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HOW NEW IS NEW FRANK TALK?

Steve Biko's Philosophy of Black Consciousness in the Post-Apartheid context.

University of Cape Town

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ABSTRACT

A question often raised in post-apartheid South Africa is what Steve Biko would have said and done, had he been alive. Even though this question is not answerable, the desire to replicate what his thoughts would have been on certain issues still remains, as it is believed that Black Consciousness can still be applied and used in today's society. Since 1994 there has been little research on the continuation of the legacy of Black Consciousness and one of the few publications on the philosophy of Black Consciousness appears to be a series of essays under the name New Frank Talk. It seeks to critique and explain the post-1994 conditions of the Black citizen and the relevance of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South African society.

The underlying objective of the New Frank Talk is to reclaim the concept of Black Consciousness and to extend it to the contemporary South African society. As the essays of New Frank Talk continue the journey to rebuild the legacy of Black Consciousness, it is interesting to question how New Frank Talk uses the philosophy of Black Consciousness and also modifies it when applied in different contexts compared to the initial mission of Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Therefore, the main aim of this thesis is to examine the usage and modification of the philosophy of Black Consciousness in post-1994 South Africa. The usage and modification is examined through an intertextual analysis, which investigates what notions of Black Consciousness are used by New Frank Talk, how these notions are used and in what manner they are modified in a post-1994 context. The analysis consists of an examination of seven New Frank Talk essays published since 2009.

The analysis shows us that the newness of New Frank Talk is not found in the notions that are used, but in those that are modified through the context in which they are used, the context of post-1994 South Africa. This has led in some

instances to a modification of the notions of Black Consciousness, as explained by Steve Biko.

In no way will the conclusions of this thesis bring us closer to an understanding of what Steve Biko would have done or said, had he been alive. However, one of the wider implications of this analysis is to highlight that Black Consciousness can still be applied to contemporary South Africa. In sum, this is a modest attempt to help close the gap in knowledge and research concerning Black Consciousness in post-1994 South Africa.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

'...he would be marching, burning tyres, blocking roads, swearing at the pompous and overfed politicians, providing intellectual cover and elaboration for the new resistance, helping to birth a new vocabulary...collectively frown upon the whole electoral circus, and respond with messages such as "Fuck Voting!" (Mngxitama, 2009e)

"Our Dreams don't fit in your ballots"(Mngxitama, 2009e)

That is what Steve Biko would do according to New Frank Talk. Since the death of Steve Biko, it is not rare to find his fans, former friends, fellow members of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) members and columnists pointing out the relevance of Black Consciousness, including the legacy of both Steve Biko and the ideology of Black Consciousness, in present-day South Africa. This has even led some people to speak in the name of Steve Biko, which happens in different ways. Mamphela Ramphele, a former BCM-member and close friend of Steve Biko, claimed in an interview for the BBC that if Biko were still alive, he would be proud of South Africa's achievements. She also added that he would be disappointed with South Africa's approach 'in the area of tackling HIV/Aids, [and] in the area of tackling the inequalities in our society.' (Ramphele, HARDtalk, 2002). Columnist Andile Mngxitama claims in one of his essays for New Frank Talk (2009e) that he is convinced Steve Biko would not vote if he

were still among us. The title of that essay is appropriately named "Why Biko Would Not Vote".

"New Frank Talk: critical essays on the Black condition", is a series of independent published essays that specifically tries to continue the philosophy of Black Consciousness in post-1994 South Africa. The name "Frank Talk" was the alias Steve Biko used when he wrote columns for the SASO-newsletters and the apartheid government banned several issues of the columns. Additionally, AZAPO named its political journal "Frank Talk" which was published between 1984-1990. In the early years of the journal, several SASO essays of Steve Biko were published in this journal (South African History Online, 2007).

The adjective "Frank" refers to the straightforward and outspoken manner of expression attached to "Talk". New Frank Talk was first published in April 2009 as a frustrated reaction to mainstream publications. Although it was intended to be a one-time initiative, the positive feedback made New Frank Talk believe there was a demand for more issues of New Frank Talk. The frustration was born out of the observation that South Africa seemed deprived of uncensored ideas and therefore didn't fit in with mainstream media. As a result, it started out as a self-publication so the authors could write what they liked (Mngxitama, 2009b).

South African author Andile Mngxitama initiated New Frank Talk and has written five out of seven volumes discussed in this thesis.¹ Nigerian scholar Dr Chinweizu Ibekwe wrote the fourth New Frank Talk issue, while South African filmmaker and legal activist Heinrich Böhmke wrote the fifth essay. New Frank Talk (2009b:36) describes itself as '(...) a radical journal of critical essays about the black condition in post-1994 South Africa. (...) [w]ho is preoccupied with contributing towards a revolutionary black consciousness.'

NFT argues that the present-day South Africa has not changed that much compared to society under apartheid. Its continued frustration with post-1994

¹ As my research started in 2010, this thesis only analyzes the New Frank Talk issues published in 2009 and 2010.

South Africa resulted in the essays of NFT. The apartheid regime ended in the early 90s. For the first time since Europeans took over South Africa, black people were considered equal by law. A new constitution was established and implemented, and it has been celebrated as one of the most progressive on the African continent. But, socially and economically the status of black people has changed little according to NFT. This thesis will elaborate more on that later on in this thesis.

However, continuing the legacy of Black Consciousness and Steve Biko, is more than just a reference to Steve Biko's pseudonym for the essays of the New Frank Talk. The continuation of Black Consciousness New Frank Talk goes further than merely stating "Black man, you are on your own' (Biko, 2004:91), the aim is to analyse the current situation according to the principles of Black Consciousness.

Thus the question arises: In what way are the essays of New Frank Talk using the philosophy of Black Consciousness? Are the contributors of these particular publications claiming to know what Steve Biko would have written or done in present-day South Africa if he were still alive? And why do the contributors of New Frank Talk feel Black Consciousness is still relevant in post-1994 South Africa? Finally, has the philosophy of Black Consciousness been modified through its application?

By focussing on past-apartheid writings, the challenges for the contributors of New Frank Talk, is to differentiate themselves, in various ways. Not only are all different racial groups equal before Law, but the constitution also offers freedom of speech for the country's inhabitants, even though the situation for many black people today in South Africa is not so different to that prior to the 1994 dispensation. The excitement sweeping through the country in the 90s soon evaporated, only to be replaced by anger and frustration resulting from persistent inequality as the majority of white people continued to accumulate wealth and retain economic control. Another group benefiting from the new power structures are 'the ruling black comprador class' (Farred, 2004:593), which Franz Fanon (1963) refers to in his 1960's seminal essay "The Pitfalls of National

Consciousness". He argues that the danger of the new black elite would be their neo-colonial behaviour.

The end of apartheid heightened the expectations of a society, not only to be politically involved but also to be economically progressive as well. The new millennium and the 2010 World Cup intensified these expectations once more while the reality remained roughly unchanged. While black people have worked hard to gain powerful political and economical positions in South Africa since 1994, the majority of blacks in the nation are still living in circumstances similar to apartheid, making it clear that skin colour and the identity of the powerful and rich, do not assure progress for the people. In addition to this, economic inequality is evident in a liberal democracy according to Michael Macdonald (2004:630) who indicates that in reality, inequality has become a by-product of liberal democracy and only in theory opportunities are equal for all.

The importance of this study lies in the lack of academic research done on the Black Consciousness Movement and its influence on South Africa since the late 1980s (Gibson, 2008). Using the legacy of black politics in a contemporary democracy has different aspects to it than sustaining this ideology, during the apartheid-era. The BCM came into being to oppose the apartheid system. Ahmed Veriava and Prishani Naidoo (2008) criticize those people that assume to know what Steve Biko would have done, if he were still alive, as this would imply that his philosophy is incomplete. Thus, assuming to know what Steve Biko would have done, therefore, turns Steve Biko and the BCM into something that is 'damned to only ever hypothetically enter the present' according to Veriava and Naidoo (2008:235).

Resurrecting Steve Biko's writings in present-day South Africa thus raises the difficulty of how these texts should be presented, interpreted and sometimes even re-explained (Lalu, 2004). Premesh Lalu (2004:107) points out that Steve Biko's papers are characterised by the 'postcolonial problematic of self-writing' including the availability of his text to present-day South Africa. Often his papers are somehow comprehended as an incomplete biography, opening them up to

interpretation by other voices. One should also bear in mind that he died at a reasonably young age, which contributed to his martyr-ship. Numerous efforts have been made, such as the Steve Biko Foundation² lead by his son Nkosinathi Biko, to remember Steve Biko's ideals which was the main reason for starting the BCM. Moreover, theories that shift through time and space go through stages according to Edward Said (Said, 1983) that generate new usage and meaning.

A large amount of academic research has been produced about the origins of the BCM in the 1960s, and scholars within the field of the BCM such as Gail M. Gerhart (1978) and Themba Sono³ (1993) have been prolific. Mostly, scholars address the question as to what extent the BCM influenced the 70s and early 80s of the last century. However, as mentioned before, Nigel C. Gibson (2008) argues that there hasn't been a great deal of attention when it comes to the development of Black Consciousness after Steve Biko's death.

Within the sphere of anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, the BCM stood out in several ways. Although all organisations were striving for freedom, a mutual understanding of how this freedom should be obtained, was hard to accomplish. Moreover, BCM already differed in opinion from other organisations, concerning the meaning of freedom. Biko did desire one larger liberation group, despite the differences between the particular groups (Biko, 2004). For the BCM the main focus should be on psychological freedom and freedom of the mind, other than political freedom. Furthermore, the BCM placed their main emphasis on the race issue.

² Different organisations have been and are involved with the theory of Black Consciousness. The Steve Biko Foundation is a community development organisation, established by his family to continue the legacy of Biko. Azapo is the political organisation that uses Black Consciousness as its foundation. The movement is the umbrella under which the different organisations and activities fell, such as Black Consciousness Programmes and so on.

³ Although Themba Sono is one of the main scholars in the field of studying Black Consciousness, he is also somewhat controversial. Sono was the third president of SASO, a position he did not end successfully. Sono was expelled in 1972 after giving a controversial speech for the General Student Council meeting. The speech was controversial as Sono wanted SASO to adjust its approach on different levels, including working together with white people, security police and so on.

Hence, the representation of Black Consciousness and Steve Biko within South African history seems dubious at times. Strini Moodley, a former BCM-leader, is of the opinion that the African National Congress (ANC) has shaped the South African history of struggle to the struggle of the ANC, leaving the BCM abandoned (Klein, Desai, & Lewis, 2008). This shows, according to him, that in the written history of post-apartheid South Africa, the role of the BCM has been reduced to the bare minimum, therefore depriving South Africa of the legacy and influence of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness. Mark Sanders (2002:176) states how in 'scholarly and popular accounts' Black Consciousness and Steve Biko are merely 'a development in a history of political resistance to apartheid understood as a clash of clearly defined political forces. When this oversimplified narrative morphology is uncritically taken up in intellectual history, or in a history of the intellectual, the specificity of Black Consciousness is lost.'

It appears as though a certain form of editing has manifested itself since the ANC and white liberals took over the master narrative of South Africa's struggle history.⁴ In this perceived form of censorship, Black Consciousness is not discussed, as much as the current ruling party ANC and others celebrate multiracialism in the "Rainbow Nation".⁵ Even so, the relevance of Black Consciousness ideals will continue to exist since the country is still faced with the structural, socio-economic inequality between black and white citizens (Sono, 1993).

The aim of this study is not to rewrite the BCM into the struggle, since this would go against the will of BCM-originals such as Strini Moodley. For instance, he explains feeling relieved that Black Consciousness has been left out of the South African history of struggle. He argues, therefore, that Black Consciousness can still be a part of the solution instead of being part of the problem in post-1994 South Africa (Klein, Desai, & Lewis, 2008).

⁴ The ANC differed from the BCM with their concept of multiracialism in which anyone could participate in the liberation struggle (Fatton, 1986:3).

⁵ Former archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the term that has been used ever since to describe multiracial South Africa.

