The Magic, the Mountain and the Muti

TOWARDS AN INTERPRETATION OF MARIKANA AS MARRONAGE

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

On 16 August 2021, it will be nine years since South African police opened fire on a group of platinum miners striking against British mining company Lonmin for a living wage of R12 500. The town, formerly known as Rooikoppies (which means Red Hills in English), was founded in 1870. It is 24 km east of Rustenburg and was initially a railway station with a few shops next to it. Decades later, the town was expanded to include farms where, among other things, mielies and tobacco were grown. Today, however, Marikana is known for the massacre that took place there when police mowed down striking miners. Early media reports portrayed the strike as a rivalry between the relatively new Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) and the older pro-government National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). However, journalists and academics later found out that the miners had organised themselves and most were still members of NUM at that time. It also later emerged that the miners had collectively approached the mine management a few days before the massacre, around 10 August, to demand a wage increase and bypass the union bargaining structure. They were rebuffed by management, who told them to go to their union. They did so the next day, but with fewer people. As they approached the NUM offices at Lonmin, two officials from NUM opened fire on their own members, killing what many believed to be two people (De Waal, 2012).

The miners then armed themselves with pangas, clubs and sticks and moved to a nearby mountain to occupy it. On 12 August, they again attempted to march to the offices of NUM. This time about 150 strikers clashed with two Lonmin security guards, one of whom was killed by a smaller group of men. In another confrontation on the same day between strikers and a larger group of security guards, two more security guards were killed. When the security forces began firing rubber bullets at the workers, they stormed the group of security guards, overpowered and killed two of them, set fire to their vehicles and seized their weapons. Later that evening, in a confrontation between strikers and others, another person was killed and more vehicles were set on fire.

On Monday 13 August, a production manager was killed by striking miners on his way to work; it is believed that he was stabbed with knives and pangas. In the evening, there was a clash between the police and the strikers in which five people were killed, including two police officers. News of their deaths and pictures of the policemen were distributed to police officers throughout the country. On 14 August, the body of an "informant" was found. He had been stabbed and parts of his body had been cut off. In total, ten people had been murdered by 16 August. On the mountain, the miners began to organise and elect their own representatives, who became known as the 'five madoda' ('men' in isiXhosa). They demanded that the CEO of Lonmin, Ian Farmer, come to the mountain to listen to their grievances and that they would then return to work. However, this did not happen. On 16 August, heavily armed police nyalas, hippos, ambulances and hearses arrived at Marikana. After several attempts by the presidents of NUM and AMCU to get the miners to leave the site failed, the police began to encircle the miners with barbed wire. The miners began to leave

the mine slowly and chanting. At that moment, the police opened fire and killed 34 people within a few minutes.

Ten years have passed since the Marikana massacre. There have been many commentaries about the significance of the event – about what it says about the nature of post-apartheid society and polity, as well as the forms of resistance to workings of state and capital. I suggest that a number of responses have sought to translate the mineworkers action into recognizable hegemonic discourses of resistance. At the same time, in the media, the conversations around the Marikana event have been portrayed in ways that have relegated the miners' actions as traditionalist or pre-modern, prone to violence and thus to the realm of the pre-political. From an academic perspective, the events in Marikana were interpreted through liberal or Marxist discourses and in this way the strikers were portrayed as subjects who were "injected" with a working class consciousness.

While these analyses are not wrong, it is also important to remember that in many ways, the roots of Marxism lies in German idealist philosophy, which at times when applied, may inscribe notions of a Eurocentric view of history (Thomas, 2005). Cedric Robinson, in his seminal work titled *Black Marxism*, argues that the way Marx wrote about the world, and consequently the way Marxist writings are applied to the rest of the world, has created the space for cases of black radicalism to appear as mere derivatives of what has happened in Europe (Robinson, 1983, p. 827). Marx, in his work, had stated that slavery belonged rather to an earlier stage of economic development - primitive accumulation. With this in mind, he and other scholars failed to recognize that these boats filled with labourers also carried with them cultures, languages, ways of thinking, metaphysics, habits, beliefs, and morals. The transportation of African labour to the plantations, however, also meant the transportation of ontological systems – these systems filled with theories of organization, as well as ideological and behavioural explanations making sense of the differences between the actual and the normative.

With this logic, Robinson underscores that this ontological system drove a resistance that presupposed no vanguard party or movement, no working-class consciousness, no specific ideology, and no allegiance to any identity, including race, class, and gender. To restore a sense of community, black radicals[1] moved into the bush, the mountains and the interiors. There, they found ways to disengage from the plantations, in the safety of the mountains, black communities could be ontologically rebuilt. Expressions of black radicalism such as marronage, destruction and even open rebellion were also supplemented by more invisible forms of resistance. People prepared themselves for this resistance through various forms of religion such as voodoo, Islam and Black Christianity. This awakened in them visions that would one day enable them to attempt the impossible – to finally be free from the oppression faced under oppressive economic, social and political

[1] See, for example, the *papaloi* of the Haitian revolution in 1791 (in CLR James, The Black Jacobins Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution, 2d ed., rev. (New York: Vintage Books, 1989)

orders. And the very existence of such settlements and the legends about these communities enriched the radical ontology, and each generation of slaves contributed to the furthering of black radicalism.

With this history of black resistance in mind, I re-read the events at Marikana. I assemble a methodological lens to describe forms of collective action that unfolded in Marikana - as akin to a specific, but highly overlooked form of flight from oppression - as marronage. Oppression, freedom, and marronage are interdependent concepts, but they must be deepened by the recognition that marronage cannot be tied to a particular historical period. It has a transhistorical element that offers us the thematic and nonlinear temporal lens to rethink the teleological narrative of slavery and freedom as something past.

Upon immersing myself in the events at Marikana by reading the Marikana Commission of Inquiry, I asked myself questions such as how and why do the image of bullets turning to water re-emerge consistently in several past insurrectionaries in South Africa? Recurring references to shared tropes, acts and objects prompted me to track the relationship between past insurrections and Marikana. I traced this continuity to reveal what I posit as Marikana's pre-history - the 1850's Cattle-Killing Movement, the 1921 Bulhoek Massacre, the 1960s Mpondo Revolts and the 2000s Xolobeni protests. I describe these insurrections as seemingly failed attempts to obtain an anticolonial future that become reservoirs of hope for later movements. That is to say, they allowed participants in future insurrections to imagine themselves as bulletproof. To ground this understanding of resistance politics, I trace thematic continuities between Marikana and its prehistory; I describe repertoires of resistance employed by subaltern communities in the past and examine how those repertoires re-emerged during the events in Marikana. In each of these moments of resistance, an explosive moment of combination that brought a historical and social process to a head. Each of these insurrections was associated with a crisis or a social fragmentation. The thematic continuities between Marikana and its prehistory force us to view these uprisings not as separate, but linked with one another in a state of incompleteness.

It is clear that we cannot pin the re-emergence of past cultural and religious praxis at Marikana down to mere coincidence. With this in mind, I believe that in order to understand the deeper political and social significance of the resistance that took place at Marikana, we need to make sense of the Marikana event beyond a Eurocentric framework. To do this, we need to pay more careful attention to practices such deployment of muti and inyangas and workers' discourse that evokes brave warriors from another era. The miner's preparation for battle through ritual cleansing, the retreats to the mountain tops, and the use of muti that would turn the oppressor's bullets turn to hot water – that would make the people bulletproof – these were practices deployed in insurrections centuries before Marikana had even occurred. This reveals that Marikana was about far more than just the strikers demands for a wage increase of R12 500. That the miners did make use of a discourse from another era reveals insights about the Marikana strikes that go beyond demands for wage increases in industrial disputes and instead points to a longer lineage of resistance against a corrosive socio-economic and political order.

These continuities prompt a rethinking of the Marikana strikes as a conglomeration of practices and paradigms contained in pasts long gone - that remerge through actions, idioms, symbols, languages, and social formations that we might identify as cultural or religious rather than political. With the 'past' remerging in the 'present', this means that we need to understand the histories of certain past insurrectionary rebellions in South Africa in order to make sense of the Marikana strikes. In light of this, my dissertation answers two interrelated questions: What concept of marronage emerged from the interrogation of Mr X at the Marikana Commission of Inquiry? What important insights does the analysis of the relationship between Marikana and marronage provide to theorists who are unaware of it, have ignored it, or have not adequately explored it?

To answer this question, my work takes seriously Mr. X's testimonies given during the Marikana Commission of Inquiry trial. Mr X, a rock driller working at the Impala platinum mine, was one of the striking miners who gave evidence under witness protection for his own safety. Although not much information was given about Mr. X himself, given that he was under witness protection, we know from his testimonies that he was part of the striking miners who was present on the day of the fatal shootings. His testimonies reveal that his actions, much like the other strikers, were motivated by a call for a wage increase and a struggle against Lonmin and the captured trade unions. Mr. X's evidence suggests that the Marikana strikers' political praxis points to a living subaltern history, one that I believe makes up the pre-history of Marikana. With this in mind, I argue that the Marikana striker must be seen as both an industrial worker and part of larger insurrectionary subaltern communities who evoke a wide range of cultural and religious repertoires to do politics. Drawing on a number of works, I offer a theoretical approach to reading Marikana and its pre-history as events of sociogenic marronage. My use of sociogenic marronage comes from Neil Robert's explanation thereof in his work titled Freedom as Marronage (2015). Roberts describes sociogenic marronage as a concept of marronage that necessitates the creation of new forms of community (2015, p. 116). Reading Marikana through this theoretical lens allows then for a theorization of a way of reconstructing history and hopefully contribute towards recognizing the character of a black radical tradition in South Africa. First, I revisit moments of resistance in South African history that I believe make up the pre-history of Marikana. My revisitation does not constitute a historical chronology but rather, brings to light thematic continuities across the pre-history of Marikana and the Marikana event itself. My writings will reflect the impacts of events since the 1800s on the actions of those involved in both later insurrections as well as the Marikana incident. These radical events are, namely, the 1850s Xhosa cattle-killing movement, the 1921 Bulhoek massacre, the 1960s Mpondo revolts and the 2001 to present-day Xolobeni protests. Through this I bring to light the idea that a historical past may display itself in the present in ways that can both constrain and inspire action for justice.

Next, I read Mr X's testimonies through the lens of subsets of languages, through phrases and words that suggest ontological continuities between insurrections of the past and the present, and are indicative of

sociogenic marronage. I identify repertoires of resistance through subsets of languages, through phrases and words embedded in the historical sources on Marikana's pre-history. In doing this, my work seeks to tell a history of resistance more often than not consigned to (and thus invisiblized) in the margins of the archive. It is through this theoretical lens that I develop a genealogy of resistance which considers the history of subaltern insurrectionaries in order to develop new ways of understanding Marikana – and ultimately, to imagine black radicalism beyond the cage of Eurocentrism.

My findings shed a crucial light on the myriad ways in which the events at Marikana point not to a singular moment in the strike history of South Africa, but rather to a continuation of past moments of struggle to preserve a way of life. To look beyond the linearity of history is to see Marikana as one of many ongoing attempts to break or fracture the current conditions of oppressive hierarchies in order to achieve a renewed world. Overall, my thesis argues that we cannot limit our understanding of strikes into a narrowly conceived version of historical materialist paradigms. Instead, we should plot other genealogies and take seriously the idea that radicalism may be informed by an ontology outside established frameworks. Without this, our understanding of the resistance in the global south will continue to consign those who invoke cultural practices to the world of irrational political action – giving us a limited understanding of how politics and resistance play out in a post-colonial world.

