentor became an avid Pluralist after reading the works of a Dutch Anthropologist whose theory was to provide an answer to Marxist class analysis.

Magubane's criticism of the theory of social pluralism was that it was a complete distortion of reality and it warped social analysis. For him it drew attention away from the gross exploitation in colonial societies. Such works include Marx Weber's *Protestant Ethic* and *The spirit of Capitalism* which explained the rise of capitalism in the West. This book enjoyed wide circulation among bourgeois scholars and this thesis ignored slavery and colonization of the world and glorified bourgeois entrepreneur, whilst mystifying the brutal exploitation of labour by the capitalists.

Rejecting accepted theoretical perspectives had consequences both at UZNA and UCLA but Magubane was not threatened by this, he stood for what he believed in. Magubane found the work of C.Wright Mills illuminating. The three seminal works that Magubane found interesting are *The Sociological Imagination* (1959), *The power of the elite* (1956), and an edited book, *Images of Man: The classic tradition in Sociological thinking* (1960). It is however unfortunate that Mills never got promoted to full professorship because the books he had written that was critical of the power of the elite (Magubane, 2010:117). In spite of all this, Magubane pursued Marxism and he continued to read Marxist literature. His intellectual tools were further sharpened by reading Jack Simons book about the arrival of the Trade Unionists in the Kimberly mines, who introduced trade unionism. He also read the communist manifesto which left an indelible impression on him. In his scholarship, he was trying to advance as an alternative to pluralism. His views were also reinforced by his discussions with Frankenburg and Joyce, a medical doctor and medical anthropologist who approached the problems of health from a class perspective. At this point Marxist explanation was beginning to make sense, enabling him to understand how world events in places as faraway as the US and Vietnam impacted on contemporary developments even in Zambia.

Magubane spent three years in Zambia and later returned to the United States where he took up a post in Anthropology at the University of Connecticut, where he spent the next 27 years. He was however no mere detached academic. Throughout his time outside South Africa, Magubane continued his previous engagement as an active member of the ANC. Magubane had become a member of the ANC as early as the 1951 when he started teaching so the political development in South Africa was of great interest to him (Magubane, 2010:208). During this period the political situation in South Africa was also heating up and Magubane found himself not only writing about political developments there, but also being invited to

many universities to give talks (Magubane, 2010:208).

Teaching at UCLA contributed to Magubane's intellectual development. Magubane's teaching experience at Uconn was interesting because at the time the liberal paradigm everywhere was being challenged by a Marxist paradigm. He started subscribing to Marxist journals and magazine which include- *The Nation magazine*, *New Left Review*, *Freedom Ways*, and *Liberator* to mention a few. He read these journals vigorously and they influenced his ideological outlook and he even acknowledged that this is reflected in his writings (2010:209). His encounters with influential black thinkers, teachers and activists of the time also influenced his intellectual development significantly (2010:209). During this period in Uconn he started writing *The political economy of Race and Class*, which was eventually published in 1979. This book offered competition to the Neo-Marxist scholarship that had developed in South Africa. His focus in this book was on certain issues that white scholars were taking for granted and thereby never discussed, for example why the Africans were oppressed and exploited the way they were. He sought to answer the real problem in South Africa which he found to be National oppression and class oppression and once he identified the problem he then discussed the continuing role and dynamics of conquest in creating the kind of society that established in the gold mining industry. In this book Magubane adopted a Marxist paradigm and being at UCONN, in a radical department that was not shy to expose class analysis in Marxian terms, created a platform for him to fully adopt and utilise the Marxist paradigm without fear of being punished for Marxist ideas.

Magubane's writing career was very much linked to his political commitment and as a result he often thought of the role he would play in the struggle. His whole attitude was how; through his writing, he could articulate the aims and advance the objectives of the struggle. At UCON he fortunately found an excellent environment in which he could continue in his political activity by writing about the struggle and at the same time make a living through teaching. This political commitment is well reflected in some of the conferences he attended. These conferences also contributed to his intellectual development as they provided a platform for him to share his ideas in the debates that raged at these conferences.

In 1974, Magubane was invited to attend a conference whose theme was to assess the potential for change in Southern Africa. Magubane was also to present a paper and although

his paper was later rejected, all these experiences impacted on his scholarship and are thus important in understanding him as an intellectual. He was asked to write on ideological changes among Africans, which he found limiting so he decided to write a paper entitled “*The continuing class struggle in South Africa*”. The remarks he made about the conference, which reflect his unhappiness with the composition of those invited to discuss change in South Africa actually give insight into some of his published works , specifically his 1979 book “*The political economy of Race and Class in South Africa.*”

The conference presenters were told what to focus on and the theme and focus of the conference was broken down for them. Under the sub-heading Intellectual focus “contemporary” was referred to as changes that were presently discernible or predictable. They were warned that

Discussions and the book will not be primarily historical in approach, nor will they be related to any single historical starting point (Magubane, 2010:260).

For Magubane this did not make sense for he considered it impossible to understand African attitudes without doing some historical digging about how they came to be what they are. For Magubane, a discussion on ideological change would inevitably require an analysis of the statistics about the number of Africans who were political prisoners, arrested for various offences that were deliberately created by the racist laws. For Magubane, change required a historical analysis and this is a point he makes in “*The political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*”. He makes the point that this book was written as yet another instalment whose purpose was to help chart a clear ideological and analytical direction. To achieve this, he argued that there was a need for the movement’s strategy to be based on a correct historical understanding for He conceptualised the present as both a process and a system of definite historical development, whose dynamics and mechanisms had to be understood if the movement was to succeed (Magubane, 1979). He also made the argument that scholarship is not a neutral exercise rather it is historically conditioned. In all his works Magubane emphasizes the importance of a historical analysis in understanding the contemporary period as well as bringing change.

The other problem that Magubane had with the conference was the fact that although the

conference sought to address issues of change in Southern Africa, not a single African, Coloured or Indian from inside the country was invited to the conference. There was also not a single representative of the ANC and Magubane conceptualised this exclusion of Africans and the ANC as an agenda that tried to advance a change that was not a right kind of change. Magubane also attended a conference on *Societies of Southern Africa* in which he was just an interested observer. Magubane problems with this conference were almost similar to the problems he had with conference mentioned earlier. Shula Marks was talking about the book she was just finishing called *Bambata Rebellion*. In his remarks Magubane noted that he didn't think that a white person can write about Bambata and this really annoyed Shula Marks. Magubane acknowledged that Shula Marks was probably one of the best South African historians, and so his remark was prompted by the absence of the African voice in the conference. Magubane was often very scornful of his opponents in the conferences he attended, but unfortunately they had more power than he had and as a result his contribution were often sidelined and even scorned. These debates and the suppression of the African voice in these debates, did not discourage Magubane, if anything they inspired him to write and expose what he believed was the truth behind African exploitation, this for him was necessary if any change was to take place in South Africa, hence his life long study of the political economy of race and class in South Africa. Professor Magubane returned to South Africa in 1997 and joined the SHRC as a senior research fellow.

5.6 Conclusion

An engagement with the life and experiences of Professor Magubane both as a scholar and as a political activist has shown that his scholarship was largely shaped by his experiences in academic circles. The first of the challenges he had to overcome was Bantu education as it robbed generations from navigating a globalised world where education is a basic tool for survival. In all his works Magubane emphasized the significance of the African voice hence his critic of the liberal school in his works as well as intellectual engagements in conferences, university discussions and academic debates. Throughout his Career Magubane has taken on many of his former teachers, such as Leo Kuper, who were proponents of social pluralism saying that it was not just an idle epistemological exercise but that it had a political agenda that was not only reactionary but also dangerous. For Magubane, advocates of the pluralist school were intellectuals who were threatened by the Marxist paradigm and the force behind the rejection of the Marxist class analysis for example and to offer in its place the social

theory of pluralism was the desire to manipulate and control the political process of liberation in South Africa. In his works Magubane defended the Marxist class analysis and showed how it provided the key to understanding the capitalist mode of production from the standpoint of the exploited class, consequently bringing out the African voice.

CHAPTER 6

BERNARD MAGUBANE ON THE SUBJECT OF RACE, CLASS AND INEQUALITY

6.1 Introduction

The following section provides a critical engagement with the works of Professor Bernard Magubane on the intersection of race, class and inequality. *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979), *The making of a Racist State: British imperialism and the Union of South Africa* (1996), and *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable other* (2007) are good examples on how he deals with the racial and class bases of social inequality as well as the advent of racism in South Africa. His 1979 book is an extended intervention in the race/class debate that explains racialism largely as a function of capitalism's pursuit of profit and this book is an initial step of what turned out to be a long project. Magubane (1979) integrates sociological, economic, historical and political approaches in an effort to comprehend the development of inequality and racism during South Africa's painful and complex history. It would seem, however, that Magubane's ideas shifted over time particularly his analysis of race and class in understanding inequality, towards an autonomous history of racism and beyond the idea that racism is merely a consequence of capitalism. This shift is reflected in his later works and it is also important in understanding his conceptualisation of racism and inequality in South Africa. *The Making of a Racist State: British imperialism and the Union of South Africa* (1996) and *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (2007) are examples of this deepening of his analysis on the interaction of race and class. Magubane's essays in *African Sociology Towards a Critical Perspective: The selected essays of Bernard Magubane* (2001), is also a detailed, insightful and courageous attempt to address, define, evaluate, explain and provide solutions to some of the Third world's most significant problems such as racism and social inequalities. He combines a theoretical and analytical exploration of apartheid imperialism, and colonialism through case studies of South Africa and in the process engages with the question of race and class in South Africa. As a consequence, Magubane, not only provides a critical analysis of apartheid but of sociology as well. This chapter only focuses on Magubane's conceptualization of the concepts of race and class and their dynamic in the development of racism in South Africa. His specific contributions and the relevance of his works will be discussed in chapter 7 by situating and evaluating his works within the larger body of scholarly works on race and class in South Africa.

6.2 Theoretical debates on race, class and inequality in South Africa

The development and practice of racism in South Africa elicited various explanations and a complex literature. The relationship between racial inequality and class structure has been subsumed in a broader debate over the effects of capitalist economic growth on the advance of racist practices and apartheid. From the beginning of the 1970's, these debates split into two principal camps: the 'Liberal' school and the 'neo-Marxist' school. Roughly simplified, it has been the liberal stance, that apartheid has injured the potentials of modern capitalism in South Africa and has thereby limited both economic growth and political freedom. The bearing of the neo-Marxist school is, basically, that the racial system has been beneficial to the ruling class, the South African capitalists, and that it operated with economic functionality and political rational over a long period of time.

For liberals and neo-Marxists alike, the central question about apartheid has been the relationship between racist practices and capitalist developments, the liberals emphasising that racism and capitalism were incompatible, while the Marxists argued that not only were they compatible but that capitalism actually determined racial policies. There is a second dimension to the neo-Marxist position which is where they and Magubane differ. This position is about the singularity of focus that neo-Marxists like Legassick give to class, to the point of displacing race or the nationality question. The analysis provided in chapter four has shown that these two schools of thought are neither unified nor homogeneous. Each one of them however points to fundamental weaknesses in the opposing paradigm, to what it ignores or excludes. The discussion which follows locates Professor Magubane works in the context of these debates by engaging with his works on race, class and inequality in which he provides a historical analysis of the development of racial and class inequalities in South Africa. Although the weaknesses and strengths of each of these schools are discussed in the previous chapter, the purpose of this section is not to solve the fundamental debate, but to discuss Magubane's ideas in response to some of the issues raised in the debates between the Liberals and neo-Marxists scholars.

Professor Bernard Magubane has made a lifelong study of race relations in South Africa, and he did not engage in these studies for their own sake but believed that the task of revealing the real causes of inequalities and racial oppression in South Africa was necessary for transforming the system of oppression (Magubane, 1979). Magubane's own positions which reflect a political commitment in the debates on race and racism are very clear from the very

first sentence in *Race and The Construction of The Dispensable Other* (2007: ix). The direction of his political commitment becomes clear when he writes that contemporary European scientists depicted as ‘bourgeois’, ‘still can’t accept Europe’s responsibility for the African condition’ (2007:25). The section that follows provides an engagement with the works of Professor Magubane and explores race and class ideas that run through his works. The point is to understand how Magubane conceptualised racial and class inequalities in South Africa as well as the methodological and theoretical orientations that informed his analysis.