The New Frank Talk essays are interesting to examine for several reasons. New Frank Talk uses Steve Biko's philosophy and reasoning in a society that went through major changes and is less than two decades into the Post-Apartheid era. The essays also demonstrate that Black Consciousness ideas are still alive today while the former movement's members and ideas seem to have been dispersed between different political parties who all claim to be the true representatives of the BCM. Juxtaposing the essays written by Steve Biko as Frank Talk and the essays of New Frank Talk will provide us with an understanding of the new usage as the earlier thoughts are reconceptualised. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to question:

How do the essays of New Frank Talk use and modify the philosophy of Black Consciousness?

The theoretical framework used to examine the main objective of this thesis, is taken from Michel Foucault's understanding of the textual archive. The archive of a field of knowledge, as understood by Foucault, constitutes the ideas and discourse constructed throughout history. The documents that make up this archive are the statements that constitute a discourse (Foucault, 2002). Statements can also be textual documents like the essays written by Steve Biko for the BCM. Therefore, in this thesis we rely on the textual archive that consists of the essays written by Steve Biko for the BCM alongside the discourse where the philosophy of Black Consciousness was constructed. From this archive, the essays of New Frank Talk are analysed through an intertextual analysis. This method of analysing the usage and adaptation of the Black Consciousness philosophy is linked to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis. The theoretical framework and methodology are further discussed in Chapter Two.

My interest in the writings and thoughts of the South African BCM most likely developed from my own lack of Black Consciousness when growing up. Taken from an African country at a young age and being adopted by a white, European family, I assimilated as much as was expected of me into my new family. There were times when I was child I felt good whenever people told me ' but you are

not really black' or 'you are just as white as we are'. Only in my late teens I realise that being black was not something I should try to hide through my manners and interests. I realised that I actually liked my skin tone and that something was missing in my life. In my newfound love for my own "blackness" I reached the point of exaggerating my "blackness", adoring it, and almost rejecting my white upbringing. Reading articles and books by intellectuals such as Leopold Senghor and his ideas on *Negritude* took me back to that stage in life. At that age, I romanticised and idealised my "blackness". I felt that my black identity had been taken away from me, having grown up with minimal knowledge of my Ethiopian heritage. But I still haven't reached the point where I can honestly say I know where I stand when it comes to my own "blackness". I grew older and no longer preferred my black friends over my white friends. I don't necessarily argue with people who say anything about black people that could be slightly perceived as being negative.

Black Consciousness, however, seems like a philosophy that I needed as a teenager going through what some may refer to as an identity crisis. After experiencing the two extremes of perceiving "blackness", Black Consciousness is a manner of accepting blackness in a positive manner without necessarily rejecting whiteness.

Growing up in the Netherlands, I never had to deal with the outright racism that occurs in many parts of the world. South Africa faced extreme racism during the apartheid era, and in the centuries before the construction of this racial oppressive regime. Black Consciousness appealed to me even though I grew up in a democratic state with a history of racial oppression. Reading the essays of Steve Biko and being able to relate to them in a personal way in the Netherlands, my curiosity grew as to how Black Consciousness is perceived and used in post-apartheid South Africa.

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The outline of this dissertation will be as follows: Chapter Two outlines the background to the study of Black Consciousness in a post-1994 context, including a literature review. Furthermore, the second chapter will elaborate on the notion of the textual archive as this provides the theoretical background to this study. Furthermore, Chapter Two will elaborate on the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis that is used for the main analysis. Chapter Three is the analysis of the usage and modification of the Black Consciousness philosophy by the New Frank Talk-essays. The fourth and final chapter discusses the findings of the analysis in a conclusion.

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CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

'A lot of people still have not gained their self-awareness and a lot of black people are still psychologically oppressed, not talking even about economically oppressed. We all are still struggling and still battling.' (Alexander & Mngxitama, 2008:283)

In post-1994 South Africa, Black Consciousness appears to be relevant for several reasons. Take for instance if we observe the articulation of the negative notion of blackness, which was created centuries ago and the historically constructed behaviour that cannot be changed merely after a free and fair election and a new constitution. This means that not only the behaviour of the oppressor but also of the native, who has been forced to learn to behave as a second-class citizen during his life, cannot be erased. Therefore, political freedom alone does not provide psychological freedom and an identity of a Self that is free from historical connotations. This is not only true of South Africa, but also of any nation that has been and is still confronted by race inequality. Stuart Hall (1997:56) indicates that 'so long as that society remains in its economic, political, cultural, and social relations in a racist way to the variety of Black and Third World peoples in its midst, and it continues to do so, that struggle remains.'

South Africa continues to live with an extremely conscious notion of its history. The apartheid history is so vivid in the post-1994 society that Grant Farred (2004:594) explains the new South Africa is 'haunted by the old nomos':

'This is how the post-apartheid moment can be conceptualized: as a historic (future) temporality that is unusually aware (..) of itself as history. In this way, history (apartheid) and not-yet history (post-apartheid) coexist within the same temporality in post-1994 South African society. (...)South Africa is, within this paradigm, a nation living with a dual orientation: sometimes simultaneously, sometimes discretely, to its past and its present'.

This study aims to examine how the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Steve Biko's thoughts have been used and modified in post-1994 publications of New Frank Talk. There are several reasons for reviewing New Frank Talk essays. One of them is that the circumstances in which the ideas of Black Consciousness came about are not identical to present-day South Africa. Also, Steve Biko, the most well known founder and spokesperson of the South African BCM, is no longer alive, and the ideology is sustained in different ways. One method in which this is sustained is by the New Frank Talk essays analysed in this study. However, the political and social circumstances in which Black Consciousness emerged changed drastically from a nation with a racial and segregated political system to a constitutional democracy since 1994. The essence of the philosophy of Black Consciousness has not changed, but the manner in which it is applied differs due to changes in the political and social environment. Thus, whereas New Frank Talk publications use the foundations of the Black Consciousness philosophy of the 1960's and 1970's, this thesis will explore in what manner the philosophy was reshaped and adapted to a post-1994 society (Cooper, 2005).

South African students established the ideology of Black Consciousness in the 1960s. This was after the Rivonia-trial of 1963 when many leaders of anti-apartheid organisations were imprisoned, leaving behind a political vacuum. According to Robert Fatton (1986:31) it was '[...]in this context that the BCM began its ascendancy'. The apartheid-regime was implemented in 1948 and favoured the white minority of South Africa whereby inequality that was based on race was institutionalised during this regime.

The BCM emerged within South Africa's apartheid system. The word "apartheid" has its roots in the Dutch language, which means, when literally translated, "separateness" or "apartness".⁶

The political and social circumstances of South Africa's apartheid created a starting point for what would later be known as the BCM. In the following part

⁶ Afrikaner intellectuals used the word "apartheid" from the 1930s on. In 1946 a committee was assigned by the National party to formulate a policy statement concerning the racial problem. The policy advised was named apartheid. (Thompson, 1990:186).

written by Steve Biko (2004:29), it is evident that Black Consciousness was a direct outcome of apartheid society:

'Born shortly before 1948, I have lived all my conscious life in the framework of institutionalised separate development. My friendships, my love, my education, my thinking and every other facet of my life have been carved and shaped within the context of separate development. In stages during my life I have managed to outgrow some of the things the system taught me. Hopefully what I propose to do now is to take a look at those who participate in opposition to the system – not from a detached point of view but from a point of view of a black man, conscious of the urgent need for an understanding of what is involved in the new approach – “black consciousness”.'

There has been a debate among academics concerning the initial rise of Black Consciousness with scholars such as Sono (1993:6) arguing that 'the immediate source of origin was not apartheid as commonly argued in certain quarters, but the poverty of white political liberalism'. Another perspective, offered by Siphso Buthelezi (1991:112), is that it was not necessarily the poverty of white liberalism that effectuated the emergence of Black Consciousness, the aim was '(...)to build an organisation that would represent black student opinion and generate a sense of solidarity between black campuses.'

Whether it was because of the poor response to apartheid by white liberals or a need for black solidarity, Black Consciousness emerged in the context of apartheid. Apartheid is generally explained as an institutionalised form of racism that was implemented in 1948⁷. The South African form of racism can be described as 'extrinsic racism' which is explained by Kwame Anthony Appiah (1990:5) as a doctrine that makes 'moral distinctions between members of different races because they believe that the racial essence entails certain morally relevant qualities.' Therefore, an extrinsic racist can justify differential treatment as he/ she is convinced that the other race is inferior in many ways, thus, during apartheid, the South African government was able to create a system wherein “non-whites” could be oppressed and exploited (Appiah, 1990). Njabulo Ndebele (Ndebele, 1972) argued that the justification for racism in South Africa transformed over the years. The early white settlers vindicated racism as they regarded the black man as subordinate, which was an inherent part of their

⁷ 1948 was the year the National Party was elected as the ruling party.

Christian beliefs. Over time, these religious beliefs were substituted for a rational ideology as Ndebele (1972:18) states that '[T]he latest laws are now written with a view to the benefit of the economy and not of religion.'

Scholarship on Black Consciousness in post-1994 South Africa mainly focuses on the history and formation of the BCM (Gerhart, 1978; Sono, 1993; Thompson 1996), the influence of Black Consciousness on the Soweto Riots of June 1976 (Brooks & Brickhill, 1980; Kane-Berman, 1978), being expressed through the arts (wa Bofelo, 2008) and the political invisible character of Azapo and PAC (Nyatumba, 1992; Sanders, 2002).⁸

After apartheid, Kogila Moodley (Moodley, 1991:151) observes that 'Black Consciousness lives on more as an alternative vision than an organisationally active political party.' Research focussed on the continuation, relevance and modification of Black Consciousness is limited. However, the available academic scholarship does not situate Black Consciousness within postcolonial studies, primarily because Steve Biko is mostly ignored as a significant theorist or even reduced to a minor part in this study (Veriava & Naidoo, 2008). Still, I will discuss the available writings on the legacy of Black Consciousness in post-1994 South Africa below.

Nowadays, the reality of the BCM in South Africa is that it has no substantial political influence or direction. In the 1960's and 1970's, the BCM did not focus on attaining political power, but Sono (Sono, 1993:113) explains that the 'psychological, aesthetic and social ethic' of Black Consciousness can be found in South Africa as long as the social and economic inequalities between black and white people exist.

Sono explains the shortcomings of the present-day BCM as it begins with the contradiction of two organisations claiming to be the embodiment of the legacy of both Steve Biko and the original BCM. If both parties are representing an

⁸ Azapo and PAC are two political organizations that are generally perceived as ideologically closest to the BCM and both do not play an influential role in current South African politics. The limited role that the political parties with a black consciousness background play is partly a consequence of the non-cooperation between those parties (wa Bofelo, 2008).

identical philosophy and ideology, why are two separate organisations needed? Sono outlines how today's BCM is fighting a struggle that is not there anymore since they are fighting white forces while political power lies mostly in black hands today. Another weakness outlined is the absence of a constitutional framework within the philosophy of the BCM (Sono, 1993). Hence, the role of Black Consciousness after 1994 cannot be cultivated in a movement with actual political power and there is no alternative for the movement than to settle for opposition. This weakness is also clearly visible in the future the new BCM outlined for itself when Sono (1993:118) mentions that 'while its documents speak a lot about "revolution" and "scientific socialism" there is no visible outline as to how the black revolution will be carried out or "continued"'. In addition, Sono wonders how the BCM can be sustained by being a political party for exclusively black people in post-apartheid South Africa, knowing that moving from a race-based to a class-based organisation would be the ideological death of the BCM. While New Frank Talk does not aspire to become a political force based upon Black Consciousness within post-1994 South Africa, New Frank Talk does speak a lot about continuing the revolution. The manner in which that is done will be examined further in the following analysis.

Even though, the BCM in post-apartheid South Africa still criticises the new elected ruling class, it is still an ideology based upon the struggle of race. The changing factor, the new ruling class being black, has not been included in the new programme. This raises several difficulties as mentioned above. Bringing Sono (1993:130) to the conclusion that '[A]s a political ideology, then, the BCM formalism has no future'. Sono bases his prediction for the coming death of BCM on the idea that 'the future politics of South Africa will be class-based rather than race-based' (1993:131) without denying that racist attitudes will remain in South Africa.