Overview

An introduction to the problem at hand was presented in **chapter 1**. The relevant literature is discussed in **chapter 2.** This chapter looks into the different analytical and conceptual frameworks utilized to identify and analyse the striking mineworkers' forms of organizing and the consequent impacts they had on social and political structures in South Africa. In this chapter, I lay the ground for my own work, which makes use of a different lens through which I analyse Marikana and its pre-history. **Chapter 3** dives headfirst into the methodology required to adopt a lens of sociogenic marronage in order to read both the pre-history of Marikana, as well as to read Mr. X's testimonies against the grain of other normative ways of reading the archive, of which I will describe in depth in this chapter. **In chapter 4**, I make use of the methodological approaches outlined **chapter 3** to revisit moments of resistance in South African history that I suggest make up the pre-history of Marikana. My revisitation brings to light thematic continuities across the pre-history of Marikana to the Marikana event itself that highlight these moments of resistance as acts of marronage. These radical events are, namely, the 1850s Xhosa cattle-killing movement, the 1921 Bulhoek massacre, the 1960s Mpondo revolts and the 2001 to present-day Xolobeni protests. In **chapter 5**, I examine the links between Marikana's pre-history and the actions of those involved in both later insurrections as well as the Marikana incident. I do this by taking seriously Mr. X's testimonies when attempting to understand Marikana. In this chapter, I reveal that Mr. X's testimonies point to a mode of seeing and being in the world that resonates with actions and paradigms of insurrectionaries in the 1850s Xhosa cattle-killing movement, the 1921 Bulhoek massacre, the 1960s Mpondo revolts, the 2001 to present-day Xolobeni protests and the 2012

Marikana strikes. **Chapter 6,** the last chapter, provides a consolidation of the findings presented in the previous chapters of this dissertation. It also recommends future methodological considerations for writing on resistance in South Africa.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

The increase in the number of protests in South Africa over the past three decades has garnered the attention of both local and international social scientists. Of these protests, Marikana has been the most notable in the post-apartheid industrial labour strikes for the strikers' move away from their unions and towards developing their own workers committees and novel ways of organizing outside of union-related structures. The following chapter compares and contrasts the different theoretical frameworks that have been utilised to understand Marikana. In doing this, I show that most studies have analysed Marikana through a narrowly conceived historical materialist theoretical framework. I argue that while these analyses offer us several insights into the Marikana strikes, they bear the Eurocentric imprint of Marxist interpretations of history (Thomas, 2013). While this chapter does not reject the analysis of Marikana through a historical materialist theoretical framework, it does show that such mono-paradigmatic theoretical frameworks could produce potentially one-sided findings, limiting our understanding of how politics could play out in a post-colonial world.

Sociologist Cenk Saraçoğlu, known for his work on 21st century theories of collective action, dedicates the first part of his article on problematizing mainstream theoretical frameworks used to interpret and understand new social movements (2017). Saraçoğlu's work thus serves as a useful tool through which one can critique the ways in which academic scholars have analysed and interpreted the Marikana events thus far. Saraçoğlu reveals that during 1950s to 1960s when the initial sociological engagements with working class movements from multiple sites across the world first took place (2017, p. 13), social scientists were mainly concerned with developing theoretical and conceptual tools through which they could analyse them (2017, p. 33). Saraçoğlu argues that while not wrong, these theoretical and conceptual tools focus only on particular aspects of these social movements, leading to a possibly one-sided interpretation thereof. The danger that comes with these one-sided interpretations of social movements is that they only offer partial explanations for a set of events, and yet are still seen by many as the only explanation of these events. The same pattern emerges in most academic articles written on the Marikana event.

On the one hand, and through a Marxist theoretical framework, the work of some scholars gives the impression that the authors were guided by a predetermined Marxist theory that envisages a linear course of workers' struggles as a universal historical fact (Naicker, 2015, p. 100). The strikers were portrayed as subjects who, over time, were imbued with a working-class consciousness. Although some authors

acknowledged the use of muti, the cultural significance of the mountain, and the workers' committees, they explained these actions as, first and foremost, representative of a new trade union uprising. In this way they fall into the trap of abstracting the Marikana strikes into a universalist workers discourse.

Luke Sinwell, in his article on the Marikana strike, points out the importance of identifying and analysing the different forms of workers' organization in order to understand workers' forms of mobilization (2013, p. 112). Sinwell objects to the misconceived academic claim that the strikers in Marikana were mainly motivated by union rivalry and violent solidarity in their demand for a wage of R12500 from the British mining company Lonmin (2013). Sinwell disagrees with this assertion and demonstrates how viewing this demand through such a lens "obscures the independent nature of workers' resistance and the ways in which it has changed over time" (2013, p. 93). By examining a series of interviews and analyses conducted over a 24-month period between 2012 and 2014 in Marikana, Sinwell explores the conceptual roots of the strikers' demand for a R12 500 wage in order to correct this misunderstanding (2013, p. 96). In doing so, he identifies and discusses what he considers to be the workers' unique and non-violent strategies - such as the formation of the workers' committee (which, he points out, was built independently of any bureaucratic union), the methods of self-defence, and the designation of the mountain as the site of negotiations between the workers and Lonmin (2013, p. 96).

While Sinwell's findings have brought to light some important aspects of the strikers' mode of organizing and how this affected the ways in which these workers mobilized and resisted, his analysis suffers from a methodological flaw in that, while it focuses heavily on the grievances of strikers, it does not address the inherent, historically embedded contradictions of the socio-economic and political system itself. Even though Sinwell focuses on history - his analysis remains largely divorced from the history of a racist capitalist order from which the Marikana protests emerged and emerged. This type of analysis borrows from what Saraçoğlu calls theories of collective behaviour, which begin with an examination of the protesters' discontent and grievances, and from there analyse the extent to which the social movement is a symptom of a flaw in the contemporary social system (2017, p. 17). From here, solutions on how to 'fix' the social system are discussed. Accordingly, Sinwell highlights how the efforts of Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) president Joseph Mathunjwa to come to the mountains to listen to the grievances of striking miners led workers to join the AMCU (2013, p. 112). This in turn, according to Sinwell, gave impetus to the five-month strike by platinum miners in 2014, which was led by the workers and the AMCU to demand and achieve higher wages (ibid). While Sinwell is correct in his findings, Saraçoğlu points out that if one analyzes social movements only from the perspectives of those resisting in the present, it is not possible to determine what is valuable to analyse within that social movement (such as the different forms of organization) (2017, p. 16). Manuel Castells argues that social movements emerge because of the contradictions in a social system and that their meaning is "the social and historical productivity of their practice and the impact on their participants as persons and on the society they seek to transform" (2015, p. 314). Sinwell's work, by not placing the Marikana protests in the context of the history

from which they emerged, assumes a singular system against which the miners (who are in this case assumed as universalist ‘workers’) are revolting. In the case of Sinwell, he assumes a universalist capitalist system against which the miners (who are in this case assumed as universalist ‘workers’) are revolting. While this is not wrong, the oppression faced under the system of capitalism is viewed differently by communities who resist it all across the world. In the case of the miners, we cannot say for certain that their understanding of the ways in which capitalism works is shared between the strikers and those who are writing about them. The ways in which systems are understood by those revolting is important to understanding the form of resistance taken against that system. At the same time, the resistors’ perspective should be situated in its larger historical context in order to grasp it in all its richness and complexity. Sinwell's arguments should not be disregarded as his framework allows for the identification of important alternative forms of organization. While noted, these modes of organization also need to be contextualized within their own history as well as within the ways in which communities resisting understand the system as well in order to make meaning of them as they arise from the contradictions in a capitalist social order that too has a long past and roots in the racial capital colonial order that preceded apartheid and found its apotheosis in it.

Likewise, Crispen Chinguno’s work on the Marikana protests falls into similar traps of abstracting the Marikana strikes into a universalist 'workers' discourse, despite his attempt to locate the strike within its political history (2013). In the direct aftermath of the Marikana massacre, Chinguno conducted an in-depth study on the event in an effort to bring to light its broader political implications (2013). Contextualizing the events within the context of South Africa’s post-apartheid industrial relations – Chinguno demonstrates how unions that endeavoured to emancipate black workers during apartheid have, by and large, “failed to manufacture hegemony and worker consent” in post-apartheid period. Consequently, the Marikana strikers responded by creating their own informal union, which Chinguno says are the worker committees from the mountain (2013, p. 588). As such, explains Chinguno, the Marikana strike served as a symptom of a larger process reflecting a breakdown in the bureaucratisation of industrial relations in South Africa. Chinguno further adds that the violence displayed by the Marikana workers became the means through which they could form collective solidarity – which he conceptualized as “violent solidarity” (2013, p. 588). Chinguno describes this “violent solidarity” as a “means of overcoming worker fragmentation” through the use of violence (2013, p. 641). Chinguno concludes that the Marikana event represents a manifestation of the current crisis of the country’s corporate social contract – “which constitutes the basis of post-apartheid socio-economic and political order” (2013, p. 589). While it may seem that Chinguno’s efforts to locate Marikana within its larger industrial history fills the gap of contextualizing protests within the history from which they emanate, he still fails to situate this movement within a non-industrial history. In this way, his work provides a one-sided analysis of Marikana as motivated by and through South Africa’s historical and contemporary industrial relations only. In the case of both Sinwell and Chinguno’s work on Marikana, (and there remain many more that analyse Marikana without sufficient historical context) their findings remain incomplete as a result of not taking seriously the contextual past from which Marikana emanates from.

Christian Fuchs, known for his insights into history and memory, stresses that social movements are characteristic of the contradictions in a social order – they bear the hallmark of the history and memory of previous social struggles (2012, p. 785). In this way, the histories of past social struggles manifest themselves in present ideological, political and economic relations as a reflection of a social contradiction that has not been solved in the past. Engaging with the continuities between past and present social struggles allows us to understand a social formation as the interplay between political, economic and ideological realms of the past and the present. Consequently, understanding the continuities between past and present social struggles shed light on the fact that class contradictions and struggles can manifest not only as a result of economic contentions but in the context of political and ideological contentions as well. In line with this, Saraçoğlu further warns that analysing social movements as if they are only working-class movements will result in incomplete and inaccurate findings – as working-class movements simply "thicken frontiers between the discontented sections of society and the political social forces representing dominant classes" (2017, p. 23). As I discussed above, various scholars have contextualized the Marikana strike within its history to shed light on contemporary politics in South Africa. However their analyses remain circumscribed within an established political-economy discourse that tends to center ways in which workers in Marikana were or were not injected with a working-class consciousness. This reveals some serious limitations in their conclusions about the implications Marikana had on the ways in which we have come to understand how politics plays out in a post-colonial world.

Other works also follow this line of analysis including Paul Stewart's article on rock drill operators and their role in the 2012 strike wave on South African mines. Stewart puts forward a case for studying the demands of the Marikana rock drillers from "their historical point-of-production struggles in the labour process" (2013, p. 42). Stewart emphasizes that from this perspective we can begin to understand why the rock drillers were at the forefront of the 2012 strike wave. He then contextualizes the profession of the rock driller from the beginnings of South Africa's mining era in 1886 – stating that rock drillers had often enjoyed a superior status on the mines, establishing themselves as a working-class apart from other groups in the mining industry. As a profession singled out for white miners only, it was not until 1897 that African workers began being employed to assist with operating the drills under the supervision of 'de-skilled' white miners (Stewart, 2013, p. 46). The numbers of African rock drillers grew from there. Keeping this history in mind, , Stewart makes important links between a group of RDO's struggle to create independent worker committees in 1985 – to the 1999, 2004 and 2012 struggles, whose characteristics hold parallels that are notable (2013, p. 42). Stewart uses these continuities as a way to explain why rock drillers have remained at the forefront of mineworker strikes – accordingly recognizing that any social explanation of this strike events that took place in Marikana in 2012 needs to take into account the traditions of these RDOs – their forms of organizations, the roles of their committees, the bargaining tools and their relations to trade unions (2013, p. 58). Ultimately, Stewart advocates that we need to look to histories such as these in order to identify more accurately the explanations of the ongoing industrial strike wave in South Africa (2013, p. 42).

Eddie Cottle, taking the histories of strikes just as seriously. He contextualizes the Marikana massacre within a longer history of industrial strikes ranging from the 1900s to 2015 in South Africa in order to make meaning of the event (2017). Using a Marxist theory of long waves of capitalist development, Cottle analyses the offensive and defensive characteristics of strikes in South Africa in order to determine whether they were turning points in South Africa's economic, industrial and political relations (2017, p. 147). In this process, he reveals that the 1922 Rand revolt, 1946 Mine workers strike, 1973 Durban black workers strike and 2012 Marikana strike all demonstrate similar and interesting patterns when plotted on a South African industrial strike wave (2017, p. 155). Cottle argues that it is against the backdrop of "generalized deteriorating conditions of reproduction of the working class and historical frustration" that these three revolts manifested themselves, expressing ways in which class struggle has intensified in both urban and rural areas (2017, p. 163).

Looking closely at both Cottle and Stewart's interpretations of the Marikana event, it is clear that Cottle departs from Stewart's analysis in not looking to the different modes of organization employed by the strikers. Instead, Cottle's analysis of Marikana highlights the effects the strike had on the overall political, economic and industrial relations in the country. On the other hand, however, Stewart's findings fill an important gap in Cottles work by revealing the important social explanations for the ongoing rock driller strike wave in South Africa. Despite offering such important historical insights into the history of Marikana, both Cottle and Stewart still fall into the trap of regarding the Marikana strike as only an expression of a working-class struggle. By analysing Marikana chiefly through an industrial historical lens, both Cottle and Stewart offer monochromatic interpretations of the mineworkers. They hence struggle to grasp the forms of political action taken by the strikers into a language that can attend Marikana worker's vast repertoire of actions and symbols. A number of these actions and idioms, I suggest, are not translatable via recognizable to hegemonic discourses of resistance. Through a Marxist theoretical lens, Cottle and Stewart inscribe onto the Marikana strike notions of, what Darryl Thomas calls, a Eurocentric view of history (2015). In doing this, the strikers political praxes appear as mere derivatives of well-known industrial workers' actions in Europe, rather than being informed by a longer lineage of resistance inspired by Marikana strikers' own ontological systems.