6.3 Race and class in South Africa: Towards an understanding of Magubane’s methodology and theoretical orientations

The historical materialist perspective is central to Magubane’s analysis of race and class in South Africa. He makes various arguments for the importance of including historical analysis in certain areas of study in the Social Sciences and he also criticizes scholars who have neglected such an analysis. Magubane argued that

To know our present and to shape our future calls for a meaningful understanding of the past- a past which always shapes us in varying degrees and influences our view of who we are. To gain clear understanding, therefore, of how the past bears upon the present, is the purpose of this work (Magubane, 2007:15).

Whilst some approaches put forward to study historical events use the historical materialist approach to bolster and refute certain theoretical assumptions, Magubane utilizes this approach to actually learn from the past and also to see what light it throws into the present. Magubane claims that even when a historical perspective is included in certain studies in the social sciences, they are Eurocentric in that they interpret the history and culture of Non-European societies from a European perspective.

As a result the non- European societies are regarded as inferior and the history of Non-European societies is seen simply in terms, or as part of the “expansion of Europe” and its civilizing influence. In the racist discourse, eurocentrism is indicated by the justification of the exploitation of Africans and their segregation on the basis of race and assumed racial superiority of the White men. Magubane (2007:178) commented on this Eurocentric discourse and pointed out that the exploitation of the Khoikhoi at the Cape was based on Western philosophies about the indogenous people in which they were portrayed as

dangerous savages, a brutal people living without a conscience hence their need to be civilized. The use of the historical materialist perspective is evident in his three books; *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979), *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and the Union of South Africa* (1996) and *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (2007).

For Professor Magubane, present social phenomena cannot be adequately comprehended if we do not understand the historical specificity and the period in which they emerge. Magubane situates questions regarding to race and class within a historical context, and the key concept here is the historical specificity of knowledge- the idea that social phenomena and laws can only be valid in the context of particular historical periods since they are generally specific to them. Magubane's commitment to a historical analysis can be seen in *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979) in which he emphasizes that a theory of racially-based inequalities must first grasp the general character of the epoch. In his selected essays (Magubane, 2000), he reiterates the same argument and points out that

In the study of any phenomena, we should be careful never to lose sight of the character of the epoch that produced it. Thus, our first task should be to define the character of the epoch that gave rise to race and class (Magubane, 2000:465).

Magubane (1979) describes the character of the epoch that produced race and class as that of colonialism, imperialism and the development of capitalism. The role played by these, therefore form the pivots around which the problems of race and class are analysed in the *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979). Racial inequality is conceptualised as an aspect of imperialism and colonialism and since the colonialism of the last five centuries in South Africa is closely associated with the birth and maturation of the capitalist socio-economic system, the study of the development of capitalism is seen as the best way to study race inequality (Magubane, 1979:3).

The term imperialism is used to refer to the specific relation between the subjugated society and its alien rulers, and colonialism refers to "the social structures created within the colonised society by imperialist relationships" (Magubane, 1979:3). For Magubane (1979), it is impossible to separate the economic, political and ideological motives that have structured capitalist relations in the modern world. Placing socio-economic problems at the heart of the problems aids in showing how underdevelopment and racial inequalities developed together.

The development of capitalism, underdevelopment and racial inequalities at the same time is justified by the reasoning that capitalism required an expansionist policy of conquest and exploitation which sets off a cumulative process that produced its own ideology. This ideology in turn became a force capable of orienting choices and determining decisions (Magubane, 1979:3).

Having noted the significance of imperialism and the development of capitalism, Magubane uses the historical materialist perspective to order and analyse the key events in South Africa's turbulent history beginning from the period of the first contact with the European invaders. Magubane (1979) identified nine key developments and for him, they appear to have the most explanatory value as far as the development of South Africa's socioeconomic order is concerned. The nine key developments can be summarised as 1) the settlement of the Dutch in the 17th century and by the English in the 19th century; 2) the subsequent conquest and incorporation of the African kingdoms into the evolving settler society. First into agriculture and then into mining; 3) the national struggles of the Africans, both before and after conquest; 4) the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886, and the role of the gold industry in the capitalist monetary system; 5) the organization of agriculture which resulted in the depopulation of the countryside and the creation of the 'poor whites' 6) the growth of the urban-based industry and the competition which ensued between the black and white proletariat; 7) Britain's granting of political power to the white settlers in 1910; and 9) the role assigned to South Africa in the imperialist division of labour. Magubane examines the interaction of these historical events and demonstrates how they impacted on capitalism (the mode of production of the time) as well as the social relations (which as highlighted in the book) turned out to be exploitative relations of production along racial lines.

In *Race and the construction of the dispensable other* (2007), Magubane also tackles issues of race and focuses on how Europeans, in their struggle to construct their own identity, subjugated 'others' they encountered in faraway places in order to prove their own assumed superiority, based on the concept of race. The historical perspective also stands right from the introduction. Magubane cites, in agreement the to quote by Barrington Moore who had this to say;

But if men of the future are ever to break the chains of the present they will have to understand the forces that forged them (Magubane, 2007:1).

This clearly shows that the historical materialist perspective is not only relevant for an inquiry into South Africa's past but it is especially pertinent for a realistic assessment of the contemporary period. In his discussion on the historical development of capitalism, Magubane reiterates the importance of a historical analysis in understanding the contemporary period and argues that "the seemingly autonomous existence of racism (in South Africa) today does not lessen the fact that it was initiated by the needs of capitalist development or that these needs remain the dominant factor in racist societies" (1979:3).

In *The making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and the Union of South Africa* (1996), Magubane found historical facts and events necessary and relevant in understanding the formation of the Union of South Africa and how it came to be dominated by a White minority. Magubane details the ideas of different philosophers; Lord Milner, Cecil Rhodes, Rudyard Kipling and points out that their ideas are important in understanding the formation of the union of South Africa. The union of South Africa, Magubane (1995:135) notes, was created in accordance to the spirit of the age, which regarded as axiomatic the dominance of the white races over the black races.

The ideas of these men were not only considered scientific truths, but that they played a major role in shaping the South Africa Act and the plethora of laws that would guarantee the status of the Africans as a subject race. Embarrassing as the ideas are, Magubane warns that one cannot afford to consign them to history. The racist theories of Kipling and others were a terrible concoction of biological and historical speculation that released so much socially acceptable aggression. As Magubane (1996) analyses the historical development of these ideas, one can actually see their influence on the formation of the Racist state, and without this historical analysis it is almost impossible to understand how the racist ideology came into being and how it came to be so popular and acceptable, and more importantly how the ideas shaped political, social and economic activities in South Africa.

Magubane (1996) also acknowledges the role played by imperialism in shaping race and class relations in South Africa. However the point of departure in this book is the justification of imperialism through ideas of 'empire' among other reasons. Magubane draws ideas from Sartre in terms of the historical detailing of capitalist relations that reflect the race and class dynamic. Magubane cites Sartre's works at great length and concurs with the point that "all the relations between the colonizer and the colonized are an actualization of practices that

have been purified and made inert in historical process and ideology of the European Bourgeoisie” (1996:21). To understand the colonial situation especially how it resembles historical structures of oppression and exploitation, Magubane (1996:21) argues, “requires that both sociology and economics be dissolved into history.” Magubane (1996:371) points out, with tedious repetition, the importance of history in understanding the contemporary period. He emphasizes this by quoting Anthony Rotkins who had this to say “

Today is converted to the past, while the past imperiously invades the bounds of today.

Magubane (1996) deliberately defends the historical perspective adopted in his works. He argues that our present conditions are consequences of past actions hence any attempt to forget the past will not cure our conditions. Magubane criticizes South African historiography that has taken some important questions for granted. He uses an example of Leonard Thompson and his book the *‘The political mythology of racism’*. Given the importance of the historical figures (J.A. Froude, Anthony Trollope to mention but a few) who were critical in formulating racist ideas which men of action would use in creating the most barbaric state, Thompson (1985), Magubane argues, hardly says a word about Anglo-Saxon mythologies and how these had helped to shape the Afrikaner myth. He argued,

In their debates, speeches and writings those advocates of British imperialism made much of the Anglo Saxons as a separate innately superior people, yet in Professor Thompson’s historiography, the expressed ideas of British policy-makers are systematically suppressed or, at the very least, ignored (Magubane, 1996:371).

Magubane uses the historical materialist perspective in conjunction with a comparative approach. In *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and the Union of South Africa*, Magubane (1996) points out that a comparative study of what happened in South Africa and Ireland is imperative for an understanding of race and class as well as the political designation of the country as a White dominion (1995:140). He argued that

In the social sciences, useful knowledge means comparative knowledge; without which the student has no guidance of what is unusual or surprising, different or recurrent, and this cannot deepen research and thought towards theoretical explanatory concepts of observed patterns of change and relationships (Magubane,1996:140).

On this note, the study of the Irish question is used to place the study of racism in perspective. It was in Ireland that the British first made their colonial fortunes based on

imperial exploitation. It was also in Ireland that the English ruling class first developed racism as an ideology to divide and conquer. Ireland, Magubane argued, “was the first country to experience this new era of imperialism with its expropriation of territory, racism and genocide” (Magubane, 1996:141). It is interesting to note that the colonization of the Irish was not based on their race (as was the case with South Africa), rather their exploitation was based on their description by the Anglo- Saxons as low-browed and savage, grovelling, lazy and sensual. What writers called the Catholic Irish race was said to be unfit for self government, incompetent and deficient in intellectual power (1996:145).

Magubane (1996:147) notes that it was in Ireland that for the first time the process by which the other is constructed is seen for the first time. This moment of ideological construction and negative appraisal of the other would be the basis for the formulation of policy for the settler colonial state. The assumption of the intrinsic character of the Irish as a colonized subject demanded ruthless methods of administration. The Irish people, like Africans were seen as unstable, childish, violent, feckless, and primitive, a brand of racism that crystallized in the twelfth century. A comparison of the Irish situation and the racist policy in South Africa reveals that racism has never absolutely required black skin colour as an organizing principle. It is only necessary to remember as well the racism of a wide range of colours (e.g. against the Jewish people) to realize it is not a prerequisite (Magubane: 1996). The study of British or rather an Anglo Saxon attitude towards the Irish, especially the material reasons for these attitudes, is absolutely essential for the understanding of the dynamics of race and class in South Africa and elsewhere. The employment of racist ideas in England against those they had colonized throws more light on the significance of whiteness that must not be lost sight of.

It is however surprising that in South Africa; the Anglo Saxon settlers found they couldn't afford to discriminate against the Irish, and the Dutch settlers. What Huttenback calls

A sort of Graham's law of racial and ethnic animosity saw to it that in South Africa where there were Africans; Anglo Saxon prejudice was almost exclusively directed at blacks. That is, the white people saw their kinship, and as Europeans, drew together. In this way they were better able to come before the world as one civilization. (Magubane, 1996: 157).

Magubane notes that the events which transformed Ireland into an independent appendage of the English economy provide us with an important background against which class and race in South Africa and elsewhere must be studied.

Magubane addresses the dynamics of race and class not only on their own terms but as dialectic. In his argument on whether race and class are mutually exclusive, Magubane (1996:372) argues that the dialectic of class and race cannot be understood, it cannot be intelligible, nor can it be resolved except through, a comparative study of the manner in which the colonial situation, ideas and practices came into being. Magubane (1996:372, 2000:468) emphasizes the importance of a comparative study of the treatment of African Americans in understanding race and class not only as events but as historical processes as well. He goes further to argue that although the histories of the two societies differ in substantial ways, their underlying kinship is real. According to Magubane (2000:469), the social heritage of settler colonialism in North America and South Africa, was not merely a rigid class structure with an elite of wealth, status and power at the apex and, at the bottom of a pyramid, a mass poverty- stricken, marginal, powerless, and subordinate people. Magubane argues that such structures have actually flourished elsewhere, the tragedy of settler colonialism was a class structure further stratified by colour. By doing a comparative analysis, Magubane manages to explain and identify causal configurations that produced racial and class inequalities by uncovering the culturally situated meanings of race and class in the South African context.

6.4 Racial and class inequalities: A view of imperialism and colonialism

According to Paul Sweezy “the class system of society is no part of the natural order of things, it is the product of past social developments, and it will change in the course of future developments. On the other hand races are part of the natural order of things” (Magubane, 2002:464). The significance of these two, Magubane (2002:465) argues, is rooted in the growth and expansion of world capitalistic system beginning in the 15th century. Magubane argues repeatedly about the significance of the character of the epoch in shaping or producing any phenomena. With regards to an understanding of race and class, he specifically argues that the first task should be to define the character of the epoch that gave rise to them (2000:465). Magubane discusses race and class within a wider framework of world imperial domination as a whole. South Africa suffered two relatively distinct yet clearly interrelated

forms of foreign domination- white settler colonialism on the one hand and direct and indirect imperialist exploitation on the other (Magubane, 2001:85).