A counter argument to this conclusion is to explore the economic crisis of the 70s when the movement remained faithful to its ideological framework of race-struggle. The arguments used in the language of the BCM can be conveniently used to highlight the dreadful material conditions of the black masses, witnessed during the anger of that decade (Marx, 1993). This strategy is also used in the

language of New Frank Talk. Some argue that a concentration on racial struggle alone should be avoided because of the growing importance of economic well being in South Africa (Ndebele, 1972).

Placing Steve Biko and Black Consciousness in post-1994 South Africa is essential for Veriava and Naidoo (2008) as they are not pleased with the current usage of Steve Biko's name and philosophy. They (Veriava & Naidoo, 2008:234) claim this leads to 'a Biko reduced to a footnote in the speech of the magnum leader and proudly worn by the kids of the rich.' Veriava and Naidoo (2008:235) further argue that Black Consciousness is currently needed as '[T]his writing (...) is the haunting presence that threatens to rise against the present so that we may see ourselves living differently in the here and now – to see ourselves otherwise.'

As mentioned previously in the introduction, Veriava and Naidoo criticised those people that claim to know what Steve Biko would have done or said if he were still alive, as it would imply that the Black Consciousness philosophy lacks certain insights. However, by interpreting Black Consciousness for present-day South Africa, Veriava and Naidoo fall into the trap of placing themselves in a position where they tell the reader that Steve Biko would be unsupportive of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework used in this analysis is based on Michel Foucault's understanding of the function of the archive which he explains as '*the general system of the formation and transformation of statements*' (Foucault, 2002:146). He redefines the construction of the history of ideas and discourse, which he renames archaeology, which constitutes the archive in different disciplines. By problematising the archive, the documents that belong to the archive have to be re-examined as well since history is changing from one overall conception of a linear timeline to a history of discontinuities that takes the form of an endless field of micro-stories.

Foucault examines the documents in the archive in order to break with the tradition of “facts of discourse”. When writing about books, for example, Foucault (2002:25) argues that ‘[T]he frontiers of a book are never clear-cut’. Meaning that texts in books always refer and built upon a net work of other sources. Every book is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, and other sentences: it is a node within a network...its unity is variable and relative.’ In the analysis of this thesis it is clear that the source and system of references from New Frank Talk originates from the writings of Steve Biko. Therefore, I will firstly study the archive of the discourse from which Black Consciousness emerged.

Before turning to the archive of the discourse from which Black Consciousness emerged, the discourse itself must be problematised. The formation of the discourse by the statements present a new problem as Foucault dismisses rules of formation as commonly used. He concludes that defining the discursive relation for statements to compose a unity, and thus the discourse, can only be conducted through the examination of the differences of the discursive relation.

Foucault's work has been almost revolutionary in academic scholarship, as his examination of the archive and discursive formation disregards the traditional construction of history in any field or discipline. The discourse as explained in his book *the Archaeology of Knowledge* is no longer a collection of knowledge from a specific discipline, it merely displays how one thinks about and discusses the unlimited statements contained in the archaeology.

When looking at Black Consciousness and its role in history we therefore also focus on a niche in this field of endless micro-stories. The archive representing this particular field consists of a collection of statements, which are explained as anything that can be read as a statement in its field. These statements include material forms such as documents. All these combined statements compose a discourse according to Foucault (2002:29) as ‘the totality of all effective

statements in their dispersion of events and in the occurrence that is proper to them.'

The archive utilised to formulate the discourse of Black Consciousness for this analysis is limitless, when using Foucault's understanding of the statement. However, several theorists and ideologies contributed to the formation of the discourse on Black Consciousness relevant for this thesis and thus also influenced the philosophy constructed by the BCM. But before looking at the influences of the ideology of Black Consciousness, I will illustrate three notions within the discourse of ideas as a force. Karl Marx (1970:47) stated that 'life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life'. Marx presumes that economical class is the root of political actions and ideas throughout history. Therefore, he would have never believed in political change by ideas such as Black Consciousness, as Marx (1970:37) illustrates by stating that 'men were drowned in water only because they were possessed with the idea of gravity.' Hereby he presents the irrelevancy of individual ideas as a force. An opposing argument of Marx' understanding of ideas not being able to develop to a significant force, is articulated by Max Weber. Weber (1958:90) states that 'Ideas become effective forces in history...Countless historical circumstances...cannot be reduced to any economic law'. However, Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci (Marx, 1993:25) '(...)understood revolutionary struggle as both a contest among ideas, in a "war of position", and a material conflict in a "war of manoeuvre"'. Gramsci implied that when a strong economy enables domination by persuasion, the opposition must engage in a war of position against such persuasion in order to gain control of civil society. Gramsci's perspective also applies to the chosen methodology for this study. Intertextuality moves away from the thought that literature - in this case theories - are produced by individual geniuses. The role of the intellectual is having the ability to combine existing theories into new manners.

Barney Pitso (2002), one of the founders of SASO and the BCM alongside Steve Biko, explains the influences upon Steve Biko, which he used to formulate Black Consciousness philosophy:

“Steve was a voracious reader. He read everything he could lay his hands on. (...) He understood the politics of decolonisation in Africa and India. He had insight into the anti-imperial wars throughout Africa and in Vietnam. And he had a critical understanding of the politics of the civil rights movement in the United States. Black Consciousness for him was moulded by a diversity of intellectual forces and fountains: from the liberation history of South Africa, the pan Africanism of Kwame Nkrumah, the African nationalism of Jomo Kenyatta, the negritude of the west African scholars like Leopold Sedar Senghor, Aime Cesaire and others in Paris. Biko taught himself a political understanding of religion in Africa. He devoured John Mbiti. Ali Mazrui. Basil Davidson, he understood the critical writings of Walter Rodney and he interpreted Franz Fanon.”

The statements used by the BCM constructed an archive of theories and a list of theorists that were built upon. Steve Biko looked at black empowerment movements throughout the world to construct an ideology in the context of South African society during apartheid. Therefore the philosophy of the BCM was also influenced by examples from many different parts of the world. Apartheid was a particular local problem, in which the struggle against apartheid could be placed within a global context. The struggle against racial oppression manifested itself worldwide in different forms. For instance in the late 1940s, India and Indonesia gained independence while China declared itself a republic. As apartheid was introduced in South Africa, liberation movements opposed colonial regimes throughout the world, from Ghana to Cuba, and from Kenya to Indochina (Gosse, 2004). It is, therefore, not surprising that social movements from the Caribbean, Africa, and the America's became linked by constructing ideologies that show many similarities, but are adapted to a particular local situation. Fanon (1963:170) further elaborates that condemnation of colonialism is 'continental in its scope'. This makes it understandable how the philosophy of Black Consciousness was able to use global theories and apply these to the local South African reality.

Frequently a parallel is made between scholarly work of the Black Power movement in the United States and the BCM in South Africa (Abraham, 1991; Gerhart, 1978). Both in South Africa and the USA, blacks suffered from racism and the NAACP was crucial in shaping the ANC in 1912. From music to criminal gangs, black culture from the United States appealed strongly to the black people

of South Africa. Furthermore, similarly to the BCM, the Black Power movement from the USA found that in essence they were dealing with a white problem (Sono, 1993). Steve Biko (2004:69) didn't necessarily see the American black movement as a major influence. He notes that their influence appears to him as a 'sequel to the attainment of independence by so many African states' and '[T]he fact that American terminology has often been used to express our thoughts is merely because all new ideas seem to get extensive publicity in the United States.' However, even justice minister Kruger compared the two and told Parliament in June 1977 '(..)that the black power movement was the most dangerous thing ever to come to South Africa from the United States' (Lukk, 1977:6).

The philosophy of Black Consciousness originates from the founding fathers of black thought and Pan-Africanism from Jamaica and the USA. The Jamaican Marcus Garvey and American W.E.B. du Bois are generally seen as the pioneers of Pan-Africanism. Garvey's aspiration was to unite all the Negro people around the world. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL) in America in 1914, which wanted to raise awareness among people of African descent (Ajala, 1973). Another scholar, who is regarded along with Garvey as the founding father of the Pan-African movement, is W.E.B. du Bois, who stressed the importance of 'conscious self-realisation and self-direction' (Ajala, 1973:103).

The destructive manner in which black people were treated and their miserable social status in the West Indies and in America was the motivation for people such as Garvey and Du Bois to fight for the black man's rights. Therefore, one of the first themes of Pan-Africanism was to achieve satisfaction and pride in being black, concepts that are clearly represented throughout the Black Consciousness philosophy.

Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania after the country gained independence, was an influence from the African continent on Black Consciousness. The notion of self-reliance and African socialism are two objectives that are very important to the Black Consciousness philosophy that

came from the former president of Tanzania (Pityana, 1991). The first president of Senegal after its independence, Leopold Sedar Senghor, influenced Black Consciousness with his ideology of Negritude, a movement that was influenced by the American New Negro movement and emerged in the 1930s among francophone Africans (Senghor, 1993). Negritude rejects the European conception of blackness and proudly embraces black identity. Redefining blackness through Negritude resulted in a romanticised and idealised concept of Africa and the black man (Irele, 1981). Steve Biko views African pride as essential for attaining Black Consciousness, but does not emphasise on this in the same manner as Negritude does.

Revolutionary writer and psychiatrist from Martinique, Franz Fanon, is also recognised for playing a significant role in the philosophy behind Black Consciousness. His texts influenced liberation movements during their struggle for independence, including the BCM in South Africa. Additionally, he actively supported the Algerian liberation struggle. His book *The Wretched of the Earth* and essay "Black Skin, White Masks" are among his most famous works. His analysis of the psychological effect of a white oppression can be traced back to the overall message of the BCM (Gerhart, 1978). Crucial to a successful post-colonial nation, is the development of consciousness for both the black elite and the masses, according to Fanon. The complex identity crisis blacks face is exceptionally described in the essay "Black Skins, White Masks". In *Wretched of the Earth* Fanon (1963:169) takes independence as a starting point for the way forward as gaining independence doesn't provide freedom. He explains this as followed:

'Colonialism is not satisfied with merely holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it.'

Furthermore, he outlines the complex development of consciousness on a political, as well as a national and cultural level.

Similar to those intellectuals that influenced the ideals of Black Consciousness, is BCM's particular attention for historical and cultural development. Their emphasis on struggle was much more cultural and psychological as it was politically based. The political climate of apartheid contributed to this direction of opposition because 'overt extra-parliamentary opposition attracted brutal retribution' (Mzamane, 1991:185).

Nevertheless, Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mazamane (1991:179) argues that Black Consciousness ideas were rather innovative as:

[T]he majority of writers of the Black Consciousness era began their work in a near vacuum, with few works in circulation by older writers on which they could model their own writings. They had no surviving tradition of their own which they could follow.'

The community projects of the BCM were realised under the umbrella of the Black Community Programs (BCP) that relied on the direction of SASO (Ramphela, 1991; Reddy, 2000). The approach and methods used to achieve Black Consciousness through community development projects were inspired by Paulo Freire's philosophy on the educational system (Wilson, 1991). This approach regards teaching as a process in which the teacher should act both as the teacher and student and vice versa (Freire, 2002).

The essays written by Steve Biko relied on the statements of the archive as outlined above. His writings fall into the category of testimonials, which Allen Carey-Webb (1991:44) classifies as "Third World "auto/biography" that bring to the centre the experience of the unlettered, marginalized, and oppressed.' Carey-Webb and John Beverly (1991:44), argue that these writings are testimonials and not auto/biographies as 'subjects speak for themselves' which actually clashes with the ideology of Black Consciousness as they no longer see themselves as subjects.

According to Beverly (1989:12) a testimonio⁹ is:

⁹ Beverly (1991) continuously refers to the Spanish version of the word. He justifies this by explaining the importance of making this distinction, as testimony can also be narrative from a participant in an oral history study where the scholar has a dominant power. While with the testimonio, the prime importance is the intention of the narrator. Another reason is probably also the close connection between testimonio

'a novel or novella-length narrative in book or pamphlet (that is, printed as opposed to acoustic) form, told in the first-person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a "life" or a significant life experience.'