In particular, the cultural elements of the strike, such as the use of muti and the cultural significance of the mountain and the workers committees have more often than not been explained away as cultural aberrations – more obviously by Sinwell (2013, p. 94) and Chinguno (2013, p. 28). In other instances, they have simply ignored these acts (Stewart 2013, p. 57 and Cottle 2017). These writings thus offer a limited view of events in Marikana and its relationship to the ways in which politics can play out in a post-colonial world.

Marikana, contrary to many academic findings, involved far more than just the strikers demands for a wage of R12 500. Analyses of Marikana by scholars such as Camalita Naicker and Sarah Bruchhausen can serve as examples of viewing the Marikana strike through a theoretical lens that takes seriously its non-Eurocentric

dimensions of struggle. Naicker and Bruchhausen speak closely to the political and cultural history from which the Marikana discontents and subsequent protests emerged (2016). Making important links between the Marikana strikes and the earlier Mpondo revolts in the 1960s, these authors reveal that the strikers' modes of political praxis were in actual fact "informed by older modes of political organization that challenge dominant institutions like civil society and traditional authorities" (2016, p. 388). Taking on a subaltern theoretical framework, their analysis of the Marikana strikes thus considers both its subaltern politics and subaltern histories. Both authors place increasing emphasis on paying attention to the ways in which people practice politics as a way to gain insight into the broader struggle for "justice, dignity and humanity that require structural socio-economic and political change" (2016, p. 401). They draw attention to the re-invocation of the mountain as a place of both resistance and democratic practice in both the Mpondo Revolts and the Marikana strike (2016, p. 400).

Similarly, in Naicker's earlier work on the links between Marikana and the Mpondo revolts, she alerts us to the fact that most of the platinum miners working at Lonmin were from Mpondoland themselves (2015, p. 106). Here, she notes that the formation of a mountain committee during the Marikana strikes – similar to those formed during the Mpondo revolts, demonstrates the importance of viewing the strikes against Lonmin within the context of the Mpondo revolts – that these strikes were "rooted in the cultural, social and political context of many mineworkers' home-context" (2015, p.102). Their erasure, she notes, is a sign of the ways in cultural aspects have been ignored in the writings on Marikana strikes. As she observes, cultural attributes are often explained away when scholars fail to consider the larger subaltern history of the strikers and their social locations. Such erasure "gives the impression that the writers were led…by a pre-given Marxist theory which provides a linear trajectory of workers' struggles as universal historical fact" (Naicker, 2015, p.100).

Naicker writes that most of news articles on this topic invoked the use of muti to delegitimize the strike and this tactic was also appropriated by the state in its defence when lawyers representing the state called on anthropologists in court to explain the use of muti by the strikers (City Press, 2012 in Naicker, 2015, p. 100). She emphasizes that viewing these strikes outside of how we recognize dominant political tension "does not seem to be part of the discussion, in both liberal and Marxist conceptualizations" (2015, p. 100). As an example of this, she explains the failure of Crispen Chinguno's article in dwelling deeper into the cultural significance behind the use of inyangas and their muti during the strike beyond its understanding as a traditional practice (2015, p. 106). Naicker describes this as a failure to connect practices of the Marikana strikers with "the culture of people who come from Mpondoland in the Eastern Cape" giving rise to Chinguno's failure "to link culture to the political" (2015, p. 106).

Both Naicker's earlier work on the Marikana strikes in conjunction with Naicker and Bruchhausen's work on linking Marikana to the Mpondo revolts are amongst the few that make use of theoretical frameworks within the sphere of subaltern politics that attends to, and takes seriously the historical contexts of the strategies and modes of organization utilized by the strikers. Moving outside of the dominant realm of

analysing the Marikana strikes as a working-class movement, both Naicker and Bruchhausen show how these strikers' unprecedented modes of organization push us to examine and thus make meaning of the relationship between past and present struggles.

Despite the sharp connections made between the Marikana and Mpondo revolts by both Naicker and Naicker and Bruchhausen's work, they remain inconclusive in linking the Marikana strikes to those beyond the 1960's Mpondo revolts. Authors Sean Jacobs and Daniel Magaziner fill this gap to some extent when they call for reflecting on Marikana in light of a "century long history of violence associated with worker actions" (2013, p. 138). Jacobs and Magaziner emphasize that the Marikana strikers' break away from their union affiliations and the formation of their own workers committee reflects "a long narrative about struggles for equivalence in South Africa" (2013, p. 138). Drawing continuities from the 1921 Bulhoek massacre in which the white Union of South Africa's police force murdered prophet Enoch Mgjima and his followers because of their 'illegal' occupation of land in the Eastern Cape, Jacobs and Magaziner explain the Marikana events as one where "the state and its allies advocated positions in some ways beholden to the logic of the colonial and racial past" (2013, p. 139).

With this being said, however, they do emphasize that Marikana "is still best explained through reference to…the 1922 Rand Revolt", in which "in many ways the Marikana strikers still inhabit the world made by the Rand Revolt: one in which the immersion of the black masses was a political compromise worked out by white labour, white capital and white political power" (2013, p. 140). By shifting their analysis of the Marikana strike from a social to an industrial history, both Magaziner and Jacobs firstly misconstrue the Marikana strike as solely a working-class movement focused on question of wages and working conditions.

In conclusion and considering my above findings, two distinct patterns become apparent within the current literature on the Marikana strike. The first pattern speaks to the mistranslation of the forms political action taken by the strikers into a language that overdetermined by dominant ways of conceiving industrial workers' collective action. In this case, I refer to Sinwell (2013, p. 94), Chinguno (2013, p. 28), Stewart (2013, p. 57) and Cottle's (2017) view of resistance that in the broadest sense views history and society through a Marxist historical materialist theoretical lens in order to analyze how resistance influences political, social and economic change. In doing this, the cultural elements of the strike, such as the use of muti and the cultural significance of the mountain and the workers committees, are consequently explained away as cultural aberrations (see Sinwell (2013, p. 94), Chinguno (2013, p. 28) – and in some writings, these authors simply ignored the cultural elements of the strike, such as the employment of an inyanga, the use of muti and the evocation of brave warriors from another era. While these analyses offer us several insights into the Marikana strikes, they bear the Eurocentric imprint of Marxist interpretations of history. Questions of both how Marx conceived of stages of history and the aspects he foregrounded and ignored are crucial here. In particular, Marxian views of linear time often mis-recognize some moments of resistance as primitive and are thus relegated to the realm of the premodern. In Partha Chatterjee's account of the 1983 squatter's resistance in

Indian cities, for example, he highlights how many scholars failed to recognize the evocation of traditional Indian forms of kinship and community by these squatters "to get themselves identified as a distinct population group that could receive the benefits of a governmental program." They failed to see the squatters' actions as a modern form of resistance relegating evocations of kinship relations as a pre-modern cultural artefact (2004, p. 56). On the other hand, Chatterjee describes these evocations as modes that allowed the squatters "to produce a new, even if somewhat hesitant, rhetoric of political claims" to citizenship—a form of resistance to their political categorization as refugees (2004, p. 56-57). Reminding us that Marxist understandings of time are often linear, Chatterjee explains that when capitalism encounters such aberrations of culture, "it thinks it has encountered another time—something out of pre-capital, something that belongs to the pre-modern. Such resistances to capital (or to modernity), are therefore understood as coming out of humanity's past, something people should have left behind but somehow haven't" (2004, p. 5).

On the other hand, however, while Naicker (2016) Bruchhausen (2015) and Jacobs and Magazinger's (2013) all make use of alternative theoretical frameworks that attend to and take seriously the political, social and cultural history of collective resistance in South Africa, they remain inconclusive in linking the Marikana strikes to those beyond the 1960's Mpondo revolts. In the case of these authors, the forms political action taken by the strikers is contextualized in a limited history. The work of examining the meaning of the relationship between past and present struggles remains incomplete. In line with the above, these authors, despite the use of alternative frameworks, may not have considered a history beyond South Africa's industrial period for similar reasons: as these histories are "…something out of pre-capital, something that belongs to the pre-modern" (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 5). The second pattern, which my work takes seriously, is the absence of Mr. X's testimony in making meaning of the Marikana event. While Naicker touches lightly on the media's portrayal of the mineworkers actions as traditionalist or pre-modern, an intriguing figure like Mr. X remains absent in the above analyses of Marikana.

In conclusion, I believe that in order to offer a more holistic interpretation of the political and social significance of the resistance that took place at Marikana, we need to fill these gaps. To do this, my thesis seeks to develop theoretical tools for analysing events in Marikana in ways that give due consideration to Mr. X's testimony at the Marikana Commission of Inquiry, and in ways that reveal important insights about the Marikana strikes that go beyond South Africa's industrial revolts and instead points to a longer and non-Eurocentric lineage of resistance. The next chapter builds on the findings of this one in order to construct such a theoretical intervention.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Theoretical Framework

In my previous chapter, I pointed out the limitations of analysing Marikana through a narrow historical materialist theoretical framework. Furthermore, I also pointed out the need to use a history that goes beyond

the industrial uprisings in South Africa. In this chapter, I discuss a theoretical approach to analysing Marikana that takes seriously Mr X's testimony to the Marikana Commission of Inquiry and unearths important insights about the Marikana strikes that go beyond South Africa's industrial revolts and instead point to a longer and non-Eurocentric lineage of resistance. This means that we need to adopt an approach that is capable of highlighting thematic commonalities in struggles at different times in history, rather than engaging in simple dichotomies between modern and pre-modern. Such an approach incorporates a range of perspectives into my reading of Marikana and its prehistory, while at the same time abandoning the metaphysical assumptions of these theories (i.e. the assumptions that tie these theories to the modernist separation of times and spaces).

To adopt such a lens, my theoretical approach is guided heavily by the works of Cedric Robinson. In his work titled Terms of Order (1980), Robinson delineates his approach to understanding forms of black radicalism and black polity outside of otherwise universalised Eurocentric frameworks.

In his work, Robinson highlights that in the shadow of these Eurocentric narratives about the state are insurgent communities that have made themselves inaccessible to the eyes of the state. As an example of such communities, H.L.T Quan points to a number of radical Black women or Black women's groups as major sources of rebellion (2005). She points to the Black Women's Club movement of the 19th century, in which black women resisted in their organizations that worked to improve race relations. In line with Robinson, Quan also argues that these insurgent communities refused consent in the face of state-orchestrated coercion, highlighting the incompetent, brutal and imperial nature of the state and its allies (2005, p. 47). If life is constantly policed by the state, to free oneself from domination requires a break away from the state. This is in an effort to create self-organised forms of life, outside of the confines of the state despite how brief this may be. Quan makes a close connection here between movements like the Black Women's Club and acts of marronage.

I argue that we should look at the events in Marikana through a similar theoretical lens - as a specific but highly overlooked form of escape from oppression - as marronage. The most common concepts of marronage refer to the creation of communities outside of what constitutes a plantation society - in which these maroons live as agents of their own being. These communities of freedom settle = in areas slightly outside these plantation, usually up in high mountains or anywhere as far away from plantation life as possible (Quan 2005, p. 47). The Maroons are an example of a particular manifestation of what James C. Scott calls *hill people*, which describes as societies and/or regions that exist and are cultivated far from state power (2009, p. 30-31). In these spaces, far from plantation life, maroons cultivate freedom in a way that allows for the practice of alternative religious, cultural, and social practices – practices that reflect their own ontological ideals as opposed to the ideals of those who enslaved them.

I argue in line with Roberts that the use of marronage here must be deepened by the recognition that marronage cannot be tied to a particular historical period (2015, p. 21). It has a transhistorical element that provides us with the thematic and nonlinear temporal lens to rethink the narrative of slavery and freedom as something past. Understanding marronage as an act of resistance that only occurred within certain historical eras (i.e., eras of slave resistance such as the Haitian slave revolt), falls into the historical materialist theoretical trap of linear time. In this case, Roberts interpretation of Glissant's ideas on marronage (see Glissant's Caribbean Discourse, 1999) does away with this notion of marronage as entrapped in a certain era – making this framework ideal for the analysis of the Marikana miners escape to the mountains as a form of marronage. To explain, Glissant's figure of the maroon conveys the notion of a "prophetic vision of the past," – in other words, a vision that is not taken from static and colonial histories but rather, a vision that makes use of the past as understood by insurrectionary communities in order to imagine a new form of politics (Roberts, 2015, p. 31). These politics are forged in what James Scott defines as zones of refuge, these are the hills, mountains, mangroves, and other sites of resistance away from the enslaving norms of the state (2009, p. 30-32). I add onto the ideas of Roberts, Glissant and Scott, by arguing that these zones of refuge are not only places, but a state of being, and marronage as a state of being exists in what I call the elsewheres.