Magubane (1979:2) therefore conceptualises the development of the concepts of race and class and the development of inequalities in South Africa as aspects of imperialism and colonialism. The term imperialism is used to refer to the specific relation between the subjugated society and its alien rulers, and colonialism to refer to the social structures created within the colonised society by imperialist relationships (1979:2). He elaborates on this and points out that whilst colonialism has an ancient history, the colonialism of the last five centuries is closely associated with the birth and maturation of the capitalist economy. Magubane repeatedly argued that capitalist relations of production set off a cumulative process which produced its own ideology, and this ideology in turn became a force capable of orienting choices and determining decisions. The ideology of racism was thus called into life and fed by the expansionist policy and exploitative socioeconomic relations of capitalist imperialism became a permanent stimulus for the ordering of unequal and exploitative relations of production along racial lines. Although there is a shift in Magubane's analysis of race and class as a view of imperialism towards an autonomous history of racism and beyond the idea that racism is merely a consequence of capitalism, he still argues that this autonomous existence does not lessen the fact that it was initiated by the needs of capitalist development.

In order to comprehend Magubane's standpoint on the concept of race and class and the development of racism as well as racial inequalities, there is a need to engage with his analysis of colonialism and imperialism as these also reflect the development of ideas of class, race and racial inequalities. Magubane (1996) argues that an economic system does not only produce and transfer wealth, but it also produces political and ideological systems that facilitate this transfer. An analysis of the different stages of capitalism indicated in Magubane's works shows the ideological systems that facilitated both the development and changes in the mode of production. This chapter focuses on the three colonial stages, and the point is not so much to understand the different capitalist modes of production on their own terms but rather to understand the dynamics of race, class and inequality within that specific mode of production. The section that follows provides a discussion of the different phases of capitalist development and their implications for race and class relations in South Africa.

The first stage extended from 1652 to 1806 and was the period of rule by the Dutch East India Company and the mode of production was primitive accumulation dominated by merchant capital. The second colonial period ran from 1806 to the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1884 and it was characterised by the insatiable need of British capitalism for markets and raw materials, including mineral wealth. The last stage which is the final colonial stage was reached in the last quarter of the 19th century when, as the other capitalist nations caught up with Britain, the world began to be divided among the European powers. This was also an era of monopoly capital, brought about by the merger of industrial and finance capital which ushered in modern imperialism. To consolidate its rule, Britain had to launch a series of wars of conquest, ending with the constitution of South Africa as a British dominion in 1910 (Magubane, 2002:472).

As capitalism changed in form, the relationship between class and race also changed. For Magubane (2002:472), race and class are not givens from the beginning of time but products of historical development and also the motive forces for that development. Magubane's works provides accounts of historical and contemporary elements that grasp the thrust and the basic features of race and class. The dynamics of race and class will now be discussed in relation to the different phases highlighted above.

6.5 The advent of the Dutch and the political economy of scientific racism in South Africa.

The occupation of the Cape by the Dutch East India Company is important in understanding the processes that resulted in changes in the class structure of South African societies. Magubane (1979:23) takes a synoptic look at South African societies before the European settler's conquest and cultural domination of the African people from the 17th century on. He notes that the San were known anthropologically to be hunters and gatherers. In contrast to the San, the Khoikhoi had domesticated animals, fat-tailed sheep, and great heads of long horned cattle. The social organization of the Khoikhoi was correspondingly larger in scale and more complex and their pastoral economy offered more security. The second group consisted of the Nguni whose mode of production was mixed and included cattle herding, hunting and agriculture. The social division of labour between men and women was marked and the capacity of the female labor, and her capacity to reproduce future labor was recognised through the bride price. The Sotho also had a mixed economy consisting of cattle

herding as well as farming (1979:24-26). For Magubane, a description of the socio economic organization of African societies before conquest is important in showing that the pre-conquest people of South Africa did not exist in the timeless state of arrested development that are too often depicted by western anthropologists. Magubane (1979) argues that they were not only complex and differentiated but, like their European counterparts they were also growing economically and demographically, and in conflict and cooperation among themselves (1979:25).

The arrival of the Dutch in 1652 marked the first incorporation of the Cape into the world economy. Magubane points out that the establishment of a refreshment station by the Dutch East India Company was stimulated by business and profit and was therefore not an indiscriminate incident (Magubane, 1979:26). Jan Van Riebeeck headed the first Dutch colonising expedition of the Cape of Good Hope and Magubane found his career quite informative. Magubane (2001:5) noted that Van Riebeeck's discourse of the peoples of the Cape- Khoikhoi is contemptuous as it put them out of the pale of humanity. In his memo to the Dutch East India Company, Van Riebeeck described the Khoikhoi as dangerous savages who could not be trusted; he also described them as brutal people living without a conscience (Magubane, 2007:182). The Portuguese and the Spanish settler colonialists in South America said the same thing about the indigenous population at the Cape. The point is that Van Riebeeck's racism was rooted in a discourse that preceded him, a racism that went beyond capitalism.

In his diaries he often referred to them as dull, stupid, odorous and as black stinking dogs. In 1693 John Ovington, Master of the East Indiaman *Benjamin* also described the Khoi as the most bestial and sordid, he wrote,

They are the very reverse of humankind. So that if there is any medium between a rational animal and a beast, the Hottentot lays the fairest claim for that species (Magubane, 2007:182).

They were also viewed as heathen, having no knowledge of God or what leads to salvation. These ideas led to a flow of racial abuse. The broad social consequences of these racist beliefs were; terrible injustice, raiding and genocide against both the San and the Khoikhoi. The collective and off-repeated depiction of the Khoi as barbaric and sub-human was to have a sinister influence in the European creation of otherness. According to Mostert (1992:107),

It was gross and intemperate as any opinion held by one body of peoples against another. These ideas were formulated on the basis of accounts of travellers who were happy to use Khoikhoi as the link between man and animals in the Great Chain of Being. Indeed, these ideas led to a flow of racial abuse that has no equal in literature. It forms, a litany of declared revulsion that is quite remarkable for its continuity and unanimity, as much as for its idiom (Mostert, 1992:107),

According to Magubane (2007:184), the randomly selected descriptions of the contempt and destruction of the Khoikhoi revealed the colonisers' mentality and will to exterminate those on whose land they wanted to settle. The mode of operation of the Dutch East India Company like other Merchant Companies was direct robbery of already existing surpluses of conquered countries. This mentality was very much evident in Van Riebeeck's dealings with the Khoikhoi. The Dutch occupation of the Cape resulted in the raiding of the Khoisan cattle, warfare followed by invasion of their land. The wars of dispossessions that ravaged the Cape colony were premised on just such assumptions that had been laid down by Anthropologists and scientists (Magubane, 2007:187). Once deprived of their rich lands and vast herds of cattle, the Khoikhoi were reduced into a state of indigency and within a few years the indigenous population near the Cape settlement had become so impoverished that there were no more cattle to be obtained and battering expeditions were organized to go further afield and in the process indigenous inhabitants were dispossessed and incorporated into the colonial economy as servants. Magubane (1979) points out that the Boer character began to crystallize as the settlers not directly employed by the company moved further inland.

These Afrikaner or Boer depended on slave labour and in this spirit they killed, dispossessed, and enslaved those they found occupying the land they coveted. Furthermore, they found their identity in the negation of those they conquered and exploited (Magubane, 1979:31). Magubane (2001:5) pointed out that the Dutch East India Company provided slaves for the Dutch colonists and for Magubane this goes to show that the use of slaves in the process of colonization was a calculated strategy to ensure a captive labour force to reap high profits, on territory appropriated without regard to any rights of indigenous owners. He goes on to point out that any resistance to this savage injustice was dealt with as treachery justifying extermination. Magubane (2000:474) reiterates the same point and pointed out that the enslavement of Africans, like the colonization of Africa, "was a brutalizing economic relationship based on the denial of indisputable human rights hence the creation of *inferior* and *superior* races". This addiction to use black labour resulted in the creation of a store of

knowledge to counter nature but also to find scientific justification for subjugation and exploitation.

Magubane (2007) noted that the importance of slave trade saw the hardening of racial attitudes and the extreme exploitation of blacks generated a need to ideologically reduce them to the lesser breeds without the law. The enslavement of blacks and the harshness of imperialism thus made the institutionalization of racism inevitable not only economically but socially, politically and indeed ideologically. For Magubane “ a theory of class race articulation must come to grips with Marx’s notion that direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeoisie industry as much as machinery and credits” (2002:476). Magubane (1979:166) therefore concludes that it was the crucible period of slavery that the absolute identification between race and class was first established.

The role played by classical writers is of great significance in justifying slavery on racial grounds hence the creation of a class which was exploited for the benefit of the “superior” races. Magubane (2007) noted that European nations derived their ideology of slavery from the arguments of classical writers, including the Bible. Many features of classical antiquity appeared to anticipate the justification of African enslavement. The teachings of the church provided the theological underpinnings of racism and its intellectual justification was littered with enlightenment philosophy. Furthermore, as the enslavement of the African developed, it became a total system of social, economic, political and sexual exploitation of black by white, based on force and violence and the ideology of white supremacy (Magubane, 2007).

Once Africans became the preferred slave labourers, Magubane (2007:19) pointed out that

no white man was a servant, no white man did any work that he could get a Negro to do for him...Racism as articulated by the philosophical heroes of European modernity, put the African outside Christian moral ethics and civilised cultural or political limitations of what could be applied to the treatment of one’s own race (Magubane 2007:19).

Magubane discusses the importance of ideas as foundations of racism and concurs with Marx who contends that the ideas of the ruling class convey dominant material relationships, expressed as universal ideas. That is ideas are an expression of real material and social forces, and not independent and free floating. According to Marx

Men constantly made for themselves false conceptions about themselves, about what they are and what they ought to be. Accordingly they arranged their relationships according to their ideas of God and of normal man (Marx, 1968)

Magubane (2007) concurs with Marx and pointed out that the European Bourgeoisie initiated the process whereby it presented itself and European civilization as superior beings and in this manner built an unbridgeable gulf between itself and the rest of humanity. This took the form of constructing a science of racial inequality specifically to naturalise its exclusionary policies of others. In other words, the European bourgeoisie gave birth to itself and marked itself in opposition to inferior others- in the same way as its predecessor, the aristocracy.

Magubane (2007) makes a very important point that exploitative and unjust systems require, create and perpetuate false and even absurd systems of thought to rationalise and sustain themselves. He notes that modern racism cannot be isolated from its origin in the brutal African slave trade, it followed slowly in the footsteps first of slavery then of imperialism. Lucas (in Magubane, 2007: 30) points out that

In order for racial theory to become the ruling ideology of the rising bourgeoisie that was colonizing the rest of the world, it had to shed overtly feudal trappings and mask itself in the very latest in bourgeoisie philosophical and scientific thinking (2007:31).

Magubane (2007) points out that the church's role is seminal in the construction of the racialized other, as justification for the ravages of colonialism. Although Magubane argues that racism is not the negation of Christian principles, he also rightly shows how classical Christianity, with its appeal to the damned and oppressed, became corrupted in institutionalized European version. Magubane argued that

In time, the Church came to justify the inequalities of African enslavement and the genocide of colonialism (Magubane (2007:8).

Likewise, Magubane (2007) finds an abundance of thinkers, "knowledgeable individuals" of the enlightenment, who gave philosophical and "scientific" legitimacy to racism. He uses Albert Memmi's expansive definition of racism as

A generalised and definitive privileging of differences, whether real or imaginary to the advantage of the accuser, and to the disadvantage of the victim, in order to justify one's privileges' and aggressiveness (Magubane, 2007:8).

Magubane (2007) reiterates the argument made in two previous books (Magubane, 1979, 2006) and argues that there was an economic motive to the construction of the other and also the racist ideology which determined the way Africans were treated. He pointed out that the enslavement of the African has been treated in terms of its moral and sentimental implications. It's economic and significance is also of great importance. He concurs with Edward Gibbon who argued that slavery was imposed due to the need for labour (2007:37). He goes on to point out that African enslavement and British capitalism became interlinked in the famous triangular trade. African enslavement, he further argues

depended first upon sugar and later upon tobacco and cotton, all grown by enslaved Africans. In these sugar plantations, the African was defined as a chattel and treated as a piece of conveyable property, without rights and without redress. Yet, even as slave masters pretended that Africans were not human, they could not restrain their sexual lust for African women with whom they slept, and others even cohabited with black women (Magubane, 2007).