The testimonio's give the oppressed, the weak, the subaltern, the marginalised and those who are definitely not in power, a voice. This new genre expanded in the 1960's, partly in relation 'to the movements for national liberation and the generalized cultural radicalism of that decade.' (1989:13). Because Steve Biko's position in the South African society was one of subalternity, his writings can be placed within this category. Just as Fanon's theory of decolonisation and Freire's pedagogy are testimonio's - as they are concerned '(...) with a problematic collective social situation that the narrator lives with or alongside others. The situation of the narrator in *testimonio* is one that must be representative of a social class or group' (Beverly, 1989:27). This differs from autobiographies, as there is no necessary connection between the narrator and the social group. Also, the "I" in autobiographies doesn't demand recognition whereas the "I" in testimonio's does. According to Beverly (1989:23) the latter '(...) always signifies the need for a general social change in which the stability of the reader's world must be brought into question.'

Beverly (1989:13) indicates testimonio's thus as texts written by those who are 'excluded from authorized representation when it was a question of speaking and writing for them.' Especially when Steve Biko refers to white liberals in his writings, the urge for blacks to speak and write for themselves is there, but white liberals consider themselves more capable to do this for the African. Steve Biko urges both the white liberals to halt this pattern and urges black people to take matters into their own hands.

The archive of New Frank Talk consists of some similar but also newly added statements. The New Frank Talk-essays were written in post-1994, therefore the archive for New Frank Talk expanded. The reason the archive expanded is that the philosophy used by New Frank Talk, Black Consciousness, moved to a

and Latin-America as this continent has known a long history of testimonio and the actual genre comes from this continent.

different period in history. Said explains that when a theory travels it enters four stages. In this case, the first stage is the emergence of the BCM and their theory. During the second stage the BCM faced difficulties, as their leader Steve Biko died which meant that the movement was oppressed, putting a strain on the continued development of the theory. In the third stage, the theory finds itself in a new context, which in this situation would be a democratic South Africa, where it is applied again as several conditions are similar to those before. In this situation, for example, one the conditions is the continuation of the unequal distribution of wealth. Finally, the fourth stage locates the theory in a new position, time and place (Said, 1983).

Over time, the name Steve Biko has been made commercial and popular because of this transformation present, today. His name seems to be synonymous with the whole BCM; just as the name Dr Martin Luther King Jr seems to embody the entire Civil Rights movement within America (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2009). The image of Steve Biko turned into a commodity as his photo started to be printed on fashionable t-shirts and watches, leading some scholars to warn that 'our struggle must be to claim Biko against those who would reduce his legacy to an affirmation of our neoliberal present' (Veriava & Naidoo, 2008:234). Another contribution to Steve Biko's commodification was the film *Cry Freedom*, directed by the Brit Richard Attenborough in 1987.

The public perception of Steve Biko is that he was a born leader, a martyr, and a visionary. There is not a great deal of criticism of his persona. Even his mistress Mamphela Ramphele defends him in her book *A Life* (1996) when describing his unfaithfulness to his wife. Sono (1993:11) explains that 'the entire spectrum of Black Consciousness becomes sterile and ineffectual' without the charisma of Biko.¹⁰

¹⁰ If Biko really was a born leader could be questioned considering that within the medical school, there wasn't a great amount of politically active students. The SRC itself was very active but led by a small group of students. Beard argues that it was therefore relatively easy for Steve Biko to have been voted as their leader in his first year as the campus wasn't that politically active (Juckes, 1995).

Still, this study will mainly focus on Steve Biko's views of Black Consciousness. He wrote the most well known publications of Black Consciousness and SASO. Although it is known that he wrote them in collaboration with other Black Consciousness participants, he was the leader and he signed them with his name. Furthermore, his philosophy has been analysed and accepted by the academic world.

The expanded archive is formulated by statements from new disciplines that weren't established when Steve Biko was writing. New fields and disciplines have been integrated into the archive used by New Frank Talk. One of these fields from which New Frank Talk uses statements is post-colonialism. Post-colonialism isn't a theory strictly based on developments after colonialism. It is concerned mainly with the positioning of the Subaltern, the Other, the Orient, or the non-Westerner, which is in line with the philosophy of Black Consciousness and New Frank Talk. This new discourse was introduced in British universities from the 1970's and beyond (Moore-Gilbert, 1998). Additionally, postcolonial theory deals with the effects of cultures by the colonial powers and how these consequences may be distorted. It is also an examination of the effect of colonial history on current power relations, which will be explained in more detail later on. Black Consciousness is a philosophy that places the Subaltern as its centre and critiques the influence of the colonising power over the Other, or in the South African context, the black man. One of the basic philosophic undertakings of Black Consciousness was to change the perspective, usage and connotations of the term "black". Franz Fanon was the predecessor of scholars in the post-colonial field.

One of the main scholars within the field of post-colonialism, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, redefined the term "subaltern" during the seventies, with her concentration on the position of the Subaltern within postcolonial studies (Spivak, 1988). The article "Can the Subaltern Speak?" is one of Spivak's most prominent publications. Spivak (1988:281) considers post-colonialism as a manner to provide an alternative perspective of the master-narrative as she applies the term:

'(...) not to describe 'the way things really were' or to privilege the narrative of history as imperialism as the best version of history. It is, rather, to offer an account of how an explanation and narrative of reality was established as the normative one.'

The subaltern is a marginalised person with no access to socio-economic power. Also, the subaltern has no agency for himself since others consistently speak for the subaltern. It is therefore clear that the subaltern is misrepresented, even when there is a desire to be heard, Spivak argues, the subaltern firstly has to adopt the Western framework of knowledge. This last understanding of the Subaltern, having to adopt a Western framework first, is contested by New Frank Talk as will be visible throughout the analysis.

The New Frank Talk-essays also use statements linked to Racial Theory. This theory as explained by Omi and Winant (1986), inversely problematises race rather than reducing race to a ramification of socio-economical or political conflicts. Racial theory, similarly to Black Consciousness provides an open discourse on racism. Therefore it is important to explore the theory in more detail. Race theory and racism is often approached as something outdated. Yet, if this was in fact true, the ideas of Black Consciousness would be useless considering the exit of the 20th century and the rise of the 21st, it is evident that race theory is anything but liberated from racism as Howard Winant (2000:182) explains: '[A]ll still experience continuing confusion, anxiety, and contention about race' while colonialism, apartheid and segregation have been overcome by different movements.

A new statement linking racism to racial theory is the notion of "white privilege". DuBois (1964) already elaborated on the privilege of white people early in the 20th century. Discussing white privilege means including whites in the debate around racism, instead of merely focussing on the underprivileged position of non-white minorities. South Africa has known institutionalized racism for decades, but the oppression of non-Europeans occurred for centuries. Since the abolishment of apartheid, it has been South Africa's aim to become a non-racial

society. Although the aim seems admirable, it is obstructive when wanting to rule out white privilege according to Stephanie M. Wildman (1996). Wildman (1996:8) explains that a society who desires non-racialism does not confront the problematic place that white privilege holds and thus 'as a result privilege is allowed to perpetuate, regenerate, and re-create itself.' The meanings of white privilege come forth in different forms and in different contexts. Trying to outline the impact of white privilege, Peggy MacIntosh (1989) composed a list of examples taken from her every day life, to understand how whiteness is providing white people with privileges based on the colour of their skin. Most non-white people desire the privileges that whites enjoy, making societies and individuals strive towards achieving the developmental level of the white world. This desire of black South Africans of being able to live life as whites do is described by the philosophy of Black Consciousness, and still exists according to New Frank Talk, as whiteness has become the normative factor throughout history.

METHODOLOGY

Foucault provided guidelines for forming the discourse by collecting the statements fit for the archive. However, the actual analysis of this thesis cannot be taken from this theoretical framework and I therefore turn to the Critical Discourse Analysis as it provides several methods for my actual analysis. The method of analysis chosen for this thesis is known as "intertextuality".

The influence of texts on other texts is often more significant than one assumes.

Foucault (2002:25) explained that:

'it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network. (...) Its unity is variable and relative.'

Intertextuality problematises the belief that every text has an unambiguous beginning or ending and examines the correlation between different texts. Considering the New Frank Talk publications that will be analysed in this thesis, intertextuality fits best when comparing the usage of previously written theories

in new texts as Jay L. Lemke (1995:12) explains that: '(S)ome acts of meaning-making, and some discourses, directly *contest* existing or dominant social relations, challenging their legitimacy and the discourses that rationalize them (..)'. It is argued that the principle of intertextuality analyses 'relationships with other texts, which are not developed in other methods' (Titscher, 2000:166).

Julia Kristeva (1980) introduced the notion of intertextuality in 1966. She argued for a different approach towards texts. Instead of focusing solely on the structure of a text, she problematises written texts by advocating that the "structuration" of a text should be given more attention. Kristeva sees two centre lines in every text, a horizontal and a vertical one. The horizontal axis connects the author to the reader, while the latter connects different texts to each other.

Another advantage of intertextuality as a method of analysis is that compared to other methods the notion of context is very broad and not limited to, for example, grammar or semiotics. For this particular study the breadth is an advantage. The analysis is not only focused on individual words, so that the overall arguments can be analysed. Since intertextuality intentionally forms relations between two or more different texts, both the author and the reader are aware of the usage of previously written work. Therefore the public is expected to see the interdependence of the text, as this is crucial to the understanding of the newly formed meanings.

The social, historical, cultural and political circumstances are important as Foucault states (2002:230) that 'a change in the order of discourse does not presuppose 'new ideas'. A little invention and creativity, a new mentality, but transformations in a social practice, perhaps also in neighbouring practices, and their mutual articulation.'

Although intertextuality doesn't provide clear-cut boundaries for the relation between texts, Foucault provides some outlines for examining which texts are influencing each other. In this light, texts written by Steve Biko can be

understood as the "Original", while the writings of previous authors can be understood as the "Regular" (Foucault, 2002). This is in line with Foucault's mode of deciding what idea was formulated previously. African intellectuals and social movements from the United States and others influenced Steve Biko's notion of psychological freedom. One could therefore claim that these writings are the Regular when compared to the particular texts that guided and shaped the reasoning of the BCM. Judged by the uniqueness of its moment in South African history, the publications of Steve Biko are the Original. The New Frank Talk thoughts are contemporary as the ideas are formulated within a newly democratic state but based on already existing publications. The framing of the already existing concepts, however, already exist. The concepts are just adjusted to apply to present-day South Africa. It is therefore not surprising that New Frank Talk becomes the Regular when juxtaposed with the writings of Steve Biko. In addition, the New Frank Talk statement that its objective is to continue the ideas of Black Consciousness makes it apparent that New Frank Talk is the Regular when juxtaposed with Steve Biko.

Within the academic world there is much debate regarding the usage of the term intertextuality. Critics such as Charles Bazerman (2004:3) reject the wide usage of the term, as 'there is no standard shared analytic vocabulary for considering the elements and kinds of intertextuality.' William Irwin (2004:228) stated that since the introduction of the term, it 'has come to have almost as many meanings as users'. Jacques Derrida (1976) argues that intertextuality can be disadvantageous given that every interpretation excludes other interpretations and every new interpretation additionally results in a loss of meaning.

But precise guidelines are not workable in this context as Bazerman (2004:9) explains: 'intertextuality is not a just matter of which other texts you refer to, but how you use them, what you use them for, and ultimately how you position yourself as a writer to them to make your own statement.' However, to make the intertextual analysis usable and pragmatic, I will use the following three questions as guidelines: 1) What notions of Black Consciousness do the contributors of New Frank Talk use? 2) How are these notions used? 3) In what

manner is Black Consciousness philosophy modified to adapt it to the post-1994 context? By conducting an intertextual analysis according to these principles I will provide an insight to the main objective of this thesis.

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CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS

After outlining the theoretical framework of this study, the archive in which it is located and the choice of an intertextual mode of analysis, this chapter consists of the actual analysis of the seven essays from New Frank Talk published in 2009 and 2010. Subsequently, the numbers after the quoted sentences taken from the New Frank Talk essays indicate the page number of the particular essay.