Expanding on this, I conceive of the *elsewheres* as a metaphysical place where existence is not simply not-yet, or nonmodern. In defining nonmodern, we need to look at concepts of modernity and modernism in order to define the modern and the pre-modern. Modernity is a broad term that encompasses several concepts. For the purposes of this thesis, I am especially concerned with the historical period in which capitalism and industrialization developed (Schulte-Sasse, 1986, pp5-6). Modernity here encompasses the period known for rational and secular thought. Although modernity is close in meaning to modernism and all things modern, the term mainly refers to a specific period of time that began in the 15th century. Modernity, in this sense, has less to do with philosophical questions and concerned more with nature of social relations that emerged at the time, mainly between those who held all the profits and those who were considered part of the working classes. Generally, to consider a person or object as modern means that they/it should have characteristics that reflect modernity – such as behaviour, thought, and action (Schulte-Sasse, 1986, pp7). The term modernism originated primarily in reference to all artistic and cultural movements that were primarily a reaction to the sweeping changes in society due to industrialization in the 19th and 20th centuries (Schulte-Sasse, 1986, pp11). The two world wars arguably hastened the emergence of a modern world – one with cities, powerful industrial empires and mass migrations from the country-side to the city. In short, modernity and modernism, while related, have differences that allow us to see times when modernism may even be directed against modernity – in this way it is not just society's reaction to all movements emerging to modernity. Modernity, reflected in the acceptance or technologies such as the telephone, the radio and the car, for example, brought about significant changes to social life, be they good or bad. The modern period divided maybe into three distinct phases to describe the emergence of capitalism,

industrialization, and finally the modern world shaped by the division of labour. The modes of self-realization and self-awareness are central to the concept of modernity and modernism.

Borrowing from the historian Saurabh Dube's (2017) definition of modernity, I also add in line with the above that modernity is based on a rupture. It signifies the demystification of the world, the progressive mastery of nature by scientific procedures of technology and the demystification of magic by powerful techniques of reason (Dube 2017, pp58). And yet, as argued by Dube himself, modernity and the processes thereof create their own enchantments, such as "the dense magic of money and markets… novel mythologies of nation and empire… [and] hierarchical oppositions between myth and history, emotion and reason, ritual and rationality, East and West, and tradition and modernity" (2017, pp58). It is upon these enchantments that modernity gives shape to the past and present by ordering and orchestrating these terrains in time and space (2017, pp59).

I build on the above conceptions of modernity and modernism to conceive the pre-modern as situated teleologically in the "pre", as in the "not-yet" modern. The nonmodern, however is, rather than the negation thereof, unbounded by the conceptions of modernity. The idea of the nonmodern enables us to conceive of *elsewheres*, where existence is not simply "not-yet", or the negation of modernity but rather, unbounded by the conceptions of modernity. In this way, the elsewheres remain tied but also unbounded as well from history that privileges the institutions, historical events and philosophies as defined by the West. I argue that form of sociogenic marronage that took place at Marikana, which becomes apparent through such an analysis of Mr. X's testimonies, was a marronage into this *elsewhere*, into a space free from oppression and into a state of being unbounded by the conceptions of modernity and history.

Stuart Hall's work adds to this, in that in moments of alienation, those who resist may question and long for origins, and this is when they may access a premodern past which they merge with the present, that conditions how they imagine themselves, the conditions of modernity and the their relations with others (1995, p. 185-198). Here, Glissant's notion of the maroons' "prophetic visions of the past" comes into play. It is through the revival and use of these preserved "prophetic visions of the past", as Roberts argues, that resistance against the state can be seen as marronage (2015, p. 248). Drawing on Robinson, Glissant and Hall's findings, I too read Marikana and its pre-history as events of marronage, occurring in these *elsewheres*, where those resisting seek a space (be this space real or imagined) free from oppression, where certain histories are revived and used to escape into a state of being free from the bondages of modern time and history.

The Robinsonian method, as proposed by scholar as H.L.T Quan (2013)[2], is also based on the aspirations of radical mass movements and involves excavating archives of the lives of the subaltern and their communities' struggles for justice and freedom. Because of this, my work also considers methodological approaches to reading the archive in ways that recover silenced histories. In this case, the archive would be the historical sources through which I compile Marikana's pre-histories as well as the Marikana Commission of Inquiry. Archives have been considered a vital source for writing the origin stories of a nation, its history and myths – for forging a national identity and consciousness, in the words of Benedict Anderson (2020). Archives have come to help people understand and experience themselves as part of a nation, territory, and history. It guides people into understanding who does and who does not belong to the nation. The archive is a foundational connection to forging a national or collective identity.

And yet despite this, the archive itself has always been and always is colonial and imperial. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, a Haitian anthropologist and historian, provides critical insights into the ways in which the archival 'origin' stories have a way of blurring its colonial and imperial nature (1995, p. 48). Trouillot argues that the French Revolution was not only an event that happened in France but rather, extended into colonial territories such as Haiti. In this way, as Trouillot argues, the archives on the French Revolution itself played a key role in silencing the Haitian Revolution (1995, p. 48). In light of this, Trouillot posits that "any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences, the result of a unique process" (Mintz &Trouillot 1995, p. 27). This points to a crucial problem with the archive – that it holds the power to decide what is and what is not worthy of research. Those who are then excluded from the archive become invisible, impossible to notice – making archival resources a demarcation of the limits of historical knowledge and as a result of this – of thought itself (Spivak, 1985). Trouillot concludes that as a result of the demarcating nature of the archives, the Haitian Revolution became an event outside of colonial understandings of who could and who could not organize a revolution.

In order for us to understand the archive and archival studies, it thus becomes important to grasp that the birth of the archives, such as the colonial/court archives of the Marikana event, themselves occurred alongside the birth of the new European and neo-European nation states[3]. Today, through colonial and imperial processes embedded in academia, models of organizing the archive spread into colonized spaces (Blouin 2004, p. 297). At the core of the archival body of knowledge lies its orientation towards the state. Nevertheless, many describe it as an objective basis of knowledge about the past. The archive is a vital

[2] See, for example, Emancipatory social inquiry: democratic anarchism and the Robinsonian method, by H.L.T. Quan (2013).

[3] It is important to mention that the archives have existed in many versions in other places before the emergence of the nation state. In this case, I refer to the close relationship between national consciousness and the archive that began emerging with the modern European nation-state.

resource for recuperating a collective memory and consciousness that decentres Europe and its modern ideas. As Chakrabarty writes, it becomes a way to look beyond the horizon of European progress (2000).

To move towards a post-colonial understanding of the archive means understanding it from this perspective. To move towards a post-colonial praxis of archival studies means to consider how the archives emerged and are embedded within larger formations – those which display multiple active cultures and texts. This praxis pays active attention to the ways in which the archives are connected to contemporary structures of empire, in often complex and multifaceted ways. As Edward Said suggested, we need a contrapuntal reinterpretation of history - one that recognises that for every imperial story there are a variety of responses and counter-stories put forward by subaltern insurrectionary communities (1994, p.51). This means challenging ideas about what constitutes the record as well as temporality – to rethink and dismantle the imperial theoretical foundations of the archive and its praxis. The colonial archive remains a central component of subaltern studies – as a way to undo the West's representation of the South (Prakash 1994; Scott 1999 p.12-13). It is to take the action of subaltern resistance in the colonial archive, and uproot it from Aristotilic ideas of teleocracy[4] and finality.

Tonia Sutherland's analysis of dancer and choreographer, Katherine Dunham anthropological work on dance rethinks dominant western definitions of the archival record (Sutherland, 2019). Dunham's work is different in that it recognizes gesture as a document, and accordingly, Sutherland emphasizes the idea of a history of the subaltern as codified and embodied in movements. Naming this the Dunham Technique, Sutherland gives us a language to discuss the ways in which gestures may be embedded in written colonial records (2019). Reading the archive outside of the coloniality of language, and through gestures instead, Sutherland provides us with a way to move towards a post-colonial reading of the archive that recovers a history written not captured in colonial archival structures. Altering the Dunham Technique slightly, my work does something similar by reading the archive and history through repertoires of resistance that are frequently considered as cultural or religious, rather than political. Robinson gives insight to what repertoires of resistance may look like in the archive, arguing that words and languages are text that bring subjects into "conditions of possibility" (Robinson, 1999, p. 347).

In line with this, and drawing on Robinson, Glissant and Hall's findings, I offer a theoretical approach to reading Marikana and its pre-history as events of sociogenic marronage, occurring in these *elsewheres*, into a space free from oppression and as a way out of the ruined circumstance that came about as a result of the institutionalising of a capitalist regime – in both past and the present circumstances. This thesis is an intervention that seeks to construct a framework through which we can read the history of Marikana

[4] By teleocracy, I mean a system (in particular, a system of governance dictated by a specific hegemonic discourse) directed towards the pursuit of a specific goal or purpose (see CHEUNG, 2014). In this case, to uproot resistance from its teleocracy is to uproot it from its Eurocentric ideals that were so dictated by Marxian and other liberal discourses.

alongside acts of black radicalism across different contexts, spaces, and time while attending to the specifics of the South African context. Reading Marikana through this theoretical lens allows then for a way of reconstructing history and can, hopefully, help us understand the workings of a black radical tradition in South Africa. To this end, I read the Marikana commission document through subsets of languages, through phrases and words that point towards ontological continuities with collective actions of the past and are indicative of sociogenic marronage. I identified repertoires of resistance through subsets of languages, through phrases and words embedded in the historical sources on Marikana's pre-history. To identify thematic continuities (and discontinuities), I read Mr. X's testimonies through the theoretical lens of sociogenic marronage to identify markers of historical repertoires of resistance - markers that point to a rhythm of resistance as marronage. In doing this, my work seeks to tell a history of resistance more often than not consigned to (and thus invisiblized) the margins of the archive. It is through this theoretical lens that I develop a genealogy of resistance which considers the history of subaltern insurrectionaries in order to develop new ways of understanding Marikana – and ultimately, to imagine black radicalism beyond the cage of Eurocentrism.

With this in mind, in the following chapter, I revisit moments of resistance in South African history that I believe make up the pre-history of Marikana. My revisitation does not constitute a historical chronology but rather, brings to light thematic continuities across the pre-history of Marikana and the Marikana event itself. I reflect on the impacts of events since the 1800s on the actions of those involved in both later insurrections as well as the Marikana incident. These radical events are, namely, the 1850s Xhosa cattle-killing movement, the 1921 Bulhoek massacre, the 1960s Mpondo revolts and the 2001 to present-day Xolobeni protests.

I have chosen these events because I see in them a repeated call for fleeing from the enslaving norms of the colonial state – a theme, as I discuss later, can be seen in Mr X's evidence. In the 1850s Xhosa cattle-killing movement, the 1921 Bulhoek massacre, the 1960s Mpondo revolts and the 2001 to present-day Xolobeni protests, each insurrectionary community marooned to sacred or holy places - sites of resistance and sanctuaries away from the socio-economic and political order that the colonial state was instituting. In these sanctuaries, they prepared themselves for battle. These sites of marronage are centres for restructuring knowledge and action - a site for ontological restoration and a space in which they could be led by a knowledge system upon which their beliefs, myths and messianic visions were based. In these spaces, freedom meant the arrival of ancestors, or God, to free them from the oppressive state regimes that eradicated their ontological ways of being. In these spaces, ontological systems; theories of organisation and social structures; and ideological and behavioural explanations for the resolution of conflicts were passed on from the ancestors to those insurrectionary agents.

Chapter 4 – The Pre-history of Marikana

Introduction

In the next section, I retell the stories of the events that I consider to be Marikana's pre-history. These events are, namely, the 1850s Xhosa cattle-killing movement, the 1921 Bulhoek massacre, the 1960s Mpondo revolts and the 2001 to present-day Xolobeni protests. By retelling their stories, I do not seek to describe their histories 'the way it actually happened' but rather give a brief description of the event as necessary to contend with the forms of marronage that took place during this event. My retelling of these histories, I argue, point to a shared epistemological understanding of the colonial state and statecraft as evil, and a vision of a future renewed world free from the oppressive chains of capitalist logic and living – an epistemology that I later argue is shared by those who were striking at Marikana in 2012.