This goes to show how racial segregation was used as an excuse and therefore renders meaningless the belief that blacks were inhuman.

Magubane (2007) pointed out that the construction of the African as the inferior other shares a great deal with the construction of Native Americans as the inferior outcasts of humanity. South Africa was first incorporated into the world capitalist economy in 1652 with the occupation of the Cape by the Dutch. The ideas of enlightenment and philosophies about the other were part and parcel of their ideological arsenal and informed their attitudes towards the San and the Khoikhoi. It was thus in the crucible period of slavery that the absolute identification between race and class was first established. Magubane (1979) makes a very important point and notes that war and conquest facilitated the development of classes- they produced a proletariat distinguished by race, lack of skills, and lack of political power. It is important to note that under slavery, race and class were identical, and race relations expressed the class relations.

With the advent of industry and or capitalism, race and class took on another form. The abolition of slavery nonetheless, meant not the end of black exploitation of formal slavery but its extension to the whole world. As capitalism evolved, racism and classism became institutionalised. The dual character of black exploitation, constituted them as both a race and a class group at the same time (2002:478). Blacks thus became the other onto whom economically powerless white groups and strata could displace their own frustrations and

resentments. Magubane (2007) notes that the colour line became distorted, requiring ad hoc adjustments. As noted earlier, capitalism as a dominant mode of economic organization went through three distinct phases and these are crucial in understanding the race class dynamics. An analysis of Magubane's work reveals that as capitalism changes, the interaction between race and class evolves. The following section provides a discussion on the development of industrial capitalism which required segregation to allocate more systematically the burdens of exploitation among white and black workers (2002:479).

6.6 The advent of the British Empire, promotion of industrial capitalism and consolidation and consecration of the whites as the ruling class.

Darcey Ribeiro cited in Magubane (1979:33) described the British conquest of South Africa as "historical incorporation", which is characterised by the decimation of a population by wars of conquest, followed by the domination and enslavement of those who survive. Magubane (1979) conceptualised the arrival of the British in South Africa as yet another phase of colonial subjugation. Whereas the occupation of the Cape by the Dutch was principally for trading purposes, hence the establishment of a refreshment station which later resulted into war and exploitation of the societies at the Cape (Magubane, 1979). Magubane (1996) later argued that the occupation by the British settlers was largely determined by the conditions in Europe (the Napoleonic wars and the industrial revolution) which caused Britain to divert her attention to the Cape.

The end of Napoleonic wars in 1815 created even more problems; the loss of lucrative contracts for the supply of war material hit many factories (Magubane, 1996:48). The impetus for empire was thus a way to solve the domestic crisis. British imperial zeal in South Africa, Magubane notes, "was boundless; their vision huge, and the ground work was soon laid for the savage conquest" (Magubane, 2001:9). The British occupation of the Cape involved the imposition of British over some 1600 Dutch settlers, the San and the Khoikhoi peoples, and the beginning of the process which would lead to the penetration of all of Southern Africa by the turn of the century (Magubane, 1996:43).

According to Magubane (2001:9) "the introduction of the British settlers at the Cape affected every aspect of life in the colony; it meant the opening of a new era of conquest and dispossession in the entire subcontinent." Most importantly, it was clear that this new era belonged to the world system much more unified and purposeful than that to which the Dutch

East India Company had belonged. What the British settlers required in South Africa was that the African subsistence producers become the hirelings of capital and that their means of subsistence be transformed into capital. Race intruded and gave the class structure in the colonies a special justification and cruelty, but did not constitute the essence of that structure. Force played a huge role and the British in the course of these wars, thus began the creation of the African as a permanent class of proletariat as most of them had no choice but to submit after the seizure of their land. At this stage, it is clear that war and conquest facilitated the development of classes. The power structure of white supremacy was thus a means of perpetuating class interests, and the racial discriminatory legal structure was a means by which the class relationship between the conqueror and the conquered was mediated to the advantage of the capitalist. (Magubane, 1979: 53).

Africans under the British experienced the full meaning of the master race theory. Through sheer violence, the British created a 'race' and 'classes lower than themselves. Some of the most vicious racist ideas were also formulated under British colonialism. Of great significance was the intensification of scientific racism during the colonization of the Cape by the British (Magubane, 2007). Magubane (2007) acknowledges Knox's pivotal role in the development of scientific racism and pointed out that Knox has been described as the real founder of British racism and the key to scientific racism. The exploitation of the Khoikhoi at the Cape was based on similar western philosophies about the indigenous people. Here we see the role played by European scholars in constructing the other hence justifying the injustices against the indigenous people.

The pragmatic logic of scientific racism can be illustrated in such varied sources of the Khoikhoi. One good example is the case of Saartjie Baartman who was taken to London, where she was caged and exhibited. The elaborate descriptions of Baartman by Anthropologists are most racist and reveal much about the role of physical anthropology in the construction of race and racism (Magubane, 2007:185). The display of Saartjie Baartman in a cage for the entertainment of the British and her iconography in various publications were all part of the process of dehumanisation. Magubane argues that,

Given the unspeakable atrocities that were being perpetrated against colonial subjects, anthropologists were in fact, responsible for signing the death warrants of Africans, in general, and the Khoisan people in particular. The wars of dispossessions that ravaged the cape colony were premised on just such assumptions that had been laid down by Anthropologists and scientists (2007:187).

The addiction to use black labour set about efforts to produce a store of knowledge to find a scientific justification for subjugation and exploitation. Magubane (2002:475) notes that intellectual effort was invested in searching for scientific proof that black and white constituted *inferior* and *superior races*. This according to Magubane further substantiates Marx's assertion that ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas. The rise of capitalism and the expansion of Europe into Africa coincided with the age of empire in which the quest for other empires involved the will to use brutal force to achieve one's objective; it was motivated by greed and the desire to accumulate wealth no matter what. The ideas which sought to justify imperialism were thus not only scientific proof to the practice of genocide but they created a belief that there were higher and lower races (Magubane, 1996).

Magubane (2007:45) pointed out that poets and dramatists found in the task of creating the subjection of Africa and its people a perfect subject. The hierarchical view of mankind on which Western imperialism justified itself, created an instrumental literature, in which the stereotypes and caricatures of the Africans as the inferior and savage other were to become part of the British imperial culture, which was deeply embedded in their consciousness. In South Africa, Magubane (2007) argued, books written by John Buchan were to be used by those who were assigned to be administrators to South Africa. The books: *The African Colony: Studies Reconstruction (1903)*, *The lodge in the Wilderness (1906)* and *Prester John* were based on anthropological studies of the Other and were written at the height of rampant capitalism. For that reason Magubane concludes that

The novels of empire were inextricably implicated in the ideology of racism. They claimed African inferiority, equated them with animal childishness and buffoonery, and ascribed to them qualities of laxity both morally and mentally. The hierarchical view of humankind, on which western imperialism justified itself, created an instrumental literature in which the stereotypes and caricatures of the African as the inferior and savage other were deeply embedded. This imperial philosophy provided a seemingly moral basis for imperial practices (Magubane, 2007:47).

The legacy and conquest of South Africa by the British can thus be summarised as the definitive conquest and consolidation of the whites as a ruling and hegemonic class. Both the Africans and the Boers were defeated, the former were transformed into a subject national class and the latter into a junior partner of the conquerors. As opposed to Merchant capitalism by the Dutch, the British installed capitalism as the predominant socioeconomic system,

under which the Africans were reduced to a secondary labour force without any influence over the political and economic process of the evolving society.

British imperialists had a strong conviction that the British had an imperial mission of civilization, reinforced “by a sense of duty, heavily, veneered with religiosity (Magubane, 1996). Although the Settlers’ integration and conquest of the African societies has often been reduced to the power they had in terms of technology and weapons, one cannot overlook the role played by cultural domination through missionary activities as this determined complete domination by the British. A discussion on how the British came to dominate the culture of the African societies is relevant for its race and class logic. British hegemony as it evolved in the 19th century was to be more than mere physical subjugation; it was to saturate society with its values to the extent that they would become common sense for the people under its sway. The most singular aspect of the British conquest, dominance, and exploitation of the African was the rationalization for it and as a result various agents of ideological and cultural diffusion were set to work: official and unofficial, conscious and unconscious, missionaries, explorers and traders (1979: 56). In all his works Magubane demonstrates the role played by the missionary enterprise in ensuring intellectual assimilation a close personal contact between the European colonist and the indigenous population.

Almost all imperial powers professed Christianity and periodically invoked God in their ‘civilising mission’. Indeed, the slogan, commerce, civilisation and Christianity in that order rang loudly in the sermons of the missionaries. As they professed their dual mandate of advancing commerce, Magubane (2007:192) argues, the missionaries in South Africa became angels of death. The alliance between religion and commerce further highlights that the triumph of the money economy was partly made possible by the activities of the missionaries and traders. In converting the Africans and casting them adrift from their former culture and moral codes, the British missionaries were responding to the needs of capital to create labourers and consumers of British manufactures (1979: 59). The African labour force was paid in cash and in such products as sugar and coffee to stimulate new wants and the wearing of British clothing was strongly encouraged as well. Sir George Grey’s opening address to the colonial parliament in 1855 underlined the importance he attached to Africans becoming consumers of British goods.

The natives were to become a part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short a source of strength and wealth of this colony, such as providence designed them to be (Magubane, 1979:61).

Contrary to popular belief among liberal scholars that colonization marked the commencement of civilization among African societies which had been regarded as a dark continent hence the need for civilization, the conquest and enculturation abruptly cut short the historical development of the African people and their civilization, which in several places had reached a highly advanced state (Magubane, 1979). The imposition of settler rule and the capitalist mode of production thus interrupted the historical continuity of African societies. Additionally, indigenous customs lost their vitality and became instruments of oppression (1979:70). Christianity was thus woven into the fabric of imperial conquest and it opened the native to exploitation, dispossession and in some extreme cases, extermination- the latter being the most desirable outcome for colonists who wished to seize and appropriate all they could.

The discovery of gold and diamonds particularly on the Witwatersrand in 1884 brought about economic changes that were tantamount to a full-fledged revolution and it gave a new complexion to almost every feature of South African Life. Magubane (2007:204) pointed out that the revolution that the mineral discoveries led to an important ideological shift regarding the treatment of Africans and instead of talk about 'native extinction' there was now talk about the importance of labour as a civilising agent (Magubane, 2001:20). Anthony Trollope, a British novelist had this to say about the role of work as a great civiliser:

Who can doubt that work is the great civiliser of the world- work and the growing desire for those good things which only work can bring... (Magubane, 2007:204).

Magubane (2002:467) argues that the real context of the race and class dialectic is the consequence of these discoveries. The announcement by the Colonial Secretary after the discovery of gold and diamonds goes to show the importance of these discoveries. He had this to say:

Gentlemen, this is the stone on which the future of South Africa will be Built (Magubane, 2007:203)

The developments in the gold industry are therefore crucial to understanding both the political economy of race and class in South Africa and the development of inequalities. It is through an analysis of the relations in the gold industry that one can actually see the

contemporaneous relationship between capitalism and the rise of racism. The industry quickly became the heart of the entire political economy, in time the heart became the independent of the body it controlled, able to rely on its own institutions and its worldwide network of interests. The central fact about the South African economy after the discovery of gold was its domination by British capital in other words the country's basic industry; its heart was an appendage of Britain and the world economy. Magubane, (1979:106) concurs with J.A. Hobson who explains the extent of the power exercised by the British over the mining industry and had this to say

Nowhere in the world had there ever existed so concentrated a form of capitalism as that represented by the financial power of the mining houses in South Africa, nowhere else does that power so completely realize and enforce the need for controlled politics (Magubane, 1979:106).

According to Magubane (1979:120), the discovery diamonds and gold were the major impetus for urbanization and this necessitated the development of capital as a social relation, and therefore the divorce of the labourer from both the object and instruments of production. Additionally,

The Africans lacked political power and as a result their employment in the Gold mines led to the entrenchment of the migratory- labour system, the intensification of racial oppression, the shoring up of disembodied tribal institutions and a whole range of measures designed to prevent complete proletarianization and to depoliticize their struggle (Magubane, 1979:120).

Worker amalgamation of black workers and whites who were in the same position as Africans was translated into racial segregation, and then into a policy of excluding Africans as "permanent city dwellers" (Magubane, 1979). According to Magubane (1979:121), Segregation was adopted as a state policy and meant the further division of the working class on a racial basis, in which whites would be treated as fully proletarianised, and Africans not, and in which whites in the mining industry would be protected in defined jobs. In practice, the policy of segregation imposed institutional restrictions on African migrants. This made it impossible for them to create trade unions to defend their interest (Magubane, 1979:123).