ESSAY 1: "Why Biko Will Not Vote"

Andile Mngxitama wrote the first essay of New Frank Talk entitled "Why Biko Would Not Vote". This essay critiques the current political circumstances of South Africa by looking at the non-racialism policies implied of the ANC through an analysis of the political programmes of Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the Democratic Alliance (DA). These political parties and their policies, which according to the author do not reflect what Biko would have wanted or what is right for black South Africans, are juxtaposed with other movements and initiatives outside of the political spectrum.

The first point of interest in this first essay of New Frank Talk is the manner in which the author, Andile Mngxitama, speaks in the name of Biko. He looks at the current state of affairs in South Africa and claims to know how the leader of the BCM would have perceived these affairs. Although Mngxitama (2009e:2) admits that 'no one would really know for sure where Biko would have been politically had he lived', he nevertheless states in his first sentence that 'Stephen Biko would not be voting!'

Despite that, this analysis sets out to examine the intertextual relation between the writings of Steve Biko, published in the SASO-newsletters, and the New

Frank Talk essays. As previously explained, this will be done in the following three steps 1) What notions of Black Consciousness do the contributors of New Frank Talk use? 2) How are these notions used? 3) In what manner is the Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context? By conducting an intertextual analysis according along these lines, I attempt to provide an insight into the main objective of this thesis.

1. What notions of Black Consciousness are used?

The following notions of Biko can be traced in this New Frank Talk essay: 1) avoiding integration into the white system, 2) the mis-representation of the black man's history, and 3) continuing the struggle for complete freedom.

Avoiding integration into the white system is essential according to Biko (2004: 24) as he explains that integration for whites means 'an assimilation and acceptance of blacks into an already established set of norms and code of behaviour set up by and maintained by whites.' For him, South Africa can become an integrated society, but then African values should be prominent as Africans make up the majority of the country.

The consequences of aiming for integration, according to Biko (2004: 149), will be a future where 'black people will continue to be poor, and you will see a few blacks filtering through into the so called bourgeoisie. Our society will be run almost as of yesterday'. Black Consciousness also wants to discuss and adjust ideas about race in society. By aiming for inclusion one avoids the race discussion as the system implemented during apartheid justifies the subjugation of blacks.

The mis-representation of black history is expanded on by Biko who explores its consequences on the black man. He points out how everything that refers to African history was something that should be frowned upon. This representation of African history resulted in the descriptions of Africa such as this: 'No longer

was reference made to African Culture, it became barbarism. Africa was the "dark" continent". Religious practices and customs were referred to as superstition' (Biko, 2004: 29). The outcome of this is a new generation of blacks hating their own heritage and aspiring to whiteness which does not surprise Biko (2004: 70) as he writes: '[H]ow can an African avoid losing respect for his tradition when in school his whole cultural background is summed up in one word: barbarism?'

Another notion taken from Black Consciousness by New Frank Talk is the desire for change and a revolution. The change will come - according to Biko - once the masses are conscious of things done to them by the oppressive regime. However, how this revolution should come about, is not expanded upon as Biko (2004: 32) states that 'it shall have to be the black people themselves who shall take care of this programme'.

2.How does New Frank Talk use these notions of Black Consciousness?

The first notion of the Black Consciousness philosophy discussed here is that one should avoid integrating into the system of the oppressor. New Frank Talk shares this opinion and states that anyone aiming for true liberation should stay outside the main political game. He elaborates on this by giving examples from a post-1994 perspective. To participate in the political structures, according to New Frank Talk:

indicates the acceptance of the main political points of the 1994 settlement. It's a cry for inclusion, acknowledgement, recognition and reward.(15)

Inclusion clearly signifies that the person or party aspiring to this cannot be conscious of his blackness:

don't go beyond the desires created by colonialism and apartheid. These I argue are animal level demands, for food, shelter, employment and a decent place to shit.(5)

The link to Biko here is clear as he outlined the pitfalls of inclusion into the system. Even though apartheid has officially ended, the author of the first edition of New Frank Talk doesn't notice actual change as he states that:

My own take is that the post-94 state remains racist in character and serves white racism in the context of promoting the accumulation and reproduction of capitalism.(11)

The second overall notion as taken from Black Consciousness is the misrepresentation of the history of Africans by whites. The history of Africans as provided to blacks was distorted and subjected to ridicule. Biko uses this misrepresentation to explain the character of the black man during apartheid, which relates to the argument of New Frank Talk. For instance, he argues that a reformation of cause and consequence is needed as the current de-historicising of crime and corruption makes wrong assumptions about the black man in society. Therefore, New Frank Talk calls for people to:

link the high crime rates with the abnormal distribution of wealth and life chances in South Africa, which are certainly an outcome of the country's racist past.(18)

The current misinterpretation of racial historicism is made according to New Frank Talk to describe the cause of most black people being without the same opportunities as whites, but achieving their status by certain investments. Racial historicism refuses to:

acknowledge the historically created inequalities born from enslavement, colonialism and apartheid. But even more disturbing is the implied logic that it is desirable to catch up with whiteness instead of obliterating it.(17)

New Frank Talk here uses Biko's understanding of linking negative connotations to the black man. This is done in such a sophisticated manner that no one questions their meaning but actually believes they are true.

Another notion taken over from Biko is the desire for change. New Frank Talk uses this idea to complain that:

The BCM has by and large been reduced to fighting to be remembered as part of history, whilst forgetting to act in the now!(14)

So action is called for by the people, and New Frank Talk knows how he wants people to stand up - by boycotting the elections, going out onto the streets, making themselves heard and noticed, and calling for reparations for a crime that is institutionalised in the eyes of New Frank Talk:

which includes the exploitation of workers, getting Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) deals, or the profiting from the misery of others (i.e. forced and violent removals of people from their land for platinum exploration)(19)

3. In what manner is Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context?

The first modification traceable in this essay is the notion of integration into the white system. Many black people aspired to whiteness during apartheid for many different reasons. While the apartheid regime has been taken over by an ANC government, the capitalistic structures implemented by the ANC were founded by the apartheid system. Nowadays, people want to be included in the system, which leads New Frank Talk to argue that no real change has taken place. New Frank Talk uses the understanding that people are still desperate for wealth, no matter how destructive the governmental system is.

Besides changing the political system, New Frank Talk also aims to change the perception of the black man and his links to crime and corruption. Redefining blackness was a major focal point for the BCM. New Frank Talk evaluates the process of redefining black history as it places more emphasis on contemporary history and developments, creating a modification of the original philosophy. New labels have become attached to black people, in relation to crime and corruption, for instance, which New Frank Talk argue need to be changed as

soon as possible before the black man himself also begins to believe these stereotypes. Here the modification of Biko's formulation is merely an updated version that relates it to what is happening today.

New Frank Talk portrays current South African politics are portrayed as a sell out which means a boycott of elections is necessary. But a boycott is not enough, as New Frank Talk calls for protest marches in the streets. Stating what should happen in the name of Black Consciousness in this manner is a modification of the philosophy in keeping with the contemporary context. The call for change is formulated in a manner that is pragmatic.

ESSAY 2: "From Mbeki to Zuma: What is the difference?"

The second volume of New Frank Talk is named "From Mbeki to Zuma: What is the difference?" and is also written by Andile Mngxitama. After Jacob Zuma took over the ANC-leadership from Thabo Mbeki, a radical change in policy was expected. Andile Mngxitama, author the second edition of New Frank Talk, outlines how everyone focussed on the differences between the two leaders. However, from the beginning of the essay it is clear that there is no difference between the two ANC-leaders according to the author. The only difference the author presents is a difference in character, but not in their policies. Mngxitama continues by stating that the two leaders are actually, 'Siamese twins linked together by the same political and ideological heart' (Mngxitama, 2009e).

1. What notions of Black Consciousness are used?

The author of New Frank Talk puts forward two main points. The first one calls for attention to be given to those groups and powers in society that oppose the best interests of the black masses. The second point is to remain hopeful for the masses as they are left to take it upon themselves to cause actual change in the

country as New Frank Talk opposes the idea that the 1994-elections brought actual change to the country.

Biko had pointed out that those groups in society who claim to put the people's interests first in fact have very different interests in mind. An example is the white liberal, who by inviting blacks over to his house to discuss change is actually quite comfortable with the privileges provided to him by apartheid and will never feel the urgent necessity for change as 'The liberals view the oppression of blacks as a problem that has to be solved, an eye sore to an otherwise beautiful view' (Biko, 2004: 22). The "non-whites", explained by Biko as those who aspire to whiteness and serve the apartheid regime, are still to be found in post-1994 South Africa, according to New Frank Talk. Also the structures of power seem unchanged for New Frank Talk, as they still serve white interests and therefore, as Biko elaborates, aspire for the black man to be integrated into white society. Also, those who are in power now, claiming to serve the best interests of all people, are ruling along the structures of white power. Biko (2004: 78) states that '[A]ny black man who props the system up actively has lost the right to being considered part of the black world.'

Another clear notion that New Frank Talk uses is the idea that Black Consciousness starts as an inward looking process to find pride and joy in being black. It wants to produce a people of 'real black people who do not regard themselves as appendages to white society' (Biko, 2004: 51).

2.How does New Frank Talk use these notions of Black Consciousness?

New Frank Talk uses the above mentioned notions of Black Consciousness to point out in what way they are working against the development of blacks. As Biko's focus was mainly on the apartheid regime, white liberals, and non-whites, New Frank Talk includes the ANC government and its allies - black middle class, elite and intellectuals. Opposition must be against the current leaders in charge, the unions and the public intellectuals as opponents of the black people. Biko used the idea of white privilege to explain why the white liberal was content

with the current state of affairs. A link can be found between the black man during apartheid hoping for the progressive party to bring him change and the black man of today waiting for the ANC to bring about change. The leaders of the ANC are so focused on cooperating with their international business partners and donors that, when Jacob Zuma took over from Thabo Mbeki they were assured that:

A Zuma presidency, with the SACP¹¹ in the background, does not and will not present a threat to the interests of local and international capital.(16)

The non-whites, despised by Biko in his essays, are still present in post-1994 South Africa, according to New Frank Talk. However, today the non-white can be traced in the essay of New Frank Talk, although he is named "middle class" or "black elite" who's only aspiration is to make money:

Their accumulation of capital is justified and fought for in the name of the "formerly oppressed" people. Our painful history of exclusion is mobilised to line the pockets of individuals, whilst those who benefit from this extension of the historical robbery are standing on the head of the majority who remain outside.(8)

These groups - the black middle class and elites - along with the ANC and its allies hold back progress for the poor. For the politicians, the failure of actual change is a result of the economic policies of South Africa such as Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). These policies are, according to New Frank Talk, founded upon structures of colonialism and apartheid and are therefore not working. This is even true for New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an African economic development programme as New Frank Talk exemplifies this as followed:

Nepad is not an African solution to an African problem; it is about the African political elite doing unto the continent what the West and its comprador clients have been doing for the past 500 years. It is a self-inflicted pan that turned our leaders into proud beggars.(9)

¹¹ South African Communist Party

Additionally, the public intellectuals and the main union of the country are criticised for the roles they chose to play in post-1994 South Africa. The intellectuals are picked out for their willingness to sell themselves out and the unions for backing ANC policies.

While the political elite and black elite are condemned for their behaviour and actions, New Frank Talk remains hopeful in this essay for the masses as it calls upon them to bring about actual change in the country. Here, he argues, a positive image as a black person is needed in order to achieve true liberation. This will make it possible to:

claim the country back from the clever, the educated, the politicians, the economists, the experts and those who sell spin. It means hard work. But more importantly it simply means loving black people and making life again.(20)

3. In what manner is Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context?

The white liberals and the non-whites of Biko, are exchanged for the new elite, the public intellectuals and the new middle class. Also the apartheid structures have been replaced by an economic system designed by the colonialists but preserved by the new black elite without any hesitation. By redefining the opponents and the economic structures, New Frank Talk uses these foundations of the Black Consciousness philosophy to explain the present. By redefining the enemies of the black man, New Frank Talk modifies Black Consciousness philosophy and makes it relevant to the post-1994 dispensation.