1850s Xhosa Cattle Killings

The mass slaughtering of thousands of cattle in the early 1850s marked the climax of a more than ten-year-long millenarian prophecy among the Xhosa peoples in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. This prophecy's roots can be traced back to the beginning of the half-century-long forced dispossession of lands of the Xhosa peoples at the hands of British colonial rulers. At the height of the confrontation, nine devastatingly violent frontier wars between the Xhosa, the British and the Afrikaner Boers between the years 1779 to 1879 took place. As a result of these 100-year long frontier wars, the Xhosa subsequently faced some devastating crop blight episodes, droughts, floods, cattle and land expropriation from the British colonial government. Upon the later arrival in 1854 of the new governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey, the British policy towards the Xhosa peoples and their governance system became excessively restrictive (Peires, 2000, p. 146). As an example of this restrictiveness, we can consider the efforts to 'civilise' the Xhosa through colonial jurisprudence, missionary education, and wage-labour. Grey had instated specific policies which ultimately saw the co-optation of Xhosa chiefs as paid employees of the colonial state. This unprecedented assault on Xhosa chiefs' political authority and the new constraints put on people's existence ultimately framed the ways in which the cattle killing event proceeded.

In early 1856, near the Gxarha river just east of the Kei, a young girl named Nongqawuse had a prophetic vision that changed the course of history for the Xhosa peoples (Peires 2000, p. 146). While chasing birds away from her uncle Mhlakaza's cornfields, Nongqawuse envisioned a prophecy of a 'new world', which she claimed some powerful Xhosa ancestors had shown to her. With her uncle's support (whom many claimed may have been her father and layman priest Wilhelm Goliat), Nongqawuse declared to all the promise of returning their ancestors and passage to a 'renewed world'. This renewed world would be free from colonial oppression and malicious witchcraft. The people would reunite with their ancestors who would bring new cattle and grain with them and drive all non-believers, witches, and white Europeans out to sea (Peires 2000, p. 148). To fulfil this prophecy, the Xhosa were to destroy their crop and prepare new grain pits, slaughter

their remaining cattle, refashion their houses and refrain from witchcraft and sexual intercourse while awaiting the return of their ancestors (Peires 2000, p. 148). Nongqawuse's prophecy received the support of the majority of the Xhosa peoples, owing to the Gcakela Xhosa king Sarhili's confirmation of her vision's legitimacy. Many Xhosa peoples still recognised the supreme authority of the Gcakela Xhosa king Sarhili despite the existence of other colonially appointed Xhosa chiefs and kings (Peires 2000, p. 149). Many claimed to have sighted these ancestors at sea, and rumours began spreading fast of a black Russian tribe dressed in red to help the Xhosa drive the non-believers, witches, and white Europeans out to sea (Peires 2000, p. 150). In addition to this, Nongqawuse's prophecy also divided the Xhosa into believers and non-believers. Peires explains the former whom people considered as "'soft' or 'submissive', known as the amathamba", while the latter as "'hard' or 'unyielding', known as the amagogotya" (Peires, 2000, p. 158). These amagogotya were seen to have rejected their ancestors' orders and warned that they would be claimed as slaves to a chief named 'Grey', "otherwise known as Satan" (Peires, 2000, p. 158).

This divide between the believers and non-believers destroyed the social fabric of many families, communities, and traditional and political structures. More than 400 000 cattle were slaughtered in line with Nongqawuse's prophecy, while more than 150 000 cattle had already died due to the arrival of a deadly epizootic bovine virus on board a colonial ship in 1853 (Peires 2000, p. 547). After a failed vision of the ancestors' return in 1857, pinned on the unmoving stubbornness of the non-believers, the mass slaughtering of cattle and refrain from agriculture resulted in the starvation and death of more than 50 000 Xhosa believers. The hope of a fulfilled prophecy began to fade for many. Some 40 000 remaining Xhosa people, out of desperation, eventually made their way to urban towns, mines, missionary stations, and farms searching for wage-labour jobs (Peires 2000, p. 550). The cattle-killing movement had ultimately watered-down the strength of Xhosa resistance to British colonial rule.

On the one hand, there was a far-reaching official view that the cattle-killing was facilitated by Xhosa chiefs to incite war against the Cape Colony. On the other hand, however, there was also a more widely held sentiment that the cattle-killing was a colonial plot by George Gray, who needed to trick the Xhosa into annihilating themselves. Peires infers that "the cattle-killing was a logical and rational response, perhaps even an inevitable response, by a nation driven to desperation by pressures that people today can barely imagine" (2000, p. 159).

In response to this, Jennifer Wenzel posits the idea that while the cattle killings failed historically, it succeeded metaphorically – and that such metaphors are constitutive of prophecies themselves, "not merely an aspect of their afterlives". She argues that movements such as the 1850's cattle killings are both material and metaphorical – and more often than not, become reservoirs of the visions' most radical energies. The belief system underlying the Cattle-Killing movement joined ideas both old and new, both of which were similarly important to its believability. Indeed, even the Bible, a book which colonial missionaries themselves professed to be a reality, seemed to affirm Nongqawuse predictions. (Peires, 2000, pp138).

Recognisable convictions concerning sacrifice, creation and ancestry grounded the movement in a particular interpretive world. The old ideas of natural restoration and new ideas of a normal saviour, accidentally scattered by the missionaries, appeared to give a possible way to get out from the ruined circumstance in which the Xhosa found themselves – in both past and the present circumstances.

In line with this, and through the lens of sociogenic marronage, the actions taken by Nongqawuse and her followers rather served as a 'nexus' between their oppressive reality and their freedom in this imagined world. Roberts describes this as a movement out of the plantation, whether imaginary or physical – but it is not an escape from a "zone of non-being" (2015, pp20). Some 50 years later, these old ideas of natural restoration and new ideas of a normal saviour played out in the events that took place in Bulhoek. The next section discusses this in depth.

1920s Bulhoek massacre

On May 24th 1921, after a long and failed dispute over land in Ntabelanga, Eastern Cape, an 800-strong police force massacred more than 200 Israelites, wounding many more and taking hundreds of prisoners. This 20-minute-long battle - commonly referred to as the Bulhoek Massacre – became etched in the trauma-ridden history of colonial rule in South Africa. The following section reads the Bulhoek massacre building on my recounting of the 1850s cattle-killing movement. This section demonstrates a rethinking of the Israelites' cultural and religious paradigms and praxis as a form of marronage into both a metaphysical and physical space. In this space, old ideas of a natural restoration and new ideas of a normal saviour became a way for Enoch Mgijima and the Israelites to establish an alternative and utopian community, a new world free from oppression.

In 1910, around 50 years after the 1850s Cattle Killings, The Union of South Africa was established by a Constitutional Convention (1908 in Durban) and an Act of the British Parliament (1909). Triggered by the discovery of mineral resources, it was around this time that the young state of South Africa saw a political and economic reconstruction which ensured that the minority white settlers had the upper hand. Heavy taxes, stringent policing and oppressive laws were implemented against black societies. Racial segregation was further reinforced by policies proposed during this period of reconstruction and solidified after 1910. It was in this political, social and economic climate that in 1912, independent evangelist and lay preacher Enoch Mgijima broke away from the Wesleyan Methodist Church to join a small church based in the United States of America named the Church of God and Saints of Christ. It was then in November 1912, that Mgijima started baptising his followers in the Black Kei River. In December, he had predicted that the world would end on Christmas day after 30 days of rain. Visions such as these resulted in his followers leaving their jobs to join his communal living settlement in Ntabelanga. As the years passed by, Mgijima's visions began predicting a 'violent future' – and because of this - many leaders of the Wesleyan Methodist Church had begun asking him to renounce his visions as they conflicted with the Church's values of peace and prosperity.

Mgijima's refusal to do so resulted in his ex-communication and split from the Church of God and Saints of Christ. Thereafter, his followers began referring to themselves as 'Israelites'. This aligned closely with their beliefs in the old testament chapters in the Bible. One of Mgijima's most prominent 1912 visions saw two goats fighting while a baboon watched nearby. Mgijima interpreted this as a war between two white countries, whereby black people would not be involved. Later on, the first world war took place between 1914 and 1918 – and Mgijima's predictions thereof strengthened his followers beliefs in his visions.

After that, Enoch erected a building in Ntabelanga for which he declared was to be used for religious purposes. As his following grew, Mgijima began building larger structures to accommodate for the much-awaited Passover celebrations. Although permission was granted from the government for Enoch to host these Passover celebrations at the Shiloh Mission Station, he was eventually denied his request, leading him to having to find an alternative venue for these celebrations. Governor inspector of African Locations G.E. Nightingale eventually granted Mgijima permission to host the Passover celebrations in Ntabelanga in the Bulhoek are. As the celebration came to an end, some of Mgijima's followers remained on the land and began building settlements in the area, despite being made aware in early January 1920 that this was an illegal use of land. Nightingale confronted Mgijima, who then assured him that the use of land was only temporary, and that his followers would move as soon as the 1920 Passover was over. However, as more and more Israelites gathered on the Bulhoek subsection, Mgijima submitted an extension request to Nightingale under the motivation that the Passover would take place on June 18th that year instead. However, even after this date, the Israelites stayed. Thereafter, Nightingale planned a census to get the Israelites to move from the area. In December 1920, the senior magistrate of Queenstown, ECA Welsh, visited Ntabelanga accompanied by 100 police officers, who set up tents 500 meters from the Israelite settlement. The Israelites refused to take part in the census, stating to spectators and government officials that God can know their population size. When the white settlers in the nearby Oxkraal lands complained of infringement on their grazing land, and of their laborers leaving work to join Mgijima's community, pressure began mounting on the government to act against Mgijima and the Israelites.

The government then sent a group of black African officials from the Eastern Cape to negotiate with the Israelites to move off the land. This meeting was largely unsuccessful – and by 1921, more than 3000 Israelites from all over the country now lived in Ntabelanga. By then the newly appointed Prime Minister Jan Smuts called for a meeting with Enoch, Charles (his brother), Enoch's cousin and two other high-ranking church members between the 6th and 8th of April. Remaining unsuccessful, on May 21st, Smuts sent in a police force from Queenstown under the command of Colonel Truter, who handed over an ultimatum for Mgijima and his followers to evacuate the land by May 23rd. Mgijima, in response to this, sent a letter with two of his church officials which stated his refusal to move off the land, reaffirming that the Israelites faith in God to resolve the matter on their behalf.

After their refusal to move from Ntabelanga, Smuts ordered the police, armed with machine guns, a cannon and other artillery, to storm the settlement mountains where the Israelites were staying. This led to a deadly clash between the police force and 500 Israelites, led by Mgijima. Clarity surrounding what set off the battle remains unclear, reporting that the battle ensued after a shot was fired. Whether by the police or the Israelites remains unclear to this day. After a short 20-minute-long battle, an estimated 200 innocent Israelites were massacred, with the police wounding 129 more and taking 95 as prisoners (Enoch and his brother included). Mgijima, his brother Charles and Gilbert Matshoba, a church official, were sentenced to five years of labour at the DeBeers convict station in Kimberly. Mgijima was released from prison in 1924 and returned to the Israelites up until his death on March 5th, 1929.

Many may look back in history and view the events that took place in Bulhoek on May 21st as circumscribed in a time and place. However, it is important that we look beyond this for deeper meaning to the actions of Mgijima and the Israelites. Most scholars who have undertaken a historical study of the events refer to Mgijima and the Israelites actions as influenced by millennialism view of salvation at the time of the massacre. Reading this event through the lens of sociogenic marronage, we can begin to see the marronage to Ntabelanga and the reconstitution of daily life as a material and metaphorical enactment of a vision for a better world. Robert Edgar, author of Finger of God, reveals in this body of work how and why the events of the Bulhoek massacre occurred (2018). In particular, Edgar explains how Mgijima and the Israelites relied on both Old and New Testament scriptures for inspiration and confirmation of the group's identity, dress, code of conduct, and rituals (2018, p. 64). Mgijima claimed his Israelites were direct descendants of two tribes, Judah and Benjamin. They worshiped in a tabernacle and strictly adhered to the moral code of the Ten Commandments. The centrepiece of their worship was an ark of the covenant on which the Ten Commandments were artfully written in isiXhosa on a large scroll brought to the Israelites about 1919. Most importantly, Edgar also reveals that by adopting the Hebrew calendar and the Hebrew measurement of time, the Mgijima and the Israelites also re-established the European calendar of time (2018, p. 64). Israelite time became freedom time in which the shackles of white oppression were loosened; they derisively referred to European time as "Gentile time." Edgar explains that Mgijima and the Israelites saw themselves as Moses and those Israelites he set free from the oppressive chains of slavery in Egypt (2018, pp63-65). This resurrection of a biblical story of freedom, and this reconstruction of daily time becomes particularly important if we are the consider these events as events of marronage. The reconstitution of time, the group's identity, dress, code of conduct, rituals and daily life points to both a physical and imagined marronage into a space in which a successful vision for a better world could be imagined. Mgijima’s interpretations of biblical stories and prophecies in a way worked to reconstitute and reconstruct time by bringing past and seemingly failed visions for a better world into the present. It was this story of the success of Moses delivering his people from the oppression in Egypt that Mgijima and the Israelites brought back into the present to relive once again. In particular, Mgijima’s visons saw a dark and detrimental future for the Israelites, and called those who believed from far and wide to maroon to Ntabelanga in order to begin living a life closer to what God had intended for them. Mgijima prophesized that when the end of the world came,

those who were at Ntabelanga would be freed from their suffering on earth and be taken up into heaven to be with God[5].

