Routledge Handbook of Pan-Africanism

Reiland Rabaka

Black Consciousness

Publication details
Ian Macqueen
Published online on: 14 May 2020

How to cite:- Ian Macqueen. 14 May 2020, Black Consciousness from: Routledge Handbook of Pan-Africanism Routledge
Accessed on: 17 Oct 2023

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.
Black Consciousness

Ian Macqueen

Introduction
This chapter provides an overview of the development of Black Consciousness in South Africa, its links to Pan Africanism and its legacy in the country. I have opted for a long chronological approach and a discussion of Black Consciousness before and after the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) (1968–1977), to emphasise the time-depth and longevity of its ideas. While showing links to international Pan Africanism, and more specifically Black Theology and Black Power in the late 1960s, the chapter also stresses the significance of anticolonial struggles in the region for informing Black historical consciousness, as well as the independence of African countries that had been gathering pace from 1960, the so-called ‘year of Africa’. It was against this backdrop that perhaps the most infamous regime of white supremacy of the latter half of the twentieth century, the apartheid state, stood.

Early struggles
The principles of self-worth and pride in blackness that the Black Consciousness activists would articulate from 1970 onwards echoed earlier traditions of thought and struggles in the country. These activists were rooted in a historical consciousness of struggle and indeed called on Black students to become informed of this history, as Biko wrote in the early 1970s, of the need for research into ‘our history if we as blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness’.

It was perhaps unsurprising that calls for Pan African solidarity were to take on such poignance in one of the most intensely colonised regions of Africa, its southern extreme. Initially circumnavigated by the Portuguese and settled by the Dutch as part of their international trading empire, the British annexed the region during the Napoleonic Wars. Long viewed as an ‘imperial backwater’ the significance of the Cape was transformed by the discoveries of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886). What had been established as a slaving society under the Dutch in 1652 was to give way to a fully-fledged British colony.

The imperatives of profit, given full expression in the mining town of Kimberley and the city of Johannesburg, reinforced settler racism with an economic rationale for the hyper-exploitation of Africans. The need for labour, long a concern of white farmers and owners...
of capital, led to legislation designed to force Africans into a wage economy through taxation. The hostility to the idea of permanent African urbanisation, amongst other factors, was to result in a system of migrant labour, where African workers required for their labour, would forever be transient servants in the cities and towns, to be returned to their rural homesteads when either too old or sick to work.

None of this had been conceded without a struggle. The Dutch fought a long series of wars against the Khoi. The British were to face a far sterner challenge on their Eastern border, where they encountered a farming society armed with iron weapons, the amaXhosa. It would take the British a hundred years to overcome them (1779–1879), through a combination of military and settler force. It was a struggle that involved duplicity and heartbreak, and hopes for deliverance would lead to the Xhosa following the prophetess Nongqawuse between 1856–7, who advocated destroying crops and killing cattle in the expectation of divine deliverance, with catastrophic consequences. As the Boers and British pushed further East they encountered another stern opponent in the form of the newly emergent Zulu Kingdom. Forged under the military prowess of Shaka the Zulu dominated the Eastern coastal regions and pushed far inland. Built on a system of military regiments (impi) the Zulu were a disciplined military society. It was the Zulu that were to famously give the British one of their biggest imperial defeats at the battle of Isandlwana (1879). What followed was a series of battles and a colonial-sponsored civil war that was to lead to the destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, facilitating the path for its colonisation and opening access to the labour that the settlers of Natal had demanded.3