Another modification traceable in this essay of New Frank Talk concerns the understanding of the basic principle of Black Consciousness. Black Consciousness philosophy from the 60s and 70s described the path towards change as an inward looking process. This essay also points out that "loving black people" is one of the steps that needs to be taken to bring about change in the country. However, New Frank Talk uses this as starting point for awakening

the masses to demand change, and not so much as a goal that needs to be achieved.

ESSAY 3: "Blacks can't be racist"

The third essay of in the New Frank Talk series is also, as the previous two essays, written by Andile Mngxitama and is named "Blacks can't be Racist". This essay puts race at the centre of the debate. It tries to problematize the question whether black people can be racist. The author sees racism as something that is done to black people by white people. Meaning racism only and always relates to the suffering of blacks. Racism occurs not only in casual individual acts, it is sustained by (inter)national political, social and economic structures put in place that pursue the continuation of white privilege.

1. What notions of Black Consciousness are used?

Biko points out how the racist institutions established during apartheid foster the subjugation of the black man. Biko (2004: 36) also describes how black people fail to see "the bigger picture" anymore: 'the major danger I see facing the black community at the present moment – to be so conditioned by the system as to make even our most well-considered resistance to fit within the system both in terms of the means and the goals.'

The BCM felt strongly about the education provided to blacks during apartheid. Biko frequently elaborates about the negative impact of Bantu- and missionary education in his essays. Or on the white teachers that rejected everything relating to African culture. The fact that people are not taking it upon themselves to fight is not a new problem; it comes from the educational history that was provided for the black man. Racism, the lack of self-worth in the black man, and the lack of education for the black man are notions taken from Steve Biko and Black Consciousness philosophy. Biko (2004: 28) explains this by stating that 'the

type of black man we have today has lost his manhood. Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the "inevitable position".'

Another overall notion of this essay looks at the privileged position of whites, which continued post-1994. The notion of privileged whites in South Africa had been pointed out by Biko (2004: 66) as well when he wrote that whites 'are born into privilege and are nourished by and nurtured in the system of ruthless exploitation of black energy.'

2. How does New Frank Talk use these notions of Black Consciousness?

In this essay, Mngxitama claims that black people can't be racist, a notion he directly takes over from Biko as black people wouldn't have the capacity to exclude and subjugate a group of people by the pigmentation of their skin. This perception of the black man has been taken over by New Frank Talk to provide an explanation for the obliviousness of blacks towards institutional racism.

we are oblivious or indifferent to institutional racism. We care little about the racism, which explains white wealth and black poverty or the different life expectations between blacks and whites. The everyday reality of white privilege and black suffering is devoid of any drama.(19)

However, during apartheid the black man was well aware of what caused inequality but chose to accept his place in society. New Frank Talk points out that blacks in post-1994 South Africa don't question why poverty is for blacks and wealth for whites, as the country has changed into a democracy and this division has been normalised:

To say post-1994 South Africa is a racist society is to indict the great moment of 1994 which has been sold as a triumph of good over evil.(22)

New Frank Talk uses this understanding of institutionalised racism, as it claims that the foundations of the post-1994 institutions are founded upon the system of the apartheid government.

the racism which explains white wealth and black poverty or the different life expectations between blacks and whites.(19)

Both Biko and the author of New Frank Talk feel that South African institutions are disadvantageous to the black man. Even though Biko wrote during apartheid and New Frank Talk was written in post-1994 South Africa, the perception of South African institutions barely changed despite the changes in society. Therefore, New Frank Talk uses Biko's writings not only to explain the current situation, but also to help the reader understand in what manner:

The issue is to make clear that there never was a 'post' in the 1994 moment; what occurred was the inauguration of a new phase in the ongoing racist colonial project which is South Africa. What's different now is that the same apartheid system has new spokespersons, managers, and guardians who have a black skin. (25)

New Frank Talk uses the issue of education as explained by Black Consciousness as a starting point for people to change as well as to highlight that 1994 did not end institutional racism and the consequences of this education:

the investment missionaries made by creating the original coconuts through western education is finally paying off.(...)the same apartheid system has now spokespersons, managers, and guardians who have a black skin.(25)

Another overall argument that the author sets out to consolidate is the notion of white privilege. With the abolition of apartheid, white privilege has become more complex. New Frank Talk explores this by pointing out the privileged position of whites in post-1994 South Africa by problematising the recognition of whiteness:

even recognizing privileges of whiteness serves to perpetuate the inherent goodness of whiteness. It enacts self-critical evaluations which lull back into a meaningless celebration of these conveniently revealed evils of whiteness.(16)

He uses the description of Biko not only to point out that white privilege still exists, but also to highlight the position of whiteness in society:

Bracketing off whiteness from its normative state – to see whites as raced – creates crisis and agony(18)

But New Frank Talk argues that it needs to be done nevertheless. Black people should be able to demand justice and regain their dignity. While black people urgently need to get through this process, the white man cannot be part of this or assist in anyway according to the author:

This is not done for the acknowledgement of whites' culpability. Disclosure and remorse for what happened during colonialism and apartheid. A call for dialogue. An apology or an offer to have my feet washed. Another conference on racism. Or any pledges confirming our collective humanity.(26)

This relates directly to Biko's writing, where he outlines clearly that there is no role for whites on the road towards fight the struggle for the black man.

3. In what manner is Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context?

Above I have explained which notions of Black Consciousness became prominent in this third essay of New Frank Talk and how New Frank Talk uses these notions. So far it is evident that the notions of Black Consciousness, as described by Biko, are used in a post-1994 context to explain inequality and so on.

The manner in which the philosophy of Black Consciousness is modified in this particular example is done differently by New Frank Talk, although it appears somewhat similar.

Thus, whereas Biko explained that the subjugated black man should avoid working within the system of a racist society – as his influence would be too little. New Frank Talk went beyond this stage. The latter doesn't want to warn the people working within the system: New Frank Talk is there to let others know that these people are not to be trusted.

The essay of New Frank Talk portrays post-1994 as a continuation of apartheid and colonialism and expects the people themselves to take steps towards changing the system. Therefore the author of this essay pleads for more awareness around 1994. The beginning of the problems concerning education, are thus taken as described by Biko. It is then used by New Frank Talk to explain the current state of the black man in South Africa, but altered in such a way so that the concepts of Black Consciousness are placed in the context of contemporary South Africa.

ESSAY 4: "Black Colonialists: the root of the trouble with Africa"

"Black colonialists: the root of the trouble with Africa" is the fourth essay of the New Frank Talk. It differs from the others as it is not necessarily an essay but an interview where Dr Chinweizu outlines his thoughts on why Nigeria and black African countries are not performing well. Dr Chinweizu refers to Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness philosophy several times. He is convinced that Biko should be part of black education, as he finds the philosophy relevant for current developments on the African continent. In his explanation of why Africa has been troubled since independence, he proves the relevance of Black Consciousness philosophy for Nigeria by applying Black Consciousness to the Nigerian context.

1. What notions of Black Consciousness are used?

Reading Dr Chinweizu's thoughts on Africa, one might think he has completely given up on black people. But even in his pessimistic approach there is still hope to be found. Three main points are covered in the interview that uses the philosophy of Black Consciousness. These are 1) education, 2) understanding your enemies, 3) a struggle to complete the African liberation, and 4) radically changing the system instead of aiming for integration.

The first point, education, is essential to Black Consciousness. As the oppressors are providing an education that not only prepares the black man for subordinate roles, it also misrepresents the history of Africans that leads them to pursue whiteness.

Biko points out that those powers and groups are working against the best interests of black people. Similarly, white liberals and non-whites are considered to be just as harmful to the greater good of black people as the apartheid regime itself.

Biko argues that aiming for integration on the white man's terms is a major fault. For him, the reality of the interaction between blacks and whites should involve removing 'him from our table, strip the table of all trappings put on it by him, decorate it truly African style, settle down and then ask him to join us on our own terms if he liked' (Biko, 2004: 69).

2.How does New Frank Talk use these notions of Black Consciousness?

The issue of education becomes evident in many ways. The interviewee is very disappointed about the current intellect of the average Nigerian as he states that through their mis-education:

most Nigerians still see these black colonialists as their leaders, as being still on their side rather than as **the enemy**.(81)

His disappointment in Nigerians, who according to him are not even willing to understand, make him conclude that it would be best:

to focus our attention on those under 20, if we want to get out of our mess.(54)

A consequence of the mis-education is that people cheer and honour the founding fathers of their nation who are, according to the interviewee, no founding fathers at all:

Your so-called founding fathers were simply the heads of the local comprador gangs that inherited Nigeria from the British. If they founded anything at all, it was the black comprador colonialism that is still the root trouble with Nigeria. And they did that, not on their own, but as junior partners of the British Government.(19)

Biko described the black man working in the interests of the whites as a non-white. Dr Chinuwezi sees the so-called non-whites as enemies. And Africans in post-independent Africa have many enemies, which are called "black compradors" by the author:

all our black colonialist president, governors, legislators, Local Government councillors, politicians, policemen, soldiers, clergy, UN bureaucrats, miracle-mongering missionaries etc. are the enemy within: the black agents, within our own ranks, of our imperialist enemy.(81)

Besides the black comprador, there are more enemies trying to destroy the black man in Africa. The West is one of the other major enemies to the people. Fundamental to this belief is the system where African countries are functioning:

Simply put, Nigeria, like all the black countries in the world, is just another comprador-colonial Bantustan in the UN imperialist system of White European supremacy. All their economies are directed from Washington, New York, London and Paris just like the economies of those classis Bantustans of Apartheid South Africa were directed from Pretoria.(64)

Furthermore, change is essential for the interviewee. He does not believe that making minor adjustments to the current system can do this. Or that incorporating the preconditions of the colonialists can be a solution. Securing the land described here goes further than just defending the landing terms of its borders. It means defending the land with all its sources, defending it from the West or other powers: it means, running a country and negotiating with other countries, on one's own terms. For the last example the interviewee mentioned is China, as it has reached a level of development and sovereignty that most African countries still dream of:

when China eventually joined the UN in 1971 and the WTO in 2001, it was not on terms dictated by the imperialists. China did not diminish its sovereignty to get some transient economic advantage.(32)

The same goes for the structures of the system, rebuilding from scratch is the only option according to the author:

The house of Nigeria is far too rotten for renovation! Just pull it down! Besides, as they say: Reform always comes from below. Nobody with four aces asks for a new deal.(51)

The final major point raised in the interview is a call for action. A continuation of the struggle is desperately needed as the interviewee notes that:

If they had understood what independence is, those leaders would have realized what they won in 1960, by a negotiated transfer of administration, was, at most, only the first important political battle on the hard road to independence. (11)

Besides a completion of the political struggle, a call is also made for greater economic power. One of the ways in which this can be achieved is by reclaiming the land that belongs to the people. In South Africa the redistribution of land is mostly a struggle of black versus white. However, in Nigeria the people are urged to fight to reclaim their land from their current leaders:

The Nigerian state has stolen all the land and landed property in the country from the population, and given them worthless Certificates of Occupancy that can be revoked by the state at its pleasure...they have to struggle and take it back from the 'stakeholders', just like the black South Africans, Zimbabweans and Namibians have to struggle to take back their lands from the white settlers among them.(53)

3. In what manner is Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context?

The educational part is extracted from the Black Consciousness philosophy in order to raise awareness from within the black man. While living in a free,

democratic and post-independence African nation, psychological awareness has been transformed into political awareness and education to fit the current circumstances. But whereas Biko was concerned with educating the black community, Chinuwezi has lost hope for the majority of blacks. Therefore his usage of the term “educating the people” has been modified to the message of educating the youth.

Understanding who is serving the best interests of the people means a new understanding of “the people”. As Biko stated, merely being black does not mean someone should be perceived as a black person. Chinuwezi adapts this concept by claiming that merely being black does not make one part of the people. Not many people fit the bill when reading Dr Chinuwezi's conception of the people. As white liberals seemed to be one of the opponents alongside the colonialists in Biko's days, the list has been extended and involves anyone in the Western imperialistic world or blacks involved in the current political and economic system. All of these are thus the enemy of the people while they claim to be there for the people. This reminds us clearly of the white liberal as described by Biko who claims to fight the struggle with or for the black man. However, as the white liberals envision a different sort of equal society and one that does not destroy their own privileged position, the white liberal –just as the black post-colonial leaders- can never be seen as comrades.