Enoch grew up in the direct aftermath of Nonqawuse's prophecies and visions, and joined the same Church from which her uncle and Nongqawuse herself had belonged to. Her religious visionaries of a forthcoming disaster may have resonated deeply with Mgijima, given his similar visions of a future filled with oppression for the Israelites. Within his visions, Mgjima evoked biblical stories and prophecies to bring past visions of a new world into the present.

In the aftermath of the Bulhoek massacre, the government had consequently changed the manner in which it responded to prophetic movements. An example of this change could be seen in 1922 when the prophet Nontetha was arrested by authorities shortly after her prophecy was delivered to the people of Bulhoek, in fear of her visions growing popularity and a repeat of the massacre. She was admitted unwillingly to a mental hospital from 1923 until her death in 1935. As time went by, the government had begun responding more harshly to uprisings of similar nature. In 1924, the pact coalition between the Afrikaner National Party and the Labour Party won the election, and General Barry Hertzog became prime minister. In 1936, the notorious Hertzog Legislation officially legislated African group areas into 'bantustans'. This legislation also removed all African voters from the common voters roll. Eventually, the Nationalist Party took over the South African government in 1948 and began implementing more stringent measures to effect racial segregation in every political, social and economic sector. Growing tensions were sparking in both the urban and rural areas in South Africa. With the establishment of the Natives Representative Council, the National Party began ruling indirectly through chiefs to establish separation and betterment planning in rural areas. The resistance against this amassed ultimately in the 1960s Mpondo revolts in the Eastern Cape. The next section discusses this in depth.

1960s Mpondo Revolts

As a result of the overcrowding of people and the overstocking of cattle in the Bantu reserves, which amassed little more than 13% of the land at the time, the apartheid state's 1950s Bantu Authorities regime implemented what they termed "Betterment planning", enforced through indirect rule (as a result of the Tribal Authorities Act) by chiefs upon their people (Ntsebeza, 2011, p. 22). The conditions for this scheme

[5] An important reference to the Jean and John Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution* (1991). The Comaroffs make reference to a phase in the rise of black consciousness in South Africa where African prophets existed "somewhere in the space between prophetism and orthodox black non-conformism" (II, 1991, p. 100). Author: Paul S. Landau, in his review of the Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution* (1991) questions the nature of this space (2000, p. 501). He writes that rather than giving it a chronological nature, as the Comaroffs do, we should think of this space as one not fixed to a certain space and time (2000, p. 510). In speaking of this space between prophetism and orthodox black non-conformism, we too can begin to think of this space as an elsewhere, where prophets and their followers (such as Mgijima and the Israelites) maroon into and foster a sense of black consciousness.

included cattle culling and dipping, the most controversial of these provisions. From this point, the Mpondomise both actively and passively partook in what was more than a decade long revolt against the Bantu Authorities regime and as a result of this, began to undermine the power and authority of the apartheid state itself. In Mt Ayliff in the Eastern Cape, for example, resistance to the Bantu regime by the amaXesibe was widespread, with these people threatening to "take up arms in defence of their stock" (Ntsebeza, 2011, p. 27).

A dominant reason for these revolts was the disloyalty the majority of chiefs in the Eastern Cape had towards their people, displayed through their enforcing of the betterment scheme's policies and the clear disregard for the chaos this caused in the lives of their people (Ntsebeza, 2011, p. 27). Significant to the revolts against the betterment scheme, the amaXesibe and other groups of people in the Eastern Cape began to hold frequent meetings "in the hills under their newly formed organisation, the Kongo", where they discussed their grievances with the chief and also planned the different ways in which they could revolt against him (Ntsebeza, 2011, p. 27). With stock culling at its height in Mpondoland during the mid-1950s, "the Kongo movement had made it known that any persons found driving stocks to the sales yard would be attacked" (Crais, 2002, p. 180).

Toward the end of 1959, violence broke out in the District of Bizana, Eastern Pondoland. This violence was as a result of the Mpondo peoples request that Saul Mabude, an Advocate of Bantu authorities and Chairman of the district authority come and explain the necessity of the Bantu Authorities policies and laws. Fearing for his life, however, Mabude did not attend the meeting. This resulted in his house being set alight by angry Mpondo crowds (Crais, 2002:205). Although the Kongo committee sent out numerous invitations for government officials and magistrates to meet on the mountain, the people's grievances were ignored. At this point, the Kongo had made the decision to take action against their corrupt chiefs. Despite the police responding with violence, the Mpondo people continued to mobilise across all districts. This was done to make it clear to paramount chief Botha Sigcau that they would make it increasingly difficult for the state to implement their betterment policies. In many ways, the Kongo committee became the main political antagonist against the state.

By the 1960s, Mpondoland had burst into its most heightened rebellion against the apartheid state. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission hosted a special hearing of the devastation that resulted during and after the Mpondo revolts. Mr Clement Khlehlana Gxabu, a resident of the Taweni village in Holy Cross, Eastern Cape, gives a testimony of the events that occurred leading up to and on the day of the massacre (TRC 1997 p. 4). He explains that in the months leading up to the Nguza hill massacre, the Kongo committee had elected six men to go to Bizana and alert the Mpondo royalty of their grievances (TRC 1997 p. 4). Around the 6th of June 1960, people had come from far away villages to meet on the Nguza mountain top to discuss the way forward regarding their disloyal chiefs. Mr Gxabu explains that this was one of the first encounters with the apartheid police. He explains that around 9am a helicopter began circling the mountain. That was when they

realized “we had to protect ourselves in a traditional way, we went to a witch doctor so that the bombs would not get us because we were not armed” (TRC 1997 p. 4). At the end of that day, 23 people were arrested and then sentenced to prison. A further 11 people were killed.

On 19 November 1960, in Ngqindile near Flagstaff, the Kongo called a mass meeting where the half-brother of Paramount Chief, Vukayibambe Sigcau, tipped the police off about the meeting. For many months before, Chief Vukayibambe Sigcau was under speculation by his people regarding his political alignment with the apartheid state, and his actions on this day had confirmed this (Crais, 2002:178). That night, the Kongo decided to take due action against him. During the meeting, a man named Mkatazo exclaimed that they had decided that chief Sigcau should “have his throat cut and thrown off a cliff, as chiefs had done to witches and enemies before the white man had arrived in their land” (Crais, 2002, p. 178). In the middle of that night, a group of men, led by Kongo member Dod Mzozoyana, murdered the chief by slitting his throat and setting fire to his hut with him placed back inside (Crais, 2002, p. 179). His body was found the next day, charred, with a few body parts missing.

This event sparked the killing of many other corrupt chiefs and their Indunas (headmen). These clashes led the government to send the police and military into Flagstaff to monitor further meetings on the mountain. Later, a state of emergency was declared (Crais, 2002, p. 196). Much like Nongqawuse and her followers, and Mgijima and the Israelites, the Kongo committee too marooned into the hills to reconstitute their understandings of the events taking place at the time. In these mountains, the idea of the state and statecraft as evil was at the centre of the actions of those belonging to the Kongo committee. The calling of an inyanga to protect them from falling bombs as well as the ritual killings of chiefs who they considered evil all serve as evidence of this. The imagined world into which the Kongo committee marooned into brought back to the present the idea that anything or anybody that had the ability to turn the world upside down was evil, and that this evil, when combatted, would be defeated and the world would restore itself to its natural state, just as it was in the past.

Shortly after the massacre, a Commission of Inquiry was held. During this commission, the Mpondo people expressed their anger at the Bantu Authorities policies and laws, and demanded that they be removed, along with the removal of Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau. Their demands and grievances, however, were once again ignored. Many revolts similar to those occurring in Mpondoland were erupting all over South Africa during this time, all contributing to the resistance that eventually brought about the end of the legalisation of apartheid. Despite this, the discourse of colonial development[6] continued well into post-apartheid. A similar struggle to preserve the integrity of land is currently occurring in The Xolobeni village, wedged between the Mthatha and Mtamvuna rivers in the Eastern Cape. The following section speaks to this, drawing continuities in the discourse of struggle between the Mpondo revolts and the Xolobeni crisis.

[6] By discourse of colonial development, I mean development that occurs without the consent of the community from which land is being taken and/or taking sufficient congnizance of the citizens ways of life.

1998 Xolobeni Protests

The Xolobeni village, wedged between the Mthatha and Mtamvuna rivers in the Eastern Cape, is the largest in the AmaDiba area. Under the political stewardship of local and traditional governance, the Xolobeni area is also home to a biodiverse hotspot in South Africa. Despite being the second most rich botanical reserve in the country, this area faces significant speculation due to its extensive underground titanium deposits. In the late 90s, the Australian mining company Mineral Resource Commodities (MRC) identified the coast of Xolobeni as one of the world's most extensive reserves of titanium. This discovery led the MRC, through their South African subsidiary Transworld Energy and Minerals (TEM), to apply for mining rights with the South African government (Pearce 2017). The Xolobeni community has since been actively opposing this request – laying the foundation of what has since become more than a two-decade-long conflict between the AmaDiba crisis committee (ACC), the South African Government, and the MRC. The ACC has since become the leading organization spearheading the struggle to protect Xolobeni.

Nonhle Mbuthuma was one of the hundreds of people who, in July 2008, protested against the approved proposal (de Wet, 2013, p. 2). In an interview with historian and sociologist McKinley, one of the residents of Xolobeni explained that he "...was raised by my grandfather [and] he told me that during the Pondo revolt the reason for them [to] sacrifice their lives to fight and people being killed [was] because land is so important. Once you have given up the land, you [have] lost your identity, you [have] lost who you are, you have nothing … you are like a dead person. If you want to be a good person, just protect the land" (X1 interview by McKinley 2020). This shows just how recent the devastation of the Mpondo revolts are in the minds of those who reside in Xolobeni.

The Xolobeni residents have vehemently stated that this project not only destroys the land that sustains them but severs their spiritual ties to it as well (De Wet 2013). The MRC has earmarked the Mnyameni Estuary as a geographical center point of the Xolobeni Mineral Sands mining project. However, by placing both the Mnyameni Estuary and its neighbouring Kwanyana estuary into a larger frame, it is clear just how close Induna Balasheleni Mtanjelwa Mpotomela Mthwa's grave is to the land Mineral Commodities ltd will unearth for titanium deposits (Clarke 2015). The death of Mthwa, one of the community's most valued leaders, came due to protest-related stress from the blockade they had placed to stop Mineral Commodities' environmental consultant from entering Xolobeni (Clarke 2015). Burying his body in Xolobeni's titanium-rich sediments and alongside his ancestors, the community members had vowed to respect his last request: "to never allow his own or his ancestors' graves to be disturbed by mining" (Clarke 2015).

Xolobeni residents have explained that ecological entities such as rivers, mountains, groves, and forests are of particular importance "because these are abodes of spirits that were once human" (Mcetywa 2001, p. 61). As such, while carrying high earning potential for both mining and eco-tourism industries, the Xolobeni communal lands are also deeply rooted in an ontology and epistemology that by far outweighs its

profitability. Tat' uSamson Gampe, a late resident and activist of the ACC, exclaimed that "it will cripple [me] if [my] ancestors were exhumed…we won't be able to perform our rituals. If our ancestors' bones are dug up, we are still oppressed" (The Shore Break 2014 1:24:40). Far from the simple act of mining pockets of titanium - to unearth the ground in which these ancestors are buried severs the communicative nexus between the AmaDiba and their ancestors. It is clear from this perspective that the AmaDiba people envision themselves not only as attached to the Xolobeni communal lands (the upper realm) but also to their heritage buried deep beneath it (the invisible realm). The AmaDiba people have constructed their understanding of nature as a connection to their ancestors' spiritual world. It is their responsibility to protect the integrity of the grounds on which their ancestors are buried. This worldview has allowed the AmaDiba to retheorize the Xolobeni ecosystem as a part of humanity.