The significance of the gold mining industry is also indicated by the fact that the architects of apartheid actually adopted the gold mining industry model in all sectors of the economy. The further transition from mining capitalism to industrial capitalism inevitably brought about the deployment of black labour in factories which necessitated their movement into urban centres. The colour-line became distorted, requiring ad hoc adjustments in the ideology of

racism. Vulgar racism in its biological form, which, according to Fanon (in Magubane,2002:489), corresponds to exploitation of arms and legs, gave way to scientific racism, that is the perfecting of the means of production which inevitably brings about the camouflage of the techniques by which man is exploited hence the forms of racism.

Magubane (2002:489) argued that, unlike the vertical colour line that defined the institution of slavery and separated blacks from whites, industrial capitalism required segregation to allocate more systematically the burdens of exploitation among white and black workers. He argues further and pointed out that, whereas race and slavery were identical under slavery, racism did more, it was actually the reinforcing agent of class exploitation and it was also the lightning rod redirecting the antagonisms of poor white workers and those who laboured under class oppression. For Magubane:

Racism thus made it appear normal that blacks would be chosen to play the role of surplus labour in highly disproportionate numbers due to their inferiority- and it matters little whether this inferiority is attributed to nature or nurture or the structural and sociological conditions (Magubane, 2002:489).

It is important to note that the South African gold mining industry developed under the protective umbrella of and in close conjunction with, imperialist capital. The demand for cheap labour stimulated the large-scale employment and exploitation of a vast black proletariat who were denied all political rights. The domination of the gold industry had extreme repercussions for the black workers and for this reason the tyranny of the gold industry was to determine to a large extent by the structure not only of the political economy, but of the social system as well. The gold mining industry, Magubane (1979:116) argues, survived and prospered because of its use of primitive methods to exploit African labour and was therefore responsible for the growth of the worst poverty on the African reservations. Magubane (1979:97) pointed out that the mining industry found ways of combining both skilled and unskilled labour, the levels marked as well by race and colour, and victor and vanquished. Furthermore, the industry institutionalised its inhuman structures by shifting the burden of exploitation onto the backs of powerless Africans. The historical specificity of the gold mining industry therefore lies in its creation of social relations of production that ensured the most favourable conditions to realize super profits.

6.7 Modern imperialism and the Union of South Africa.

The intention of this section is not to give a detailed history of the political developments that led to the formation of the Union of South Africa, but rather focus is placed on the factors that influenced those developments and sentiments that made imperialism in the last quarter of the 19th century so rampant. Magubane (1996:271) noted that the arguments for and against granting the vote to the Africans have received but slight attention of social scientists. Less focus, Magubane argues, has been placed on the large issues that made reconciliation of the colonies a must. Magubane (1979, 1996) noted that the rapid development of the diamond industry required not only the final defeat of the African kingdoms but also the unification of the Boer and the British colonies. Constituting all the white settler colonies into a confederation would enable Britain to develop a unified and coherent native policy on the franchise, land ownership and labour. This was the age of the triumph of imperialism on a world wide scale, run by white capital with black and brown labour. There was therefore a need for weaker nations which would be legitimate prey for the 'stronger' nations hence the moral duty of a statesmen to promote the interest of his own bourgeoisie with total disregard for the interests and rights of the so called backward races.

The ideas of Rhodes embodied the new direction of British imperialism. British imperialism in South Africa from 1870 to 1910 is inseparable from the career of Rhodes as his life and activities personified the spirit of capitalism per excellence (1996:99). The idea of empire and or greater Britain inhabited by members of the Anglo Saxon race was instilled in Rhodes when he was growing up and his lamentations actually show his convictions and justification for the colonization of Africa. In *Confession of faith*, written in Kimberly (1877), he had this to say:

I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. I contend that every acre added to our territory means the birth of more of the English race who otherwise would not be brought into existence. (Magubane, 2007:205).

The ideas of Cecil John Rhodes, Rudyard Kipling and Milner, to mention but a few are important in understanding the formation of the Union of South Africa. The union of South Africa was created in accordance to the spirit of the age, which regarded as axiomatic the dominance of the white races over the black races (1996:135). The ideas of these men were not only considered scientific truths, but that they played a major role in shaping the South

Africa Act and the plethora of laws that would guarantee the status of the Africans as a subject race. Embarrassing as the ideas are, Magubane warns that one cannot afford to consign them to oblivion. The racist theories of Kipling and others were a terrible concoction of biological and historical speculation that released so much socially acceptable aggression.

The ideas of Kipling help us understand why imperialism became so popular. Of all the writers who popularised imperialism, none did better than Rudyard Kipling. His essays were novels and poems and tales were the most effective instrument for the promotion of the imperialistic spirit to fever pitch. Magubane goes on to say that it was Kipling's poetry that conjured up a glamorized vision of empire and explained in vivid and plausible manner the social conditions of India, Australia, Canada and South Africa. In essence, he provided Victorian England with an elaborate rationalization for Anglo-Saxon racial supremacist ideology and practice (1996:125). According to Magubane, reading Kipling's poems and short stories gives us the pervasive mood of the culture of racism and the feelings imperial ideal evoked in the bosom of all Britons.

The ideas of these men as imperial actors reflect a will to commit brutal economic, political and social acts against those constituted as inferior for the sake of making room for Britain's surplus population and in the process establishing Britain's second empire (1996:220). It is therefore obvious that the intersection of race and class did not simply happen, it was made to happen. In South Africa and elsewhere, the existence of large quantities of diamonds, gold, copper, coal and other minerals, the raising of maize, vineyards, sugar cane, etc., provided the context (Cell, 1982:16, cited in Magubane, 1996:138).

Denying Africans their constitutional rights was crucial and played an important role in the establishment of the Union of South Africa. Magubane (1996:238) noted that the man who would philosophize the need to deny the vote in most systematic manner was none other than John Buchan. His book *The Lodge in the Wilderness* was certainly meant to philosophize and moralize imperialism and white oppression. The Book, Magubane notes, represented a mood and a faith in imperialism which went beyond the mood of the moment (1996:239). Buchanan like Rhodes saw South African highlands providing wider horizons for the second sons of the British upper class who were being made redundant by limited opportunities in England.

According to Magubane (1979), Buchanan's book helps one understand how the crime of denying Africans their constitutional rights was justified. Like Anthony Trollope and Froude, Buchanan supplied political actors and ideologues with sophisticated arguments and ideas. Long before Buchanan philosophized to treat the natives as a subject race, Rhodes on several occasions had made his view on the native vote known. Even more, Magubane (2007) argues that his South African policy was part of the empire policy of subjecting all colonies to England. From his utterances one can thus see his need to control the democratic process and limit its scope. Magubane (2007:243) argued that the franchise was important not only for the right it conveyed but as an indication of the way in which a man or a class was regarded. The vote, Magubane (1996:243) notes, makes the law, and the franchise is the expression of men's opinion on the suitability or otherwise of those not yet enfranchised. The denial of the vote to African men and women and to white women seemed to impress firmly on all their inequality *vis-à-vis* the white male. Therefore denying the franchise to the African and segregating him socially became the twin strategy of white capital to manage black as labour power.

These imperial ideas not only lent scientific testimony to the practice of genocide but they created a belief that there were higher and lower races, historical and non-historical peoples, they also cultivated the idea of race superiority and divine national mission. In the very scheme of things, the inferior races ought to justify their existence by providing labour for the superior races- or be liquidated to provide room for the civilized, progressive races like the Anglo Saxons. Indeed the militarist spirit was closely connected with the idea of the struggle for existence and the survival of the strongest (Magubane 1996:82. Magubane also point out that the common mood that characterised imperial thought in the 19th century was the belief in the inevitability--indeed the imperative--of racial subjugation, domination, and exploitation by whites of ethnic and racial groups that were believed to be inferior. Social Darwinism- a tradition of social thought actually sustained the belief in Anglo Saxon racial superiority which obsessed many British thinkers in the latter half of the 19th century.

With the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, British imperialism achieved exactly the type of regime that ensured that its imperial interests, for which it had spilled so much blood, would be guaranteed. The white minority would commit unspeakable crimes against those who challenged the assumption that South Africa was a white men's country, and Africans would be allowed in white South Africa only to sell the labour that whites exploited to enrich themselves and their imperial backers. (1996:294). Now the influence of

such writers as Trollope begins to take shape as is noted in Trollope's book review (1996:298) that to give Africans the franchise, would be a greater crime than to deny it. He notes that the first duty of the British statesmen was to secure South Africa as a home for the British race in the first place, and others if they were members of the white race. The analysis offered so far suggests that in South Africa, at least, the task in the social study of class and race is not to see these concepts and the social realities they try to capture as mutually exclusive, but to see how class and race mutually reinforce each other. Magubane agrees with Barbara Fields who had this to say:

Class and race are concepts of a different order; they do not occupy the same analytical space and thus cannot constitute explanatory alternatives to each other. At its core, class refers to material circumstance: the inequality of human beings from the standpoint of social power. Even the rather diffuse definitions of applied social science-occupation, income-reflect this circumstance, though dimly. (In Magubane, 1996:334)

The analysis offered so far situates race and class in the context, not only of the whole history of capitalism on a world scale but more specifically of making South Africa a White man's country. The following section provides a further engagement with the works of Magubane which reveal the autonomous existence of racism.

6.8 Magubane's paradigm shift beyond a conception of racism as a consequence of capitalism towards an autonomous history of racism.

The analysis offered so far has shown the interplay of race and class in the development of racism at different stages in the advance of capitalism in South Africa. *In The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*, Magubane situates race and class relations within the imperial sphere and shows that racial and class relations in South Africa are intertwined with imperialism and colonialism. By locating the development of racism in the economic structure of world imperialism, Magubane (1979) proves to the reader that racism was integral to the structure created by capitalism and imperialism. However a further engagement with Magubane's later works has shown that the manifestation of racism under certain socio economic conditions is qualitatively different from its manifestation under capitalism and imperialism. This actually forms a theoretical shift in Magubane's work on racism from the capitalist basis of racism towards a self enduring or autonomous racism. Magubane (2007) gives the impression that racism is also embedded in the collective

mentalities of the architects of racism and is therefore explicable only as a mediated outcome of the social dynamics and imperative of capitalism in specific circumstances.

Although Magubane (1979:3) argues that the seemingly autonomous existence of racism (in South Africa) today does not lessen the fact that it was initiated by the needs of capitalist development or that these needs remain the dominant factor in racist societies, his later works seem to imply that only under specific circumstances can racism be attributed to capitalist development. Magubane does not necessarily disregard his earlier analysis; rather a shift in his analysis is indicative of a deepening of his analysis of the development of racism in South Africa. Magubane (1996) noted that the hierarchical view of humankind on which Western imperialism justified itself, created an instrumental literature, in which the stereotypes and caricatures of the Africans as the inferior and savage Other were to become part of the British imperial culture, which was deeply embedded in their consciousness.

Magubane (2007) gives the impression that the issue of whiteness had nothing to do with capitalism, as blacks were regarded as inferior from their first contact with the whites. They had often been depicted as dirty, foul, horrible and weak. These were for Magubane (2007) ingrained values which facilitated in the creation of the other. The cause and effect relationship is here reflective of this shift in Magubane's analysis. Whereas the (1979) book conceptualises racism as a consequence of capitalist development, the analysis in his later works seem to suggest that racism or racial segregation was not merely a consequence of capitalist development, rather the racial segregation of the blacks was as a result of their perceived natural condition as an inferior race.

Magubane's discussion of scientific racism is crucial to an understanding of his theoretical shift. Unlike Dubow's *Scientific Racism in South Africa* which Magubane (2007), claims had some gaps in that the analysis was focused mainly on South Africa, Magubane tries to fill this gap by locating scientific racism from its origins in the age of Europe that begins with the discovery of the Americas by Columbus and the rounding of the Cape by Vasco Dama in 1497. Magubane (2007) pointed out that nations derived their ideology of slavery from the arguments of classical writers, including the bible and these anticipated the justification of the African enslavement. In citing the works and influence of people like Rhodes, Trollope, Froude and Kipling, Magubane (2007) shows how western theorising about the coloniser and

the colonised resulted in acts of human destruction all in the name of natural superiority of the white race.