The British and Boers fought two wars over the spoils of southern Africa. The second war has become known now as the South African War (1899–1902), in recognition of its encompassing impact on the region and in anticipation of the state that would emerge in its aftermath. Eight years after the ceasefire the South African Act (1909) of the British parliament forged a state out of the four colonial provinces. Thus in 1910 the Union of South Africa came into being, a country that was to become a bye-word for racial oppression. Closely following the establishment of the Union, the African intelligentsia formed the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912. In 1913 the new Union made its intentions clear with the infamous Natives Land Act, which reserved only 7% of the land in the Union for Africans, laying in the process one of the pillars of segregation and apartheid.4 The SANNC secretary, Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje, would famously spell out the implications of the act in his book Native Life in South Africa (1916). The writer Bessie Head in her foreword to Plaatje’s book, penned in the early 1980s, reflected how the act ‘created overnight a floating landless proletariat whose labour could be used and manipulated at will, and ensured that ownership of the land had finally and securely passed into the hands of the ruling white race’.5

Much of the leadership of the SANNC (renamed the African National Congress in 1923) was drawn from a mission-educated elite. The civilising enterprise of the missionaries had paradoxically accompanied the naked exploitation of settler colonialism. The collective endeavours of the missionaries were to leave an important, if equivocal contribution, to African education. In this realm the University of Fort Hare was without equal in the country. Established in 1916 as an outgrowth of the work of the Church of Scotland, the institution prided itself in offering a Western-style education and was to attract the African elite from as far afield as present-day Uganda. It was this institution that was to provide Africans with an intellectual leadership that would be decisive in the decades to come.

The rallying call of Marcus Garvey, ‘Africa for Africans’, found fertile soil in the country in the 1920s. Robert Trent Vinson observes how ‘Outside of North America and the
Caribbean’ Garveyism had its ‘greatest impact in South Africa’ and ‘pervaded black South African politics generally’. On 30 July 1921 socialist delegates to a conference in Cape Town established the Communist Party of South Africa, a movement that was to offer an abiding challenge to the race-based appeal of the Africanists.

The Africanists, 1940–1960

The ANC suffered during the 1930s, the result of a ‘fragmented and divided’ organisation and its overall inability to ‘adjust to postwar social radicalism’. It took a new cadre of leaders, many drawn from Fort Hare, to reinvigorate the organisation in the 1940s. The adoption of ‘African’s Claims’ by the ANC at their 1943 annual conference marked an important point of departure. Penned as a response to the Atlantic Charter signed by Roosevelt and Churchill in 1941 from the viewpoint of Africans, the document was notable for its tone, addressed to the United Nations (UN):

This is our way of conveying to them [the UN] our undisputed claim to full citizenship. We desire them to realise once and for all that a just and permanent peace will be possible only if the claims of all classes, colours and races for sharing and for full participation in the educational, political and economic activities are granted and recognised.

The document had been prepared by a committee of 28 African leaders, which had been ‘deliberately set up … composed exclusively of Africans … so that they can declare without assistance or influence from others, their hopes and despairs’, a rationale which anticipated the logic of Black Consciousness activists almost thirty years later.

The ANC Youth League was launched the following year in April 1944 with Anton Lembede, a former teacher and self-educated clerk as president who had come from a poor Zulu rural background, together with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo. The Youth League manifesto espoused arguments that would become known as Africanism. The organisation was open purely for Africans and those who ‘live like and with Africans’. Its manifesto expressed strong criticism of the ANC’s elitism and observed that ‘no nation can free an oppressed group other than that group itself’. The appeal to the nation was further bolstered by a belief in the ‘divine destiny of nations’ and the writers expressed the need for Africa to ‘speak with one voice’. According to the historian Tom Lodge, Lembede believed a ‘racially assertive nationalism’ would enable ‘the latent energy of working-class Africans’ to be channelled to ‘overcome the psychological inhibitions produced by racial oppression’. The Youth League was crucial for reinvigorating the ANC and Africanism was the dominant outlook in the 1940s. It called for an uncompromising commitment as evident in their call to ‘go down to the masses. Brush aside liberals – white and black’. In 1948 the National Party came to power on the back of its electioneering slogan of ‘apartheid’ (separateness). The Nationalists passed a raft of new legislation that impacted on every facet of South African society, with the overall goal of radically extending segregation. Throughout the 1950s the ANC managed to hold both the Communists and Africanists together, while embarking on a course of ‘direct action’, a term whose full import could only be appreciated bearing in mind the ANC’s forty-year history of petitions, patience and attempts at moral suasion. Building on the precedent of the Youth League’s Programme of Action, the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign in 1952, with the intention of deliberately breaking apartheid laws and inviting arrest. For the Africanists, a key tactical misstep occurred in 1953, however, when the ANC joined the Congress Alliance, a broad coalition
that included the white Congress of Democrats, the Natal Indian Congress and other organisations. In 1955 the Congress of the People compiled the Freedom Charter, which opened with the line ‘South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white’. In 1957 the ANC incorporated the Freedom Charter into its constitution.