For ACC member Xalega Nobuhle, the divide between those who are pro-development and those against it becomes clear. He states that: “Even though you can give me [a] car to change my mind or to change to be a pro-mine, no I’m a crisis” [ACC member] for life’ (X4 interview by McKinley 2020). For another member, Fundile Madikizela, the connection is very real: “There is a slogan … that you can kill a crisis member but still another one is being born today, maybe stronger than this one. So it doesn’t matter, this is going to continue” (X7 interview by McKinley 2020). Today, this struggle continues as the Minister of Mineral Resources Gwede Mantashe pushes on to secure the mining rights in Xolobeni. Tragedy struck the village on the 22nd of March, 2016 when Sikhosiphi “Bazooka” Rhadebe, the head of the Amadiba Crisis Committee, was murdered at a workshop he owned by persons who remain unknown. Mbuthuma, in the aftermath of the event, spoke of the shock that the Xolobeni community experienced when an official from the MRC presented their illegally granted license: “You can imagine … you just heard from the media that the minister is coming to grant, but as a community … you are not even aware that there is an application….When we entered we saw there was police like I never seen in my life, it was like Marikana. And there [were] helicopters … security was so tight” (Reid & McKinley, 2020, p. 67). During Rhadebe’s funeral, members of the ACC - wearing black T-shirts bearing the words “Marikana: we will never forget” a reference to the 34 mine workers killed in North West in August 2012 — burst into revolutionary songs during Radebe’s funeral in Mdatya village in Bizana (Reid & McKinley, 2020, p. 67).

Drawing eerily similar to the events that occurred in Nguza hill some 40 years before, protest and resistance in the name of development was nothing new for the residents of Xolobeni. However, taking a deeper dive into these events, the fierce protection of the Xolobeni lands, in which their ancestors were buried and which they considered a nexus between themselves and the ancestors, points to the protection of an imagined world – and more so, a protection of an epistemological understanding of land as sacred. If we are to consider this imagined world as the *elsewhere*, we see in this case, unlike the others, that those residents of Xolobeni were already existing in this renewed world. The several references to the Nguza Hill massacre, as well as Marikana, later, could also be connected to the idea that this imagined world that their people fought to exist in was something they needed to protect. In this place, much like the mountains Nongqawuse and her

followers, Mgijima and the Israelites and the Kongo committee fled to, communities could exist outside of the realm of the sovereign, creating new communities based on epistemologies fundamentally different from the capitalist logic that underlie the oppressive system under which they were forced to operate. It is through this community's references to Marikana that I connected their epistemological understanding of the world to those who were involved in Marikana itself.

Conclusion

In the cases of every resistance my work has mentioned till this point, the similar pattern seems to occur: a marronage into a real and/or imagined renewed world, or the fierce protection thereof as seen in the case of the Xolobeni residents. It is in these real and/or imagined *elsewheres* as I have come to call them, that these insurrectionary communities could reconstitute their epistemological understandings of the world. For Nongqawuse and her followers, this *elsewhere* was a renewed world in which they would be reunited with their ancestors, a world free from colonial oppression and vicious witchcraft, where witches and white Europeans will be driven out to sea. In their case, as is in the case of Mgijima and his followers as well, their imminent death marked their marronage into this renewed world. For Mgijima and the Israelites, however, it was the hills of Ntabelanga that became the place where they marooned to. In these hills, Mgijima and the Israelites brought from the past into the present Biblical stories of deliverance from oppression. For both Mgijima and Nongqawuse, their visions of impending catastrophe created a counter-discourse that allowed the possibility of transition into this renewed world to be imagined and later revived. During the Mpondo revolt, the Kongo Committee retreated to the mountains-an *elsewhere* to which people living under the oppressive apartheid regime could escape to reformulate and reshape the world according to their own epistemological imaginations. For the ACC, Xolobeni became the *elsewhere* vehemently defended by those who fought against the Australian mining company Mineral Resource Commodities. It was in these real and/or imagined *elsewheres* that these communities could preserve an epistemological understanding of the world, and of a way of being that fundamentally different from the capitalist logic that underlie the oppressive system under which they were forced to operate.

In conclusion, and as I will argue in the next chapter, by revealing one's history, by 'making it visible' – this being through shared oral history, the archive or even court testimonies, we are invited to become part of the community that transcends the linear logic of time and the capitalist logic of community.[7]. In my next chapter I argue through the use of Mr. X's testimonies, that we too can see the actions of the striking miners at Marikana as part of a larger struggle to preserve a nonmodern understanding of the world, and of a way of being. I argue that their decisions to take to the mountains to ritually prepare themselves for battle should be seen as an act of marronage into an *elsewhere* where they could revive and reconstitute their understandings

[7] By 'capitalist logic of community, I mean the logic of extractive profit that depletes everyday life of a community.

of the world. It is through this, and through the Marikana miners understanding of the state and statecraft as evil that we can connect them to Nongqawuse and her followers, Mgijima and the Israelites, the Kongo committee and the ACC of Xolobeni's nonmodern understanding of seeing and being in a world. My next chapter reveals the myriad of ways in which the events that occurred at Marikana are indicative not of one singular moment in South Africa's strike history but rather, of a continuation of past moments of marronage into a world, an *elsewhere* in which those who resist struggle to preserve a way of being. To see beyond the linearity of history is to see Marikana as one of many continuous attempts to rupture or break present conditions of oppressive hierarchies in lieu of "a renewed world". In the next chapter, I dive into the events that occurred at Marikana by reading the Mr. X's testimonies against the grain in an effort to trace ontological continuities between this event and its pre-history.

Chapter 5 – Marikana

The aim of this chapter is to reveal the myriad ways in which the events at Marikana point not to a single moment, but rather to a continuation of past moments of struggle to preserve a way of life. In the previous chapter, I laid the groundwork for a historical reconstruction of a radical tradition. This groundwork thus allows us to see the Xhosa cattle-killing movement of the 1850s, the Bulhoek massacre of 1921, the Mpondo revolts of the 1960s, and the Xolobeni protests of 2001 as many continuous attempts to break through or break the current conditions of oppressive hierarchies in favour of a 'renewed world'. In each resistance, these insurrectionaries marooned into a metaphysical *elsewhere* which gave them a way out of the ruined circumstance in which they found themselves – in both past and the present circumstances.

For Nongqawuse and her followers, their status was rather characterised by an inability to fully disengage from the oppressive conditions under which they lived. The actions taken by Nongqawuse and her followers rather served as a 'nexus' between their oppressive reality and their freedom in this imagined world. This world could be free from colonial oppression and malicious witchcraft. The people could reunite with their ancestors who would bring new cattle and grain with them and drive all non-believers, witches, and white Europeans out to sea. For Mgjima and the Israelites, marronage became physical - Ntabelanga became the place to where people from all over marooned to. Mgijima, much like Nongqawuse, became a prophet who linked the spiritual and physical realms of existence to act as a mediator between the past, present and future. Mgijima's interpretations of biblical stories and prophecies brought past visions of a new world into the present. For both Mgijima and Nongqawuse, their visions of an upcoming disaster created a counter-discourse that allowed for the imagining and later, resurrection of the possibility of passage into this renewed world. During the Mpondo revolts, the Kongo committee marooned into the mountains – an *elsewhere* in which those living under the oppressive apartheid betterment planning regime could escape into to reformulate and reconstitute the world according to their own epistemological understandings thereof. For the ACC, Xolobeni became the *elsewhere* that those fighting against the Australian mining company Mineral Resource Commodities were fiercely protecting. A pattern emerges here, where each of these communities

marooned into an *elsewhere* outside of the realm of the sovereign, creating new communities based on epistemologies fundamentally different from the capitalist logic that underlie the oppressive system under which they were forced to operate. ~~(history)~~

In line with this, and drawing on Robinson, Glissant, Roberts and Hall's findings, I show too that Marikana can be seen as part of these many continuous attempts to break through or break the current conditions of oppressive hierarchies in favour of a renewed world. What drew my attention to the possibility of viewing the Marikana event as an act of marronage was the puzzling testimonies given by Mr. X during the Marikana Commission of Inquiry. Mr X was one of the striking miners who gave evidence under witness protection for his own safety. Upon immersing myself initially in Mr. X's testimonies – I was reminded of Bras Coupé - one of the most influential but least studied of American folk figures. Around 1834, a one-armed slave named Squire fled to the remote swamps of New Orleans and attracted the attention of the city by repeatedly evading recapture. Rumour had it that he led a large band of fugitive slaves and had murdered countless white people. Locals nicknamed him Bras Coupé, which was French for *severed arm.* After Squire's murder in 1837, slaves and slaveholders spread many accounts of this disfigured, murderous, and magical man who haunted the Bayou swamp. After Squire's death, the slaves of New Orleans incorporated Bras Coupé into an oral tradition and religious system that drew on local and Haitian materials (Bardes 2020, pp2-3).

Bras Coupé shows how the depiction of marronage - the act of a fugitive slave often hiding in swamps, mountains, or other marginal lands - provided slaves with rare discursive space to address the taboo subject of black self-determination ((Bardes 2020, pp9). For the enslaved, the Marronage was one of the few powerful and immediately tangible representations of black freedom. For the enslaved storytellers, the attribution of magical powers to Bras Coupé had especially great political significance. John K. Bardes, in his noteworthy writings on Bras Coupé noted that slaves would tell stories of the Maroon rubbing himself with "certain herbs" and thus became invincible to bullets (2020, pp9). Bardes notes that such transformations of dismemberment into self-amputation, of madness into religious power, of magic into self-defence, reveal clear patterns. In coded form, slaves presented the history of Bras Coupe as the history of all marooned slaves (Bardes 2020, pp11). By incorporating Bras Coupé into Louisiana voodoo, enslaved storytellers tied the Maroon into a religious system that had a long history of providing the enslaved with vital psychological release, a collective consciousness, and the opportunity for autonomous cultural activity. In particular, the making of potions that rendered invulnerable to bullets is a recurring theme in several slaves' oral histories of the revolutionary Haitian and Caribbean maroons. Among those familiar with the oral traditions of Saint-Domingue slaves and their descendants, Bras Coupé's potion-generated invulnerability which would have referred to the ontological preservation of enslaved people, specifically to the particular strategies employed by historical maroons in moments of warfare or conflict.

Much like Bras Coupes, the figure of Mr. X puzzles the neat distinctions between past, present and future. This is because Mr. X's testimonies bring to light the idea that the miners' political praxis point to a different

ontological understanding of their suffering under the capitalist state. Mr. X's testimonies, much like the tales of Bras Coupes, points as well to an ontological preservation of particular strategies employed by historical maroons in moments of warfare or conflict. It is for this reason that I take Mr. X's testimonies seriously when attempting to understand the Marikana event. In this chapter, I dive into the events that occurred at Marikana by reading the Mr. X's testimonies against the grain. To do this, I analyse Mr X's testimonies through the theoretical lens of sociogenic marronage, in which I identified subsets of languages through phrases and words (which I call repertoires of resistance) that share ontological continuities (and discontinuities) with Marikana's pre-history. This shared rhythm of resistance between Marikana and its pre-history - a shared marronage into an *elsewhere* – offers a genealogy of resistance that sees Marikana outside the confines of its industrial history, and instead, as one of many continuous attempts to rupture or break present conditions of oppressive hierarchies in lieu of a renewed world. This genealogy of resistance allows us to imagine the actions of the Marikana strikers beyond the cage of Eurocentric radicalism – and instead into an ontological space unbounded by the conceptions of modernity and history that can give breath to a longer, more insightful lineage of black radicalism.

Mr. X's testimonies puzzled the majority of the public when it came to understanding what occurred at Marikana on the 16th August. The 19th June 2014 was the first day Mr. X appeared in court. On this day, he said he was present at the August 9, 2012 meeting in Wonderkop. At this meeting, those protesting decided on a wage increase to R12 500. At that time, Mr X was earning a mere R6 500.00 which he said was not enough given that the RDOs' work is difficult. At the meeting on the 9th it was decided that all the rock drillers would assemble at Wonderkop the next day and on 10th they would not go to work but march to the time office to demand the R12 500.00. The decision to meet at Wonderkop and take matters into their own hands was unanimous among the miners, due to their concerns remaining unheard on the 10th by the unions they belonged to. The next day, after having their demands rejected by management once again, Mr. X explains that the strikers decided to meet at a secluded place on Wonderkop mountain to meet up with the inyanga on the 11th of August (Marikana Commission of Inquiry, 2015, p. 610). The miners employed the use of an inyanga (sangoma or witch doctor), who helped workers at the Impala Platinum Mine win their battle for higher wages, to prepare muti for them that would render them invincible to bullets, making them "brave like warriors" (Justice 2016, p. 608). The mountain top, located near to the Nkaneng settlement in Marikana, was a secluded area some kilometres away from the Impala Mine Shaft. In the middle of the mountain flowed a valley of water, in which the men would cleanse themselves before meeting to discuss the way forward (Justice, June 2014, p. 30941). Mr X explains that "…we came to be known as Makarapas for the respect of the muti that we used on the mountain, we came to call it Makarapa" (June 2014, p. 30956). At the river, the Inyanga poured the water from the stream over them to wash them, and he asked them to consume a Muti mixture. Upon their return to the area where they performed their rituals, they found that this mixture had been prepared using the burnt sheep carcus along with the excess water, blood and fat accrued from this burning process. The Inyanga then gave each of them their own razor blade, which he used to cut them on various parts of their bodies. He then poured the burnt sheep mixture into these cuts.