Novels of empire were inextricably implicated in the ideology of racism as they made claims of African inferiority, equated them with animal childish and buffoonery, and ascribed to them qualities of laxity both morally and mentally. These empire ideas also emphasized the superiority of the Europeans and justified the conquest and colonization of the non-Europeans. According to Magubane (2007:70), these imperial ideas not only lent scientific proof to the practice of genocide but they created a belief that there were higher and lower races, historical and non-historical peoples. Magubane also pointed out that

These ideas cultivated the idea of race superiority and divine national mission and in the evolutionary scheme of things, the inferior races ought to justify their existence by providing labour for the superior races or be liquidated to provide room for the civilized, progressive races like the Anglo Saxons (Magubane, 2007:80).

Magubane (2007:26) noted that American capitalist class developed a vested interest in racism and white supremacy and therefore with their intelligentsia produced a variety of racist ideas to exculpate the bourgeoisie of its crimes. Racial ideology and justifications given for the exploitation and general treatment of blacks points back to their internal features which had nothing to do with capitalism. Magubane (1996, 2007) shows the relationship between patterns of thinking and racism; moreover Magubane seems to imply that these attitudes of the mind created an atmosphere in which wars of conquest were undertaken. Magubane (2007:178) gives an example of the treatment of the Khoikhoi at the Cape and pointed out that it was based on western philosophies about the indigenous people. One can actually see the role of ideas by European scholars in the construction of the other. Van Riebeeck regarded the indigenous peoples of the Cape, the Khoikhoi, with utter contempt as being outside the pale of humanity. In his memo to the Dutch East India Company, Van Riebeck described the Khoikhoi as dangerous savages who could not be trusted; he also described them as brutal people living without a conscience (Magubane, 2007:182). In his diaries he often referred to them as dull, stupid, odorous and as black stinking dogs. The collective and oft-repeated depiction of the Khoi as barbaric and sub-human was to have a sinister influence in the European creation of the otherness. Mostert (in Magubane, 2007: 183) supports this line of thought and had this to say:

These ideas were formulated on the basis of accounts of travellers who were happy to use KhoiKhoi as the link between man and animals in the great chain of being. Indeed, these ideas led to a flow of racial abuse that has no equal in literature. It forms a litany of declared revulsion that is quite remarkable for its continuity and unanimity, as much as for its idiom. It was the first obvious and extensive exercise by Europeans of a belief in the sub-strata within humanity (Magubane, 2007:183).

This actually leads to the conclusion that decisions about war and racial segregation were determined, at least in part, by ideas and conceptions of the natives. . Assumptions of black inferiority were the very foundation of the idea of the great chain of being and of evolutionary theories. For Magubane (2007), this explains why, “despite later conceptual changes in evolution and methodology, racism has continued to plague western culture- in other words how, race and racism emerged, burdened with historical circumstances and became part of what one may call enduring and self-serving ideological apparatuses” (2007:21).

6.9 Conclusion

A few conclusions seem to stand out from the analysis of Magubane’s works on race and class that have been presented thus far. Magubane’s analysis of race and class as a view of imperialism and capitalism has shown that as capitalism changed in form, the correlation between race and class also evolved. By examining the coherence of South African economics, politics, religion and culture, Magubane (1979, 2002, and 2001) claims that those aspects of the current racial situation are brought into clearer focus. For instance racism is seen as an ideological system cultivated by the politically conscious classes to subvert class unity between black and white labor, whilst racial laws are the means by which potentially violent class relations are contained and masked (1979:14). In this context Magubane criticises the pluralist for not seeing the economy as a leading force in the historical process. Magubane however deepens his analysis from an explanation of racial and class inequalities rooted in imperialism and capitalism to one that emphasizes enduring realities of racism. This explanation is based on the centrality of race as an ideology which influences racial and class inequalities. As opposed to his earlier works where Magubane conceptualises racial and class inequalities as aspects imperialism, his later works reflect a shift from this view towards the belief that racial inequalities also stem from the acceptance that there are superior and inferior races hence the creation of the other and justification of injustices against the other based on theories of racial superiority. In conclusion, it is worth noting that the shift in Magubane’s

analysis does not necessarily mean that he disregarded his earlier analysis, rather it is an indication of the deepening of his analysis of race and class in South Africa.

CHAPTER 7
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF PROFESSOR MAGUBANE: A LOCATION OF HIS
SCHOLARSHIP IN GLOBAL DEBATES AND HIS INTELLECTUAL
ENGAGEMENTS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a discussion of Professor Magubane's contributions to knowledge production as well as significant aspects of his scholarship. The contributions of Professor Magubane are best approached by viewing his works and intellectual involvement as an ongoing engagement with the ideas and assumptions of his time. This chapter is based on a critical analysis of data generated from the following sources; interviews conducted with Professor Magubane, his autobiography, tributes written in honour of him as well as a general assessment of his works. It discusses the relevance of Professor Magubane's works for adapting the intellectual legacies of Marxist scholarship to understanding the race and class question in South Africa. The chapter also examines Magubane's critique of Western social science in its application to Africa, particularly the liberal analysis. Unlike the previous chapters which gave a detailed summary of his works and biography, this chapter is mainly concerned with the relevance of his works, the degree of his intellectual commitment to knowledge production, his specific influence and involvement as an African intellectual and an identification of the factors that make him a distinguished intellectual. This chapter therefore approaches the explanation of Magubane's intellectual contribution not as an independent episteme, but locates it by examining the complex interplay of different factors that shaped not only Magubane's theoretical orientations but also his political involvement and its significance. The contributions of Professor Magubane can be summarised as, his commitment to endogenous knowledge production, his engaged scholarship reflected by his political consciousness, commitment to Afro-centricity and his engagement with the historical experiences of Africans as an explanation of their current conditions hence the adoption of the historical materialism approach method in his works.

7.2 Professor Magubane's commitment to Afro-centricity

Afrocentricity is a philosophical and theoretical paradigm whose expositions are linked to the works of Molefi Kete Asante, *Afrocentricity* (1988), *The Afrocentric Idea* (1987), and *Afrocentricity, and Knowledge* (1990). Afrocentricity according to Asante is generally

opposed to theories that “dislocate” Africans to the periphery of human thought and experience. The argument for Afrocentricity is that Africans have been moved off social, political, philosophical and economic terms and as a result it has become necessary to examine all data from the standpoint of Africans as subjects and human agents rather than as objects in a European frame of reference. The Afrocentric paradigm is very much reflected in Magubane’s works and this is indicated by the fact that in his analysis of race and class in South Africa, he locates his analysis from an African point of view and in the process creates Africa’s own intellectual perspective which stands in contradiction to the liberal perspective which is Eurocentric.

The subject matter of afrocentricity is its placement of Africa at the centre of analysis of African history and culture, including the African experience. Asante (2009) also argues that those committed to Afrocentricity “approach the construction of knowledge from the stand point of Africans as agents in the world, actors, not simply the spectators.” In Mafeje’s related idea of ‘Africanity’, Afrocentricity involves knowledge production that starts from the ontological position of Africans and centres the African experience and condition. Keto (1989) supports this line of thought and noted that the African-centred perspective of history rests on the premise that it is valid to posit Africa as a geographical and cultural starting base in the study of African people and or African phenomena. Magubane’s need to create an African centred perspective in his works stems from his rejection of the Eurocentric paradigm adopted in what he calls the bourgeoisie philosophy, which has been used in many previous studies of Africa to justify racial exploitation. Professor Magubane’s scholarship is unambiguously African and better still he used his Western experiences and learning to bear on a profound understanding of the limits of approaches and in particular Anthropologists approaches which studied African societies as if they were static or frozen in space and time.

In his critique of the Manchester School- “*A critical look at indices used in the study of social change in colonial Africa*” (1971), Professor Magubane attempts to shift and challenge the way of knowing from an epistemology engendered within European cultural construct to one which is engendered or centred within an African construct. In Magubane’s analysis of the race and class issue, he examines the data from the standpoint of Africans as subjects and human agents rather than as objects in European frame of reference. This paradigm involves cultural and social immersion as opposed to scientific distance as the best approach to understand African phenomena and this means that the researcher must have

some familiarity with history, language, philosophy and myths of the people under study. The paradigm thus locates research from an African viewpoint and creates Africa's own intellectual perspective. It focuses on Africa as the cultural centre for the study of African experiences and interprets research data from African perspective. Magubane allow the chosen authors he cites in his works as well as their texts to speak for themselves in the same way Anthropologists, through their field notes, allow their subjects to speak (2007:2).

His analysis is predicated on the belief that all humans' actions, beliefs and ideologies are purposeful and have material basis. For this reason in *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (2007), Magubane brings together a formidable array of primary sources to present an exposition of the proliferation of racist ideology and racism. He examines the way in which black people came to be enslaved, denigrated, likened to wild animals, and regarded as inferior, and dispensable 'Other'. He also explores the deployment of race in the work of such respected thinkers as Edward Long, and the evangelicals, Robert Knox and James Hunt. He exposes eugenics and the doctrine of class and racial supremacy, as espoused by men of science such as Francis Galton and Karl Pearson. To avoid fallacy of isolated quotation, he allows the actors rather than hearsay, to guide his evidence. This way , Magubane argues, one comes to appreciate not only the major decisions that architects of white supremacy made, but also the way these movers and ideologues of African inferiority construed events as they were experiencing them (Magubane,2007:4).

Professor Magubane portrays events through African eyes, implicitly criticizing scholarship which consciously or unconsciously adopts a Eurocentric frame of reference. His works on racial inequality in South Africa dare to assume that it is the African perspective which is most crucial. In this respect he criticizes analyses of South African racism which put Afrikaner history at the heart of the problem. He points out

South African race relations is cursed by a narrow focus on the character and experiences of the Afrikaner, rather than on those systematic aspects of imperialism that foster inequality and racism (1979:9).

He rightly points out that formulating a theory of inequality in South Africa requires an understanding of Britain's colonial legacy. He goes further and argues that one need to know what British imperialism left behind and this again is important in understanding how the current system developed.

This commitment to Afrocentrism had roots in his research experience, working with Professor Leo Kuper. Conducting interviews for Kuper made him realise how much distortions white experts on African culture passes for fact about Africans, as they in many instances obtained different findings from what Kuper and other White experts had observed and interpreted from the field (Magubane, 2010:79). One good example that Magubane gives in his manuscript is a case where research findings by Professor Owen Horwood on the economic profiles of African expenditure reflected a gap between salaries and expenditures which the researchers could not explain. An intervention by Magubane and his other colleagues made it possible for Kuper to understand the existence of this gap. The reason why there was no correlation between the value of goods consumed by Africans and their income was basically because Africans bought their goods at low prices through the backdoor since there was a thriving underground market in all the townships. For Magubane this kind of information could not be obtained by an outsider, unless one was initiated into the ways of the people and for him this explained why there were distortions on African culture. This greatly influenced Magubane as he noted that from this point onwards he and his colleagues began to entertain ideas of producing scholarship that would present the true picture of African life (Magubane, 2010:82).

Professor Magubane sought not merely to write the historical development of racism in South Africa but to think in epistemological terms about what it meant to be an African and the significance for social research. This is evident in his writings that deal with issues of race, class and inequality in South Africa. Professor Magubane in all his works sought to reconceptualise racism from an African-centred standpoint and reject the liberal analysis which blamed the African condition on the African as an inferior race hence their role in serving the superior race, subjecting them to exploitation. To liberate the study of Africa and Africans from white supremacist scholarship, Africa figured in his scholarship as the intellectual centre.

Although the Eurocentric frame of reference in the study of race and class has sought to ossify, perpetuate and maintain European supremacy, Magubane's commitment to Afrocentricity leads him to the real matter of the issues and exposes the: roots of oppression and racial exploitation in South Africa as well as the experiences and responses of black people to racial exploitation. This goes to show that white superiority was not an accepted state of affairs but was rather a myth that the blacks obviously did not accept hence their resistance to

exploitation which again historians fail to give an account for in discussing the development of capitalism in South Africa. Liberal analysis of the development of racial inequalities has often neglected to discuss African reaction to the conditions of domination and exploitation. Magubane on the other hand addressed questions regarding African reaction to conquest and oppression and he clearly demonstrates that the African has not been a passive and a willing sufferer as liberals would like to believe (Magubane, 1979: 278)

7.3. The significance of Professor Magubane's historical perspective

The major issue which Professor Magubane engages in is the question of a historical analysis. He advanced various arguments for the importance of including historical analysis in several areas of study in the social sciences and constantly criticizes the liberal scholars for their neglect of this analysis in their works on racism in South Africa. Magubane (1979:3) situates the problem of racial inequality in a historical context, and argues that the concept is historical specificity-the idea that social phenomena and laws can only be valid in the context of particular historical periods since they are generally specific to them. Magubane goes on to say that the structures of inequality acquire meaning only through human definition and this includes a wide range of mediations and individual perceptions. For Magubane this alone calls for the analysis of a multitude of processes and this in turn necessitates the use of concepts grounded in history and the rejection of those based on idealist assumptions about human nature. Therefore, instead of employing timeless categories to house social phenomena of different epochs he understands the dynamics of racism under specific conditions.