Once the people have been politically educated and recognise who their enemies are, the struggle can begin for actual freedom and liberation. This includes for Dr Chinuwezi a total elimination of all the black compradors.

ESSAY 5: “The White Revolutionary as a Missionary? Contemporary Travels and Researchers in Caffria”

The fifth essay of New Frank Talk, “The White Revolutionary as a Missionary? Contemporary Travels and Researchers in Caffria” was written by Heinrich Bohmke, a South African lawyer and activist. The answer to the question posited

in the title is “yes” by the author. The contemporary white revolutionary does not differ so much from the (pre-)colonial missionary. This is an essay by a white man, who works for the interests of the black people, warning the people to be wary of himself and his white counterpart.

1. What notions of Black Consciousness are used?

The author of the fifth edition of New Frank Talk takes a few overall notions from Black Consciousness. These are 1) consciousness, and 2) excluding white liberals

One can attain consciousness according to Biko by going back in history and critically evaluating how this history was constructed. Through mis-education from both the missionary and the schools, this process resulted in a negative conception of the African and everything relating to his Africanness. Biko emphasises the role of the missionaries as he states that the church contributed largely to this process. This can be explained, as they are a white organisation, modelled on western lines with no relation to black suffering. Biko (2004: 57) therefore concludes, that as long as the church is controlled by whites, Christianity ‘is the ideal religion for the maintenance of the *subjugation* of the same people.’

Excluding white liberals is important according to the philosophy of Black Consciousness as no black man can be liberated from the oppressor if he fights that struggle together with the oppressor. Also, white liberals assisting in this struggle hold back the liberation process for many different reasons. One of these reasons is the leadership role the whites take upon themselves which results in the white man being in control of every step blacks take in their struggle, even their responses to provocations. Biko (2004: 66) exemplified this by stating that whites did not only kick ‘the black but they have also told him how to react to that kick.’

2. How does New Frank Talk use these notions of Black Consciousness?

The main point of this essay is thus to argue that the black masses should be aware of the revolutionary who comes to protect the poor. But while protecting them, they are in fact imposing themselves and their perspectives on the poor. Perspectives about how to structure their communities, how to solve disputes, what to fight for and how; basically, they are told by the activists how to live their lives. This relates to the description of Biko explaining that blacks let white liberals lead them and tell them "the natives", what to do, how to do it and what direction they should take. Ultimately their actions would be determined by the structures implemented by the former oppressors of the native:

Every existing NGO or social movement in South Africa poses its central demands as ones that both presuppose and invite the attention and assistance of a strong state...For none of them is the social antagonism of Quetu an option.(14)

Furthermore, it becomes evident that the author has actually applied the philosophy of Black Consciousness to himself. It seems he has started an inward looking process. This is illustrated when he begins to explore his own motives:

Could it be that I intuited that activism is so very necessary to the enterprise of citizenship upon which the development and stability of the present ideological order rests?...The impulse to freedom I thought I had was an impulse to civilize. The impulse to help the deprived was an impulse to minister to, improve and convert them. The impulse to achieve equality was an impulse to better the precarious prospect of white settlement in South Africa.(19)

His call to watch out for the white revolutionary is clear when he compares them to the missionary as follows:

The work of the missionaries / activists has not departed a jot from its established course. It is to help the voice of the Kaffer / community be heard, his loud and affecting cries urged upon the authorities, donors, the church / Left, the world. Between themselves, missionaries / activists measure, display and compliment each other for the quantity of "piety" (v) they hold and piousness too is the dominant tone employed in *voicing the voice* of the native. (15)

3. In what manner is Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context?

The connection to Black Consciousness is already handed to the reader by the author. But I will here continue the examination of how the black Consciousness philosophy was modified by the author.

In post-1994 South Africa the Black Consciousness theory is modified in such a way that even the white liberal in essence uses the philosophy of Black Consciousness, and he concludes that he is guilty of serving the interests of his own white counterparts and the international structures that come with it. This, however, does not reveal how the author wishes to move forward and bring about change.

This edition of New Frank Talk compares the former missionaries to the current NGO-workers, all coming to Africa claiming to know what is best for the Africans. The modification from missionary to NGO-worker is clear as the author outlines all their similarities and in what manner the interests of white people are served.

ESSAY 6: "The People vs. Phillip: How the ANC Sold us for a Cup"

The sixth essay of New Frank Talk, written by Andile Mngxitama, critiques the World Cup that was hosted in South Africa in 2010. The essay argues that in a country where there are many issues to be resolved, ranging from inequality to health care, the football tournament shouldn't have been made a priority. The World Cup cost the South African government over 150 billion rands while the profits failed to live up to the expectations of South Africans. However, the author claims that Fifa announced a record profit, even before the start of the tournament in South Africa. Therefore the subtitle "How the ANC Sold us for a Cup" relates to the overall argument of the author, namely that the World Cup

wasn't necessary and, just like 1994, it was a sell out. The only people earning a profit of millions of rands are white-owned businesses and Fifa.

The author critiques all of South African society, especially political parties, unions intellectuals and so on. In his view, they behave 'in ways typical of post-colonial national bourgeoisie which sacrifices its own people in order to please and gain acknowledgement from its colonial masters' (Mngxitama, 2009d).

1. What notions of Black Consciousness are used?

The following notions from Black Consciousness are used in this essay: 1) non-whites, 2) aiming for inclusion, and 3) the powerlessness of the people.

Biko elaborates on non-whites as they especially need the philosophy of Black Consciousness. Otherwise, a non-white will eventually just as much be a threat to the people as the oppressors have been since Biko (2004: 48) describes them as 'extensions of the enemy into our ranks.'

Biko outlined how most black were aiming for inclusion, which happened in different forms from being accepted as human beings and having the right to vote. But to be integrated into the white man's system was according to Biko nothing more than accepting the crumbs of the white man's table. And therefore the philosophy of Black Consciousness was needed for them 'as it seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the "normal" which is white. It is an manifestation of a new realisation that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black' (Biko, 2004: 49).

The combination of non-whites and the aim for inclusion, creates a people that is powerless and lives in fear. "Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the sanctity of their toilets" (Biko, 2004: 49). This type of man is dangerous for society as his anger and frustration will

eventually come out and his fellow blacks will suffer instead of focussing this anger towards the system and the oppressors.

2.How does New Frank Talk use these notions of Black Consciousness?

Even those people and groups in society that should know and demonstrate Black Consciousness, are not speaking up according to the writer. Everyone is silencing himself or herself in order to find approval. During apartheid, the non-whites as described by Biko can still be found in post-1994 South Africa in many different ways, from the artists to the intellectual and from the workers to the soccer players. They all long for the white man's approval and consequently for inclusion in the World Cup.

While on the other hand, Fifa is the apartheid system, as it is explained by the author as an organisation that is part of the world's larger scheme to keep blacks poor and subordinate. The author outlines that everyone in society seems to participate in serving the white men's interests, and the sacrifices are high as outlined by this example of local government:

the host cities removed more than 20,000 poor people from the city to make sure that the city looked sufficiently White and safe.(23)

And those who wished to profit from the tournament but were not part of the elite, were easily removed and sacrificed to give the white man from overseas what he wanted:

Designated spaces were erected for them at a price and this meant that fewer hawkers could trade.(...)The world was coming. The Blacks had to be cleared. The final stages of the time before the World Cup saw all hawkers on the run in Joburg.(28)

Inclusion was desired by everyone, from politicians to intellectuals and even artists - none of them were living up to their roles of as voices of resistance. But this was due to being covertly bribed in different ways for silence:

a little praise here, a reward for some literary production there, a column in a paper or an invitation to come conference overseas.(7)

The author explains how on the forefront of every revolution, one usually also finds artists. But in the case of the World Cup, artists did not highlight the possible negative consequences of the World Cup, they merely wished to be part of it:

through their deafening silence and later their gang-like demands for inclusion in the feasting, they have become part of the racket! Our artists have abandoned the noble cause of helping us see and hear. Now they just want to eat at the devil's table and to do so, they had to first swallow their own tongues. But how do they eat when the nation is starving?(14)

The people versus...but who are the people? As with Biko it was very clear in his description who was a black man and who was considered non-white. By eliminating the workers, the artists, the intellectuals, the politicians, the unions, the black middle class, and even "the people", no one is left to stand up and oppose current developments. The author wants a victory of the people. The people he even lost faith in as he states that:

It's either we are stupid and the ANC is correct to treat us as imbeciles or the psychological damage caused by colonialism is so deeply ingrained that we do not have the mind to look out for our own interests.(31)

3. In what manner is Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context?

The first notion discussed in this essay, the position of the non-whites, is evident in many different groups within society, according to New Frank Talk, especially those groups that should be the leaders during a revolutionary struggle. However, the manner in which the notion of non-whites is modified is that it is updated to relate it to the current circumstances. The notion of inclusion is modified, as it is no longer a cry for inclusion from the sideline. Even when in power, black South Africans still want the approval of the white man, to be included into his world, to feel more human. In this essay, Fifa occupies two positions at the same time. On the one hand, Fifa is the white liberal. It pretends

to know what is good for you and promises you the world if you just let Fifa help you. But in order to help, you have to play the game according to their rules, just as the white liberal used to oversee black organisation during apartheid.

The last modification is how New Frank Talk perceives the people. The modification can best be described as hope. Black Consciousness was full of hope for the people, that with their philosophy fear, defeat and powerlessness of the black man would disappear. New Frank Talk has lost hope in the people, basically because no one deserves to be part of the people, while during apartheid, Black Consciousness was a philosophy of hope that one should use to change society. Even for the non-whites.

ESSAY 7: "Blacks are Kwerekweres, Whites are Tourists"

"Blacks are Kwerekweres, Whites are Tourists" by Andile Mngxitama is the seventh edition of New Frank Talk. It focuses on the outbreak of violence between black South Africans and foreign black Africans in 2008. Here, the philosophy of Black Consciousness is used to explain the violence that occurred in South Africa against foreign Africans, where the anger came from and why it focused on other black Africans. According to the author the source can be found in the history of oppression, colonialism and apartheid. Furthermore, it seems this essay is more or less a personal account of his experiences and feelings during the violent attacks against black foreigners while critiquing the fact these attacks were labelled as xenophobia and racist attacks. It subsequently doesn't provide any answers or solutions. The conclusions of the essay can be found in Fanon's statement that complete liberation has to be fought on multiple levels, economic and psychological.

1. What notions of Black Consciousness are used?

The philosophy of Black Consciousness used here is strongly influenced by Franz Fanon, especially when looking at the source of the violence or the types of liberation needed, i.e. psychological and economic. As the analysis focuses on

how Black Consciousness philosophy is reconceptualised in post-1994 South Africa, two overall views of Black Consciousness become apparent: 1) cautiousness for black leaders and 2) reclaim the usage of racism.

The role of the black leader as explained by Biko is a dangerous, one when he looks at, for example, Bantustan leaders. Bantustans were so-called homelands created for the native people of South Africa in the early 1960s in order for separate development for every ethnic group (Biko, 2004: 80). The leaders, whom Biko points out, are Gatsha Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Kaiser Matanzima, respectively the leaders of the provinces Zululand, Bophuthatswana and Transkei. According to Biko (2004: 85), Bantustan leaders should not be leading the black people as "Bantustan leaders are subconsciously siding and abetting in the total subjugation of the black people of this country." In his eyes, they are not to be considered as leaders at all. Black consciousness repeatedly reminds the people that it should not negotiate on the terms arranged by government or work within the oppressors system, as black people will already start from a disadvantage position. In this case, it's the relocation of ethnic groups to the least fertile grounds in the country and additionally on a mere 13% of South Africa. The reason that people such as Buthelezi are seen as leaders is because the real opposition was in exile or in prison and the white press celebrated the voice of the Bantustan leaders, insinuating that they spoke on behalf of the black population (Biko, 2004: 35).