Mr X explains that they were told that the mysteries shared on the mountain should not be shared with those who were not on the mountain. Mr X also explains that they were to abstain from sexual intimacy with a woman for seven days, and that they could not point at a person but, rather, could use a clenched fist to do so instead. They could not hold up any sticks, or consume pork, sheep, or fish. They had to avoid waring jewellery that had any gold they could not carry money made of silver (Justice, 2016, p. 619). Mr X reiterates that the people who took part in the rituals on the mountain top were strong people, who were trusted to keep the secrets told on the mountain top hidden. More importantly, the Inyanga had warned them not to fire or shoot before the police did – this would ensure that they would remain invincible to any bullets (Justice, 2016, p. 619). Then, Mr X was shown a video taken on the 13th of August when General Mpembe was talking to the strikers, who were seated squatting at the time, clicking their knobkerries, as per the Inyanga's instructions. Upon being asked why they were squatting and clicking their knobkerries, Mr X explains that this was in an effort to hasten the effect of the muti so that the police would rush to shoot them.

The prominent similarities between Crais' account of the Kongo committee's killing of a lion during the Mpondo Revolts and the events detailed by Mr X are difficult to ignore. Mambushe was treated as the "slayer of the lion" (Justice, June 2014 p. 30961), as Mr. X describes, due to his involvement in the killing of the two security guards – evident in the inyanga instructing Mambushe to bathe and remain on the mountain for four days to cleanse himself of impurities. Drawing strong parallels between Bras Coupé's story that of Mr. X's, I believe that Mr. X brings to life a similar figure in Marikana's pre-history – the figure of the prophet or leader. In the same way, these figures are brought to life again through Mr. X's testimony when he speaks of Mambushe as the layer of the lion (Justice, June 2014 p. 30961). Throughout Marikana's pre-history, we see prophetic leaders speak of the coming of a new world. Within the 1850s Xhosa cattle-killing movement, the 1921 Bulhoek massacre, the 1960s Mpondo revolts and the 2001 to present-day Xolobeni protests, we see these figures exemplify themselves. For the cattle killings, it was Nonquawuse. Enoch Mgijima in Bulhoek, and the Mountain Committees in the Mpondo Revolts, The ACC in Xolobeni – all these figures come to represent the different prophets who strengthened the struggle for a renewed world.

What is more, the strikers referred to the deleting of footage vital to deciding whether the police shootings were a murder or not as "the white man's muti" – referring to the delete button itself as a tool of witchcraft (the editor, 2014). Drawing comparisons to the use of muti to make the Marikana warriors invisible, these strikers explain that the delete button is the white man's muti, which he used to make invisible from the commission the information "including reports of Lonmin security staff firing on and injuring employees" (the editor, 2014). Similar narratives were evoked when mining equipment was brought to the shores of Xolobeni. Residents claimed that the equipment was a form of dark magic that was there to exhume and separate them from their ancestors (Carte Blanche Documentary, 2000). This understanding of the state and Lonmin as evil resulted in the manifestation of a new form of resistance for these striking miners. These insurrectionaries drew on a knowledge system that saw statecraft as evil - as evidenced by the way in which

they revived and drew on a historical understanding of what is considered evil, as agents (in this case, Lonmin and NUM officials) employing witchcraft to cause tragedy and chaos in their lives.

Consolidating these above events, when we look at the miners' decision to flee from the mines to Wonderkop, the mountain top, this draws strong parallels with the notion of marronage, in particular, flight away from places where enslavement is the norm. Such flight from the enslaving norms of the state can be seen in Mr X's evidence. This holds strong thematic continuities with the1850s Xhosa cattle-killing movement, the 1921 Bulhoek massacre, the 1960s Mpondo revolts and the 2001 to present-day Xolobeni protests. In each of these instances, each insurrectionary community prepared themselves for battle in these holy spaces - the hills and mountain tops. These insurrectionary communities marooned to sacred or holy places - sites of resistance and sanctuaries away from the enslaving norms of the state. Crowds of Xhosa people heeded the Nonqawuse's call to gather on the hill near her where she witnessed her visions, to await the coming of their ancestors. Enoch Mgijima led thousands of Israelites to the mountain to await his predicted end of days vision. During the Mpondo revolts, the Kongo took to the mountains to reconcile their polity - to renew and remake it in resistance to the state's demands to give up their land and cattle. The Xolobeni residents and members of the ACC held their meetings on a sacred mountain top, where spiritual leaders could consult with the ancestors about a way forward regarding the state's pressure to allow titanium mining.

These sites of marronage are centres for the restructuring of knowledge and action - a place of ontological restoration. The Xhosa movement to kill cattle in the 1850s and the Bulhoek massacre of 1921 were guided by a prophetic vision for a better future, free from the state and its oppressive regimes. Their actions in these spaces were guided by a knowledge system on which their beliefs, myths and messianic visions were based. In these spaces, freedom meant the coming of the ancestors or God to free them from the oppressive state regimes that erased their ontological ways of life. The agenda of the Mpondo and Xolobeni revolts was led by the teaching voices of the ancestors from whom the mountaintop insurrectionaries received messages. In these spaces, ontological systems, theories of organisation and structures put in place to resolve conflicts were passed on from the ancestors to those insurrectionary agents.

Robinson also writes about such *elsewheres* where the insurgents prepared for battle through obeah, voodoo, Islam and black Christianity (Robinson 1983, p. 148). In doing so, they fuelled charismatic expectations, socialised and hardened themselves with beliefs, myths and messianic visions that would one day allow them to attempt the impossible. Similarly, the spaces and moments of collective imagination and action I have analysed were guided by a radical ontology outside a Eurocentric framework. Nongqawuse and her followers referred to the oppressive state regime as a form of evil, and this narrative continued all the way to Enoch and the Israelites, who understood those who worked for the state as those who worked against the will of God. By using magic to fight the state, the Congo Committee also points to an understanding of the state as evil that represents the same notion of the state as evil. The ACC fought fiercely to protect their sacred hills

from mining. The ACC themselves referred to their hilltops as sacred places, and if mining were to take place there, these places would lose their integrity. The miners of Marikana prepared for war on the hilltops and also referred to the violence of the state against them as evil. In each of these cases, the designation of the state as evil and the mountaintops as a sacred space where they could restore their own political understanding of the world indicates a collective attempt to create a space where these insurgent communities could preserve their ontological understanding of the world. This radical ontology involved a return not to an origin, but rather to a point from which the insurgents structured the knowledge system on which their beliefs, myths and messianic visions were based, their past, present and future conditions. It became a space of order, as Robinson writes - a reconstruction of a history that bent time to create premonitions of the future. In this space, insurgents become potential revolutionaries through their own reasoning, supported by myths and an embodied understanding of what freedom means.

In conclusion, and in line with Robert's arguments, it is important to understand "how revolutions are themselves moments of flight that usher in new orders and reshape the foundations of society." (2015, p. 21). Mr X's testimony offers a detailed record of intergenerational acts of marronage. These acts of marronage invite us to look at marronage itself not as an experience reserved for a particular time in history but rather, as a space where we can imagine a dialogue between the past and present, as well as between memory and imagination. Mr X's movement away from the mine shafts and towards the mountains compel us to see the multitude of ways in which capitalism and its systems can reproduce the plantation order – one that compels continued attempts at escape. The mountaintop in Marikana is a complex site where past and present meet. It offers us coordinates between the known and unknown, where memory and resistance can meet. This complex representation makes the mountaintop in Marikana a useful symbol to talk about the history of similar insurgencies and counter-movements that are also explored in this work, such as the cattle killings, the Bulhoek massacre, the Mpondo and Xolobeni revolts, and Marikana itself. The movement towards the mountain then becomes a sociogenic refusal facilitated by the ontological practises of place-making, making the mountain instead a site of negotiation. This conceptualisation of the marronage that took place in Marikana as a movement into a elsewhere, unbounded by modernity and history creates the space to create alternative geographies. If we consider the plantation as a 'proto-state', then we can also begin to consider the mineshaft as this 'proto-state' and the escape from the shaft to the top of the mountain as the miners' refusal to participate in a form of slavery and also a rejection of the attachments to suffering that come with it. The mountain demonstrates a process of refusal and a space to *become* according to their own ontological beliefs, as it was outside the control of the state.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, my aim was to show that marronage can be looked at as a process of both engaging as well as disengaging with damaging hegemonic epistemologies. My examination of how insurgent communities, dating back to the 1800s, have built up resistance rooted in their own epistemological understandings of the world to Marikana in turn supported the idea of marronage as a process of both

engaging as well as disengaging with damaging hegemonic epistemologies. The flight to the mountaintops, the formation of committees and the use of muti are typical examples of how the epistemology of these insurgent communities extends the idea of marronage in all its forms as a process of epistemological self-determination. My argument is then that marronage should be seen as a process of epistemological self-determination and epistemological (dis)engagement – and my application of this argument to the case of Marikana was in effect to show (albeit only a small contribution to the idea) that marronage should be seen as more than a historical event, trapped in linear time.

Robinson's research on the black radical tradition gives us a collaborative, collective and interdisciplinary model for reviving an archive of radical traditions. With this in mind, the black radical tradition then becomes a branch of the history of radical knowledge that is important, and shaped by black radical resistance to slavery and colonialism. Robinson himself traces the existence of numerous revolts and resistance that occurred historically in South Africa, including but not limited to the 1850s Xhosa Cattle Killings itself (Robinson, 2000, p. 165). His work highlights those people in history whose political demands at each point in time took their place in the "coherence ... based on the African identities of people ... [who] had had an integrating experience that left them not only with a common purpose but also with a common vision" (Robinson, 2000, p. 166). Robinson makes mention of figures like Nongqawuse, who have been trapped in and historicised as a symbol of illogic. Figures like Nongqawuse, for Robinson, represent the voice of liberation as well as a prophetic medium for black radicalism. Robinson's work on the black radical tradition is relevant to an analysis of the Marikana event and its significance for politics in South Africa. Robinson's focus on the history of black radicalism, the origins of the black radical tradition, enslavement and marronage itself, along with the idea that racial regimes are based on distorted truths, all offer ways for us to use alternative histories, such as memories, to begin a historical reconstruction of black radicalism in South Africa. This reconstruction then will take seriously the veil under which the politics of capitalism operates. Marronage itself as trapped in the constructs of linear time has had devastating implications for the idea that being a slave is tied down to time and/or space, as well as features such as being black, or being African. In South Africa in particular, marronage is important to our theories of post-colonial politics simply because it represents an escape from an oppressive historiography. This requires a radical historiography that does not distort but amplifies the messages of resistance of oppressed people and does not press them into a Eurocentric framework.

My findings therefore prompt us to rethink the political potential of physically leaving an established political system, whether through imaginary or physical forms of marronage, with the aim of building communities of a different kind elsewhere. My arguments show that today's power dynamics have a longer history that must be known if they are not to be accepted as natural or inevitable. It is worth noting Gabeba Baderoon's 2014 work titled *Regarding Muslims : From Slavery to Post-Apartheid* as a body of work that demonstrates marronage as freedom from slavery regardless of linear time and fixed geographical space. In her work, Baderoon's compares Muslim slaves who marooned from the plantations and made deliberate

attempts to demand respect from slave owners and the 1996 Pagad Group's attempt to do the same (2014, p. 6). There are hence striking parallels with the continuities that I draw between Marikana and insurrections of the past. Baderoon highlights the continuities between the treatment of Muslim Malay slaves and the Cape Malay Coloured community today urges us to rethink our narrative of slavery as a discourse of the past. In future research and analysis I hope to engage with her writings more closely.

If we agree with Cedric Robinson about the fundamental instability of racial regimes and think of decolonisation as a process rather than an event, then Marikana and its antecedents can be seen as part of an attack on the continuation of settler rule in South Africa, especially through the lens of sociogenic marronage. The very existence of a genealogy of marronage that links the Xhosa cattle-killing movement of the 1850s, the Bulhoek massacre of 1921, the Mpondo riots of the 1960s, the Xolobeni protests of 2001 and the Marikana event of 2012 - that is, all the events that generally take a non-linear course between 'present and past' - can itself be described as a form of marronage that transcends the modernist linear nature of time in this context. This genealogy, then, is the refusal to accept the permanence of suffering and oppression under capitalism. To put it more bluntly, one cannot develop a political strategy to change the oppressive nature of the state without knowing the genealogy of the forces that have resisted the state for centuries.

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