Magubane (2010:254) criticizes the liberal writings of the Oxford History of South Africa by Wilson and Thompson for not focussing on important issues in South African history for instance conquest, exploitation and dispossession of Africans. Rather, these authors focused on what they referred to as 'interaction' of people of diverse origins, languages, technologies and social systems. In this

way the actual terms of the interaction based on exploitation were neglected in the analysis and as a result the colonial situations and the impact on the victims were not completely exposed.

Historical materialism is a methodological approach to the study of society, economics and history, first articulated by Karl Marx. Magubane's engagement with Marxist literature influenced his writings. His understanding of historical materialism was sharpened when he read Jack Simmons's book *Race and colour in South Africa*. Magubane found this approach exciting and different from what he had been formerly taught about South Africa, which was nothing but propaganda and a gross distortion of reality (Magubane, 2010:163). Magubane had this to say about the book

I remember getting a copy from Jack; it's not a small book, its more than 600 pages. It was one of those books I couldn't put down. I read it in three days. It introduced me to a history of South Africa that I had never really read before.....for the first time i read a history that applied historical materialism, an approach that was different and exciting....it was from Simmons' *Class and Colour* that I began to understand the importance of history and of conceptualising South African society as a totality"²⁶

He also said later that the weekly discussions at the home of Ray and Jack Simmons

Radically changed my outlook on the way South African history was written.²⁷

This book introduced Magubane to a history of South Africa as he had never read before and for the first time he understood, too, what separated historical materialism from liberal idealism. This book was also interpretive in approach and it impressed upon him the importance of understanding history and of conceptualising South African society as a totality (Magubane 2010:163). This explains why in his works on race, class and inequality, Professor Magubane in an attempt to explain the development of racism, conceptualises this development as a totality. This he does by integrating the social, political, ideological structures in his explanation of the development of capitalism and imperialism in South Africa.

Magubane (1979, 1996, and 2007) provides a historical analysis of the events that resulted in the development of capitalism as well as racist ideas in South Africa. Although this historical

²⁶ Magubane, B. My Life and Times Manuscript.

²⁷ Magubane, B. My Life and Times Manuscript.

analysis reviews much known information about South Africa, their importance lies in the reinterpretation of what was known. By examining the interconnectedness of South Africa's politics, religion and culture, Professor Magubane brings into focus aspects of the current racial situation. In this context Professor Magubane also criticises the pluralists for not seeing the economy as a leading force in the historical process. While making this important corrective, Professor Magubane's frame of reference has the further advantage of not being exclusive. Aidoo (1989:3) referred to it as an important step toward a general theory of racism, which is capable of encompassing the middle range generalizations on which much of our knowledge is based.

A good example is the *Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979) in which he adopts a historical materialist approach to the study of the development of racism in South Africa. The historical materialist approach adopted in this book is not only relevant for an enquiry into South Africa's past but is especially pertinent for a realistic assessment of the contemporary period. It helps explain the existence of inequalities even after the end of apartheid and is therefore a counterpoint to the liberal position which conceptualises racial inequalities as a consequence of institutionalised racism, implicitly assuming that the removal of racial capitalism is sufficient to produce equality of opportunity and resources. The liberal analysis has since been rejected for the reason that, even at the end of apartheid, when cross national data became available, South Africa recorded one of the highest levels of inequality in the world (Natrass, 2006:3). The historical technique used by Professor Magubane enables one to derive lessons from past experiences that speak to the concerns of the present. Although their concerns remain grounded in the histories examined and cannot be transposed literally to other contexts, historical and comparative studies in Magubane's works yield more meaningful advice concerning contemporary choices and possibilities than studies that aim for the universal truths but cannot grasp critical historical details.

7.4 Professor Magubane: An engaged Intellectual

Professor Magubane was and remains a prolific writer and engaged scholar. Of the many books and articles he authored, several were instrumental in challenging mainstream social science theoretical perspectives and provoking a paradigm-shift in African political economy and social science, thus influencing several generations of scholars. His critique of the Manchester school contained in the article "*A critical look at indices used in the study of*

social change in colonial Africa” (1971) is one example of his articles that influenced scholars in a positive light. Michael Burawoy (2000) comments on this contribution in which he agrees with Magubane’s critique of the liberal face of the Manchester school. Magubane accused them of smuggling into their work assumptions of Western superiority, of denying Africans their cultural specificity, and of understanding colonial order as given and eternal. Burawoy (2000) actually acknowledge Magubane’s critique and had this to say

Magubane was correct to diagnose a liberal complacency in the Manchester School, the same complacency that Gouldner found so disturbing in the Chicago School- the complacency of academic “objectivity” that concealed the ethnographer’s implication in the world they study. (Burawoy, 2000).

He dedicated his intellectual work and life to the social emancipation of African people by theorising an African social science paradigm which emphasized the primacy of African thinking for change in South Africa in particular. Profesor Magubane has helped transform and has also shaped the way in which generations of intellectuals and activists interpret Africa’s past, its present and its future. Equally, Magubane’s works played a fundamental role in revolutionising the way in which social scientists and activists in the struggle against apartheid understood both the workings of South African society and the appropriate ways to change it.

In *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979:x), Magubane states the intention of his book which is to provide a glimpse of some horrors inflicted upon South African people by white people. The purpose he notes,

Is not to invoke pity, but to indicate the necessity for transforming the system of oppression so that we may help establish and create a society in which our children and our children’s children will be free from exploitation, deprivation and ignorance (Magubane, 1979: x).

Implied in this statement is also his political commitment which shows that he did not engage with literature for its own sake but it was precisely for the purpose of transformation and change. Apart from books, most of which have already been cited in earlier chapters, Profesor Magubane has also published journal articles, and has given lectures and presentations in prominent universities and conferences. Professor Magubane actually noted specifically that works such as “*From Soweto to Uitenhange*” were to keep him sane and were self- consciously understood as contributions to the liberation struggle in a way he was best suited to do as a scholar and intellectual. in the last paragraph of the preface to *The*

Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa he states the same thing firmly and had this to say;

But the work is directed to those in struggle, and with those compatriots i feel no estrangement, but only kinship (Magubane, 1979: xiii)

7.4.1 Professor Magubane and the wider theoretical debates and contributions to South African social sciences

Magubane's engagement in wider theoretical debates on the subject of race, class and inequality make him such a powerful intellectual force. Omafume Onogo (1977) actually claimed that Magubane was, in his view. "The most exciting Africa sociologist alive" and this was in the early 1970s .Magubane triumphed over formidable obstacles to become an internationally respected scholar. The first of these were to successfully navigate the pernicious effect of Bantu education. He endured the struggles of Bantu education since he could not leave for Swaziland like the rest of the teachers (Magubane, 2010:51). This, however, inspired him to do the national certificate that would qualify him to go to the University of Natal. These struggles catapulted him deeper than ever into politics and he also got the conviction that he had to teach the students beyond the mere call of duty and give them the best education (Magubane, 2010:51). He re-dedicated himself to a political approach in his teaching and applied himself to his work with renewed zeal. His experiences at the University of Natal as well as his engagement in academic debates influenced his writing career. Doing sociology under the mentorship of Kuper and reading about events about which he had been a participant and about personalities he knew was an exciting experience which made him appreciate the importance of cultivating a historical consciousness that enabled one to realise that the present itself must be studied and comprehended as history.

The two years of postgraduate studies at the University of Natal were very crucial in Magubane's scholarship as he was exposed to interesting debates that raged at the University over a number of ideological and theoretical issues. Especially on the relevance of Marxism and nationalism in the struggle against black oppression and exploitation by a White minority. In these debates, he found that the concept of class was often rejected by political scientists who espoused the concept of social pluralism (2010:84). Magubane had a systematic exposition of Marx's analysis and its application to the oppression and

exploitation of the African for the first time at a debate held at a work colleague's house in UNZA by the name of Rowley Arenstein. This had a significant impact on how Magubane tackled the issues of race and class in South Africa. He found the logic of class analysis a most compelling way to explain African oppression and exploitation and this debate was an eye opener for him (Magubane, 2010:85). This explains why Magubane's analysis of race and class is actually an attempt to critique the liberal school which neglected class analysis and thus offered a reductionist approach to the study of South Africa. Nonetheless, Magubane embraced class analysis while firmly grounded in the existential salience of race and racism in the South African context

The relevance of Magubane's scholarly contributions can be seen in the way he takes on liberal white intellectuals, including some of his white teachers who were proponents of social pluralism. Magubane's critical insight came to culmination in his first essay "*Prescriptive vocabularies of social change and their implications*" He wrote this paper for the second International Congress of Africanists, held in Dakar in 1967. His serious interrogation with Anthropology was established in 1968 in the East African Journal and was entitled "*Crisis in African Sociology*", which was a frontal attack on the Manchester school. This paper elicited in general positive reactions from African scholars although some dismissed it completely. Such a frontal attack is an indication of his insistence on theoretical rigour particularly in terms of how ideas were viewed.

Magubane's critic of pluralism is perhaps the most important of all his contributions as an African intellectual. When the theory of social pluralism gained wide currency in sociological theory after the publication of Pierre Van Den Berghe's book, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict*, Magubane challenged the whole notion of social pluralism. His main criticism was that it was complete distortion of reality and it warped social analysis. This critic also ties in with Magubane's emphasis on the importance of accounting for African experiences when recording their history, and centring this experience when discussing colonialism or South Africa—hence Afrocentricity. Social pluralism rejected class analysis and as Van Der Berghe (1965) puts it

Social classes in the Marxian sense of relationship to the means of production exist by definition, as they must in any capitalist country, but they are not meaningful social realities.

In light of this, in all his works Magubane stresses the importance of a historical analysis in the social sciences. In *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*, which is a direct attack on the liberal school, Magubane argues that “anyone who wants to change the structure of racial oppression must understand its fundamental nature, its historical formation, and its manipulation by the ruler” (1979:15). He also argued that the use of a historical analysis in the study of racial inequality in South Africa necessitates the use of concepts grounded in history and the rejection of those based on idealistic assumptions about human nature. The way Magubane tackles social issue and methodology used in his studies of social phenomena actually proves that his general theoretical and methodological outlook was defined by his belief that theoretical paradigms and modes of social analysis should be contextualised, that we should avoid generalising or replicating from one context to another without coming to grips with the specificities defined by our own history and culture.

To understand this theoretical methodological position is to understand why Magubane came to totally different conclusions about the character of Zambian society than that delivered through the writings of the Manchester school of Anthropology. As a result he made a decision not to inflict his students at UNZA with this irrelevant literature from the Manchester school of anthropology. He introduced his students to Marxist works on poverty and the students even found these works relevant, Magubane also decided to cleanse his system by writing the paper on the “Crisis of African Sociology” which got him into trouble with the liberal establishment.²⁸ Magubane’s *African Sociology: towards a critical perspective* which is a collection of essays is an insightful contribution by Bernard Magubane.

The collection of essays, often unknown even in local academic circles, provides a critical synthesis of intellectual systems of Frantz Fanon, H.I.E. Dhlomo, Ngugi wa Thiongo and Amil Cabral. This critical synthesis represents an attempt to construct a revolutionary African ideology and scholarship aimed at the liberation project in Africa, generally, and South Africa, specifically. At the center of Magubane's efforts is an attempt to tackle the oppression African people endures by articulating new priorities, new frames of reference, new analytical modes, and new revolutionary modalities. Through these efforts, Magubane aims to forge a new path that would lead to the reinvigoration of those engaged in the

²⁸ Magubane, B. Field Interview. 29 December 2007 (conducted by Prof Jimi Adesina).

revolutionary project. The social sciences, particularly Sociology, should lead the way in this process, he argues, for they have been more than complicit in the processes leading to the destruction, denial, and devaluation of Africa.

An important aspect in the theoretical contributions of Professor Magubane's work also consists in the way in which he orders and analyzes the key events in South Africa. *The political economy of race and class in South Africa (1979)* is rigorously researched and theoretically grounded. The author's perspective is socio-historical and materialist, and this helps articulate and give salience to the thrust of his account of the development of racial oppression in South Africa. In it, he maintains that most studies of South Africa's racism have ignored or, at best played down important economic variables. His argument is that racism in South Africa has emerged historically and is inextricably connected to the rise of capitalism and imperialism. Therefore to study the development of capitalism is the best way to study racial inequality, for to do so place socio-economic relationships at the heart of the problem (Magubane, 1979:3).