The Africanists within the ANC considered the Charter’s adoption a fundamental betrayal of the inalienable and prior African claim to the land and broke to form the Pan African Congress in 1959 under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe, Peter Raboroko and Potlako Leballo. Raboroko, author of the PAC Manifesto, would later write that the fundamental mistake of the ANC was to assume that ‘master and slave – the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed, the degrader and the degraded – are all equals’. Raboroko referred to this conflation of historical experience, as ‘The problem of the synthesis of opposites’ and argued that it could not be ‘resolved by the wave of the magic wand’, which informed the Freedom Charter. Raboroko made it a precondition that ‘only after all these sets of antithetical categories have been duly reconciled that we can reach those final categories – equals, countrymen and brothers – which betray no instability. Such ultimate reconciliation is possible only in Africanism…’.15 As we will see, the Africanist objection to what appeared as superficial integration would be echoed by Biko and Black Consciousness activists more than ten years later.

It was the Pan African Congress that organised the fateful anti-pass march on the police station in Sharpeville on 21 March 1960. The massacre that ensued was a turning point. As the journalist Benjamin Pogrund wrote later, ‘The 705 bullets fired by the police that day changed South Africa, and nothing was ever to be the same again’.16 The immediate result was the National Party banned all African political parties and the ANC and PAC began an armed struggle against the apartheid state. However, the memory of the 1950s was never fully extinguished, although Mandela, Sisulu, Sobukwe and a generation of African leaders were hidden away by the apartheid regime from national and international attention on Robben Island.

The PAC armed wing, Poqo, initiated a short-lived armed uprising, located primarily in the Transkei and Western Cape. The violent campaign was quickly crushed by the state. It would personally touch a young Stephen Bantu Biko, however, when he and his older brother Khaya were arrested in 1963 on suspicion of membership of the organisation and Stephen Biko, along with forty other students was expelled from the mission school, Lovedale. This event, which Biko saw as the heavy-handed and unfair use of white authority, was to be a formative experience in his young life and the genesis of his politicisation. After missing a year of school, Biko moved to Natal to attend the Catholic mission school, Mariannhill College, from where he would enter the University of Natal, Non-European section, to study medicine in 1966.

The open years, 1968–1972

The BCM benefited initially from a nexus of organisations that owed their existence primarily to the church. The University Christian Movement (UCM) was an example, launched in 1967 after the breakup of the multiracial Student Christian Association. The contribution of the UCM included providing a link to the outside world, particularly the University Christian Movement in the United States. This afforded the president of the South African UCM, Basil Moore, along with two students, Gerald Ray and Bob Kgware, an opportunity to travel to Cleveland, Ohio, to attend the annual American UCM conference. Black Power themes predominated at the conference and Moore was persuaded to travel to New York to meet with black theologian James Cone, where Moore recalls being won over to Cone’s approach. In
addition, at their meeting Cone presented Moore with a manuscript of what would later be published as *Black Theology and Black Power* (1969). On Moore’s return he wrote an essay, ‘Towards a Black Theology’, that applied the new approach to the South African context. This led to the UCM establishing a Black Theology Project under the leadership of Sabelo Ntwasa, a theology student at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice in the Eastern Cape. In addition, the UCM quickly drew a large Black following, which would allow for discussions to begin about the possibility of forming a black-only student organisation.