Their fate was lost as 'some men in these bantustans who would make extremely fine leaders if they had not decided to throw in their lot with the oppressors' (Biko, 2004: 84). The black leader is not to be trusted as his goals are not the right ones. i.e. inclusion or recognition by the white man. Similarly, this, according to Biko, cannot liberate black South Africans.

The second understanding, taken from Biko in this essay, is his critique of using racism for instances that according to Biko cannot be labelled as such. Biko explained racism as something that black people can't do to whites. During apartheid, white people would point out that rejecting white liberals from the

BCM was racist. This notion was denied by the BCM, as black people do not have the power to subjugate another race. The reaction from whites, claiming that they should be included into the black struggle to avoid racism was born out of frustration, according to Biko. This explains their rejection: 'When the blacks announce that the time has come for them to do things for themselves and all by themselves all white liberals shout blue murder' (Biko, 2004: 25).

2. How does New Frank Talk use these notions of Black Consciousness?

The first point discussed here is the call for attention to the role of the current black government and black middle class. The former is seen as a continuation of apartheid institutions, making the black man despise himself as a consequence of the psychological abuse of colonialism and apartheid. The latter is pointed out as their aspiration for whiteness has increased and they have lost touch with the people:

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela went to Alexandria and told the terrified victims cramped at the police station, "We are sorry, please forgive us. South Africans are not like this", before hopping back into her nice car and driving back to her life.(7)

Because of their position and behaviour, both have to be watched carefully for in their current role they cannot be part of the solution against the violence, but are either partly responsible for it according to the author, or will leave the black man sobbing in his misery.

The author, as explained in the following extract, describes the psychological inner struggle of the black middle class and new black elite:

We hate the poor so much because they remind us that Black is bad. We march against their barbarity because we want to assure our White counterparts and ourselves that we are human just like the Whites....We are afraid to be found out and that maybe also to find out that our Blackness has not been erased totally.(20)

The role of the black middle class and elite is used alongside the white liberals. However, their positions differ greatly. The blacks mentioned here, walk with the Whites to show they are not like "them" - the Africans in townships. For whites, it is another means to hold onto their privileged position as explained in the following text:

The White liberal has derived great pleasure and satisfaction from assisting the refugees. Help is the most potent form of exercising power.(21)

The second notion taken from Black Consciousness in this New Frank talk essay, is racism. Black Africans attacking other black Africans is, in the philosophy of Black Consciousness, not racism. This is because not one group of black Africans have the social, political, economic and military power to subjugate the other group of black Africans. But the label given to the violence of 2008, next to xenophobia, is racism. This comes from a different understanding of racism within different groups. The author explains the importance of reclaiming racism, as his understanding is that black people cannot be racist. The naming of racism in the context of the "Negrophobia" should be prevented. The reason for this, is described as follows:

To call Negrophobia (which was created by White racism) racism is to create a massive delete button which wipes the slate of history clean. (22)

The practice of labelling these events as racism, are thus part of the international racism structures that benefit the whites according the author:

But it is good if we call it xenophobia because then it becomes a crime without context or history. In this way, we absolve the real architects and creators of this barbarism.(6)

Allowing the attacks to be labelled racism and xenophobia thus benefits whites, as it confirms once again the self-hatred of blacks when they are killing each other over jobs to be the white man's servant.

None of them, black middle-classes and the liberals question the rhetoric of this violence:

To point to history and show that the current violence is not new and a direct consequence of the wealth a few enjoy is to ask for accounting. Let's not go there. So we march on.(13)

3. In what manner is the Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context?

In this essay on the Black Colonialist, people are constantly reminded that enemies surround them in different forms, sizes and colours. Not only do they need to be recognised by the masses, they also need to be fought on every possible level. The philosophy of Black Consciousness is modified, so as to oppose the current black government. A great deal of attention is also given to the explanation of where the violence comes from. For this, the author quotes Fanon and Biko.

Biko was clear to point out who the enemies of the black man were during apartheid. After 1994, it became more troubling to identify who is, and who is not serving the best interests of the black masses. However, the group of "real" black people that deserve to be liberated, is minimized. The new black elite has given up their struggle for psychological liberation and aspires to whiteness and wealth without shame. The modification of Black Consciousness here is not specifically present. The group of "non-whites" has expanded, while black leaders still continue their fight for the masses, that in reality is a fight for the continuation of the privileged position of whites.

White liberals argue that the actions of blacks are just as horrific as those of the white oppressors. And thus whites and blacks should start again on a clean state. The author rejects this argument, as he claims that the experience of the black masses is then down rated. The actual modification here comes from whites, who argue that the attacks were racist and thus that black people can be racist. Before

they named the attacks racism so that it would be included in the black man's struggle. Now they use the term "racism" in order to forget history.

In a nutshell, I will discuss here my findings from the essays that were analysed in this chapter. The first step of analysing the essays was by posing the question what notions of Black Consciousness were used. Followed by an examination of how these notions were used by New Frank Talk, and finally outlining in what manner the philosophy of Black Consciousness was modified. The overall findings can be summarized as followed: Every essay of New Frank Talk uses notions of Black Consciousness, and this chapter has given examples of the ways in which the notions come forward and henceforth, three overall methods recur. The first method outlined, is the usage of a Black Consciousness by New Frank Talk, without an actual modification, as the Black Consciousness philosophy is still functional for the present context. This is detectable, for example, in Essay 1, where integration into the white and capitalistic system is still an aim of both South Africans and the South African government. Essay 5 also expands on the role of the white liberals who should still be avoided according to New Frank Talk. Just as the white liberal was supposed to be avoided during apartheid, according to Black Consciousness.

The second method that has consequences for the Black Consciousness notion, used by New Frank Talk is that several used notions of Biko's philosophy are modified, but come across as merely an updated explanation, relating to current events and developments. This type of modification presents itself in Essay 2. Opponents and enemies of the people are updated to the current situation, which is done along the lines of Biko's opinion about opponents and enemies. An example of this can also be found in Essay 7, where the author uses the notions of Black Consciousness to explain the cause of the violent outbreak in 2008, whereby black South Africans attacked non-South African blacks.

The last and third method presenting itself, is an actual modification of Black Consciousness. An example of this occurs in Essay 1, as it outlines how the

people should continue the revolutionary struggle. In Essay 3 a notion of Black Consciousness is modified as it no longer wants to raise awareness by those working for the system and thus against the best interest of the people. Those people working within the system no longer need to be warned according to the modification of New Frank Talk. Those people are to be excluded from the struggle, as they can no longer be trusted. Another example of this is given in the analysis of Essay 4, where Dr Chinuwezi modifies the understanding of who should be educated.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

This thesis dealt with the following question: How New is New Frank Talk? In an effort to answer this question, I examined how the seven essays published under the name of New Frank Talk use and modify the philosophy of Black Consciousness. In post-1994 South Africa, the name of Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness are used casually in different forms and on different occasions. At times, this results in a misrepresentation of Biko. Biko himself seems to have been turned into a commodity, and a fashionable statement. While the philosophy of Black Consciousness is taken as nothing more than a marginal footnote to a revolutionary past.

However, New Frank Talk aims to continue the legacy of Black Consciousness and use it in post-1994 South Africa. As South Africa went through some major changes, most importantly from an institutionalised racial regime to a constitutional democracy, the usage of the philosophy of Black Consciousness post-1994 needs to be problematised. Also, continuing the work for Biko comes with certain limitations. Even by filling in the gaps of Biko's philosophy, Black Consciousness appears unfinished. Or his work is, wrongfully, presented as an incomplete biography opening up space for others to interpret and re-explain his work. Even though continuing the legacy of Black Consciousness is criticised in the ways mentioned above, it is necessary to analyse the usage of the philosophy of Black Consciousness. I find this necessary, as there has been little research about Black Consciousness since the official ending of apartheid, in the year 1994.

The research on Black Consciousness mainly focuses on the role of the Movement during apartheid and the Soweto uprising, the influence of Black Consciousness on arts, and the emergence of the Movement. However, even though Biko's work is re-explained and interpreted and the philosophy of Black Consciousness is used in a new context, the academic field shows little to no

research into the philosophy – necessary step for its development. This deficit consequently outlines the importance of this thesis.

The research done in this thesis thus focused on how the philosophy of Black Consciousness was used in the essays published by New Frank Talk and how these notions of Black Consciousness were modified. The textual archive as explained by Michel Foucault was used as the theoretical framework. The statements in this archive are the essays from both Steve Biko and New Frank Talk, combined with the literature that influenced their work. In this context the “Regular” writings of New Frank Talk were juxtaposed with the “Original” writings of Steve Biko. As the Regular texts depend on the Original text, the best possible methodology for the analysis was intertextuality as this methodology stresses the importance of the interdependence of texts on each other. As the social and political circumstances of the juxtaposed essays changed drastically, the context in which the texts can be analysed needs to be broader and intertextuality provides that space in this analysis. However, as intertextuality doesn't provide clear guidelines, which is often a critique of the intertextual method of analysis, I outlined rules for myself to make the analysis reliable and practical: 1) What notions of Black Consciousness do the contributors of New Frank Talk use? 2) How are these notions used? 3) In what manner is Black Consciousness philosophy modified for the post-1994 context?

The set of rules used to examine and analyse the New Frank Talk essays provided data on every separate essay as can be found in Chapter Three. According to New Frank Talk the philosophy of Black Consciousness is usable in a post-1994 context, as the contributors to the essays do not believe there exists a “post” in the apartheid experience of South Africa. Many notions of Black Consciousness are used by New Frank talk, ranging from a call to continue the struggle, ending white privilege and of course the essential foundation of Black Consciousness - that black people should start an inward looking process. The overall data from the analysis shows that the following main notions adopted by New Frank Talk are most commonly used:

- 1) The first overall notion, warns people that those groups in society that pretend or claim to be concerned about the benefit of the people, do in fact, have other interests in mind. During Biko's time, the enemies were limited to non-whites, white liberals, black leaders aiming for integration and of course the apartheid regime. New Frank Talk sees the current constitutional democracy as a continuation of the capitalistic apartheid structures. Therefore the current black leaders who are working in these structures are not acting in the best interests of the people and should be opposed. This notion is used and modified in such a way that the people working within the system should be avoided.
- 2) The second frequently used notion is the one about education. This notion has been modified, so that it doesn't only apply to how black man's history has been distorted, but also how this can help actively change the language and debate of current events. Also, the notion of educating the people seems to be limited to merely "the people" as opposed to providing education and awareness for everyone who is black, thus including non-whites, who are taken as opponents to the best interests of the black man.
- 3) Avoiding integration and inclusion in the current power structures, is the third most commonly used notion by New Frank Talk. The manner in which this notion is modified, is that it's applied to the current political structure.
- 4) The inward looking process, as described by Biko, is a recurring notion in Black Consciousness philosophy. This is applied in the essays of New Frank Talk. This notion has been modified by New Frank Talk, so that it is no longer a goal for psychological freedom, but an initial point for people to start their struggle towards liberation on a psychological, political and economic level.

The juxtaposition of essays by New Frank Talk and Black Consciousness philosophy as written by Steve Biko, shows us that Black Consciousness can be applied in a post-1994 South African context. The newness of New Frank Talk can be explained in different ways. First of all, one can argue that there is nothing new about New Frank Talk as it exchanges certain people, groups, institutions, events and developments for post-1994 people and circumstances. However, I would argue differently. Even though the same notions have been used, they had to be modified in order to apply to different contexts. In every instance of the

most used notions of Black Consciousness as outlined above, another general modification is traceable, namely goal versus starting point. As Black Consciousness views awareness, education and the inward-looking process as one of the goals in the struggle for liberation, New Frank Talk uses these to point out that people should attain this as soon as possible to initiate revolution.

This thesis is an attempt to stir up a debate around the usage of the philosophy of Black Consciousness and the consequences of using it in a post-1994 context. The research I have conducted for so far and the references I have used, gave me the impression that the topic has not yet been dealt with in sufficient depth. The task of investigating Black Consciousness is likely to be an on-going process. Not only because circumstances are constantly changing, but also because jumping between periods of time when investigating the usage and modification of Black Consciousness could create difficulties when applying Black Consciousness in future.

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