Magubane's analysis has a further virtue of offering a non-reductionist approach. Liberal studies on inequalities in South Africa tend to treat racial prejudices as the heart of conflicts and inequities within South African society. Liberals on this view, thus regard the dynamics of racial discrimination as the only prime mover of the country's history. Magubane criticizes liberals like the Manchester School and Van der Berghe for the primacy they gave to race and ethnicity or 'tribes'. Additionally, when they discussed race it was without an exposition of the logic of the exploitation of black workers. Magubane's contribution is significant in that it is non-reductionist in acknowledging the interpenetration of class and racial cleavages as a single and bounded reality. Class relations in South Africa have been constituted in part along racial lines, therefore we cannot fully make sense of the structural position of the African working class without also taking account of their race as the basis of what some Marxists called the ultra- exploitability of African workers, "that is the use of extra-economic coercive measures to facilitate a supply of ultra cheap labour" (Johnstone, 1976:20). In justifying the class and race cleavage, he argues that "the concept of class is useful not because it is true, but because it correctly identifies the basis of exploitation in capitalist society; it directs inquiry to the fundamentals of racism as an instrument for extracting surplus value from the labourer and keeping the working people divided" (Magubane, 1979:16).

In explaining the development of racial inequalities, Professor Magubane argues that many of those who write with the Manchester School, and specifically those rooted in structural functionalist school of social pluralism did not discuss African reaction to the conditions of domination and exploitation. Magubane on the other hand addresses questions regarding African reaction to conquest and oppression and he clearly demonstrates that the African has not been passive and a willing sufferer as liberals would like to believe. A methodological individualism is inept in the liberal analysis of the power of the working class. Liberal analysis explains the power of the working class as the arithmetic sum of the power of individual members implying that class power increase as the number of class members increases.

This sort of analysis fails to grasp the nature and significance of the working class power to withhold its labour in any capitalist society. The power of the working class here derives from its structural position in the process of production. In the South African case therefore, the relationship between the state and African work-force should be grasped within the framework of class analysis. Magubane clearly articulates the significance of a class analysis in understanding racial capitalism in South Africa. In his analysis, the National party's original attempts to control African workers by outlawing their union leaders, is not only seen as a product of racial policy. He shows that it is also motivated by an interest in control over the African working class.

7.4.2 The political commitment and involvement of Professor Magubane and his role as a political activist.

What makes Professor Magubane a particularly interesting scholar is that his scholarship reflected his political commitment. He was not afraid to address the issues that he though was critical in the South African context, even though most scholars at the time were minimizing the role of race and racism in South African history. Professor Magubane never saw himself as a “mere academic”, rather he dedicated his intellectual work and life to the social and political empowerment of African people, by theorising an African social science paradigm which emphasized the primacy of African thinking for liberation from the shackles of White rule and exploitation in South Africa to be more specific. His own position in the debates on race and racism is clear from the very first sentence of *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (2007). In the acknowledgements he writes;

Like everything else I have written, this is a politically committed book (2007: ix).

In *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (1979: xii), Professor Magubane also made his political commitment clear and had this to say

This book was written as yet another instalment in the growing list of books whose purpose is to help chart a clear ideological and analytical direction; it is based on the belief that the movement's strategy must be based on a correct historical understanding...The work is directed to those in struggle, and with the compatriots I feel no estrangement, but only kinship (Magubane, 1979: xiii).

The direction of this political commitment becomes clear when he writes that contemporary European social scientists, depicted as bourgeois', still cannot accept Europe's responsibility for the African condition. Ideologues of European modernity continue to make Whites, if not a natural racial aristocracy, certainly a natural intellectual aristocracy. *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other*, he argues, "seeks to remove the veil of deception and expose the subterfuge of individuals and societies that are in denial" (Magubane, 1979: 25). The recurring topicality and significance of his African political thought assuredly place him in the pantheon of great African political thinkers. Magubane's political commitment was also acknowledged by the former President, Nelson Mandela who gave Magubane an award for outstanding service, joining a roster of award recipients that includes renowned anti-apartheid activists Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Steve Biko and Chris Hani; musicians Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba.²⁹

Throughout his career in and outside South Africa, Magubane was an active member of the African National Congress (ANC). In Los Angeles in the 1960's , Magubane used to lead anti-Apartheid demonstrations in Lusaka, he was intimately involved with the very top echelons of the ANC-Oliver Tambo who used to work from the Magubane family home in Lusaka. His experiences in Apartheid South Africa as well as the intellectual debates he engaged in left an indelible impression on his political consciousness. For this reason, Magubane used his own theoretical work in the service of the ANC. Magubane's engagement in conferences he got invited to is a strong indication of his great interest in political developments in South Africa.

²⁹ Advance. Mandela honours Magubane's contributions to social sciences. June 21, 1991.

Whenever he was given an opportunity to give a presentation at these conferences, he never shied from defending his own position. In 1974, Magubane got an invitation to attend a conference in Mount Kisco and he was also asked to write a paper on ideological changes among Africans, which he found limiting and so he decided to write a paper entitled “*The continuing class struggle in South Africa*”. At this conference, Magubane questioned the cast of characters invited to the conference. He made remarks which reflected his unhappiness with the composition of those invited to discuss change in South Africa. For him the main issue was why no representative of liberation movement was invited and he also questioned the way change had been defined as the intellectual focus of this conference.

Change had been defined as “processes which may cumulatively produce structural change away from the present coercively and racially stratified society.” By ‘contemporary’, Magubane noted that they meant “changes that were presently discernible or predictable.” They also warned that “the discussions and the book will not be primarily historical in approach, nor will they be related to any single historical starting point”. This for Magubane was a wrong way to conceptualise change since for him a historical analysis of the African condition being analysed was important in understanding African attitudes (Magubane, 2010:260). Although Magubane’s contribution was later excluded from the book which was a compilation of the conference papers, it is worth noting that it took courage and intellectual integrity to stand up to these opposing forces.

During his time in Zambia, Magubane established close ties with the ANC exile leadership based there, and he travelled widely to speak on the South African liberation struggle throughout almost three decades of teaching at the University of Connecticut. Magubane noted that being in Zambia was for him like being at the right place at the right time in terms of both his intellectual and political career. Zambia was an important base among the frontline states from which the ANC and all the liberation movements from Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia launched their guerrilla offensive there. This had benefited Magubane in that he was able to reconnect with old acquaintances and the liberation movement and because of this he felt close to the pulse of the liberation movement. The relevance of Magubane’s involvement lies in the fact that his scholarship reflected his political commitment, and he was not afraid to address issues that he thought were critical in the South African context, even though many of his colleagues at the time were minimizing the role of race and racism in South Africa.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed Professor Magubane's contributions to knowledge production and the social science community in Africa. In doing so, his scholarship has been located within wider intellectual debates on race and class and intellectual engagements. The theoretical implications of Professor Magubane's works for our understanding of race, class and inequality in South Africa are vast and complex. If there is one underlying, unifying thread in Professor Magubane's scholarship, it is his relentless fight to have the African, as the key focus of our analysis in history writing. His general theoretical and methodological outlook was defined by his belief that theoretical paradigms and modes of social analysis should be contextualised, that we should avoid generalising or replicating from one context to another without coming to grips with the specificities defined by our own history and culture.

To his credit, Professor Magubane managed to transcend academic dependency and this is reflected by the fact that the theoretical basis of his work does not ascribe to the notion of the captive mind which for Alatas dominates African scholarship.³⁰ Professor Magubane's works are an attempt to correct the Eurocentric biases in the production of knowledge on Africa, and in particular knowledge on race and class in South Africa. Magubane's approach combines a theoretical and analytical exploration of apartheid, imperialism and colonialism through case studies of South Africa. The author as a result provides a critical analysis of not only apartheid but of sociology as well in which the basis of African sociology is portrayed as one that takes African ontological standpoints as its point of departure, not just the description or analysis of the African conditions. The lessons that a new generation of African scholars can take from Professor Magubane's scholarship and works can be summarised as follows:

1. A commitment to endogeneity- an intellectual standpoint derived from a rootedness in the African conditions.
2. A commitment to Afro-centricity
- 3 Strong political commitments
3. Production of instructive works with immense theoretical rigour and analytic acuity.

³⁰ Alatas, Syed Hussein. 1974. 'The captive mind and creative development..' *International Social Science Journal* , 24(4):691-700.

The following section provides a discussion of the general conclusions of the study and recommendations.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 General conclusions of the study

This thesis has discussed Professor Magubane's analysis of race, class and inequalities in South Africa as well as his contributions to the social sciences and the global industry of knowledge production. In doing so, we examined Magubane's biographical and intellectual accounts and located his works within the wider debates on race and class studies in South Africa. Through such an approach, it has been possible to account for Professor Magubane's intellectual shifts and it has been shown that Professor Magubane's, scholarship, experiences and theoretical positions, are products of the material world in which he lived and concerning which he wrote. This thesis presented Professor Magubane's works and scholarship as one of the most influential voices within the social science community in South Africa and the global social sciences in general. His works are quite instructive not only for their theoretical sophistication, but also for his engagement with crucial issues, methodological rigour and analytical acuity, and the products of an engaged scholar, written with profound authority and conviction and also constituting significant attempts to bring about change and transformation.

Professor Magubane did not engage in knowledge production for its own sake but he was convinced that an adequate understanding of social problems could be reached only on the basis of an underlying philosophy, and throughout his work the philosophic spirit, the urgent demand for an all round synoptic view characterised his theoretical orientations. The formative influence in his Marxist approach was the works of Web Dubois. Magubane even noted that any study of race and class must begin with the writings of Du Bois. Dubois wrote against racial oppression and exploitation and also reached a unique understanding of class and race in the era of capitalist development as a world system. The Du Boisian approach to race relations breaks out of the reductionist strategies of class essentialism and methodological individualism inept in the liberal analysis. It therefore informs a growing body of scholarship and as a result writers like Magubane thought deeply about the state using traditional Marxism as a starting point, but went beyond it in a Duboisian manner.

In conclusion, an exploration of the scholarship of Professor Magubane has revealed that his approach to knowledge production defended the African people's dignity and civilizational

achievements by recording and interpreting Africa's history from the African perspective and his placements of Africa at the centre of analysis of African history and culture, including the African experience. Two positions are clear from our examination of Professor Magubane's writings, his political commitment reflected by scholarly works in which he engages with the historiography of the liberation struggle in South Africa. He was also an active member of the ANC and travelled widely to speak on the South African liberation struggle. The second position is his critical engagement with issues affecting the South African society. His career has touched many who have grappled with the question of national oppression, class exploitation, imperial domination and racial prejudice around the world in general and in South Africa in particular. Of great importance in his analysis and methodology is his relentless efforts to have the African, as the key focus of the analysis of human experiences in South Africa in particular and In the Unites States in general.

8.2 Recommendations

Whilst it is true that there is more research done in the North than in the South, the South now has a lot to offer for academic publishing. Unlike the situation 50 years ago, there is now a considerable body of academic research taking place in Africa, and since research is a contribution to knowledge, such knowledge must be made public in order to be available for further research to build on it. Beyond just making the knowledge available, African scholars should also make efforts to engage with local research once it is made available to the public. In South Africa to be more specific, the problem is not necessarily the unavailability of research output, rather it is a combination of a poor reading culture and a preference for Western output which has resulted in the dependence on western research in terms of areas of studies, and methods of analysis and it has also resulted in a regurgitation of ideas without due consideration of their application to the South African context. There is therefore a need to engage with local literature, and avoid the adoption of western paradigms and the consequent erasure of works from the South.

African scholars must pursue knowledge production that can renovate African culture, defend the Africa people's dignity and contribute to a new global agenda that can push us out of the crisis of academic dependency and marginalisation of African scholars and their works in the global community of knowledge production. Such knowledge must be relevant to the current needs of the masses, which they can use to bring about social transformation out of their present plight. This again is one aspect that is significant about Magubane's work. He

addresses critical issues and provides solutions pertaining to issues in the contemporary period. Therefore, from him, we learn the importance of employing education for societal benefit rather than the other way around. Without doubt, this has been Professor Magubane's mission to use his wide-ranging learning to enlighten and inspire progressive discourse. We therefore cannot talk about the production of knowledge for its own sake without interrogating its purpose. It is hoped that beyond sentiments, this thesis has proved that Professor Magubane is a committed and engaged scholar, an original thinker, a prolific writer and a progressive scholar with a social commitment to change.

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