The flagship organisation of what would later be dubbed the BCM was a student organisation, the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO). Formed initially from a caucus of Black students at the July 1968 UCM conference in Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape its first conference was held in December 1968 at Biko’s alma mater, Mariannhill College, and was launched in July 1969 by Biko, Pityana and compatriots at the University of the North.

The intention of the organisation was to provide a link between the African students across the country. Numerically tiny in comparison to the white tertiary student population they felt patronised and unrepresented in the liberal National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). African students were confronted in addition by isolated campuses and repressive university administrations. The communiqué drawn up at the founding conference emphasised that the principal aim of the organisation was to maintain contact among African students. There was a situation where Black students, the writers recognised, ‘have remained isolated not only physically but intellectually’.

The first General Students Council (GSC) was held in Durban in July 1970. The choice of the location reflected the importance of the Eastern harbour city, and particularly the University of Natal’s medical school, the only institution in the country that trained Black doctors. This had drawn Biko in 1966 with a scholarship and indeed SASO was initially run out of his residence room. At the time of the GSC, the philosophy of Black Consciousness was still in embryonic form. However, some early principles were apparent. The conference made no apology at barring members of the press, which of course did more to publicise the event than anything. Delegates also noted their rejection of the commonly-used term ‘non-white’, which had even been used in the 1969 communiqué, and noted their preference for simple terms such as ‘Black’ or ‘White’. It was preferable, the conference delegates argued, that ‘people should be referred to by what they are rather than what they are not’.

Another element of the embryonic discourse was evident in the choice to host a symposium on ‘Black is Beautiful’ as part of the conference. For speakers, the symposium included M.T. Moerane, editor of *The World*, and Ben Khoapa, a staff worker for the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), who had returned the previous year from a nine-month trip to the United States, sponsored by the YMCA in the United States. Looking back at the symposium the first edition of the *SASO Newsletter* deemed the symposium to have been ‘Perhaps the most important event of the conference’, helping to ‘focus attention sharply on untouched aspects of our involvement’ and highlighting the need for ‘dialogue between student and non-student sectors of the “black intelligentsia”’.

The first edition of the *SASO Newsletter* that reported on the Durban conference was very roughly produced in comparison to the more professional editions that were to follow in subsequent years. However, the newsletter communicated much about the new organisation, speaking to the rapid progress SASO activists had made since its launch only a year before. The newsletter included a perceptive and informed survey of African independence movements and newly independent countries by Charles Sibisi, indicative of the awareness of students of the broader liberation struggle on the continent. It also included a curious jibe at women under the title ‘Chemical analysis of a woman (Woo)’, which spoke to the
difficulties the movement had in accommodating feminism at the time.\textsuperscript{21} A quote by Kenneth Kaunda prefaced Biko’s first article under the series ‘I Write What I Like’, titled ‘Black Souls in White Skins?’, which was a withering attack on the ‘white liberal’ that evoked the position of the Africanists a decade prior and raised again the problem of artificial integration as opposed to meaningful change.\textsuperscript{22}

At the Durban conference Biko stepped down as SASO president, replaced by Barney Pityana and took up the portfolio of Publications, directing the compilation of new editions of the \textit{SASO Newsletter}, which was to be published until at least March 1976. Mzamane and Howarth observe that ‘the \textit{SASO Newsletter} appeared four or five times a year and, at its zenith, circulation reached 4,000 copies (though the newsletter was undoubtedly read by many more people)’\textsuperscript{23} and note how:

As the chair of SASO publications, Biko became the key catalyst in the production of a Black Consciousness literature. Leading poets like Njabulo Ndebele (the 1971–1972 Students’ Representative Council president at the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland) Mafika Gwala, and Mongane Serote became household names through their writing in BC publications.\textsuperscript{24}

This generation would later become known as the ‘Soweto poets’ and it was a strength of Black Consciousness that its message was readily adopted and propagated by poets and artists, leading to the creation of enduring cultural tropes as Shannon Hill has demonstrated.\textsuperscript{25}

The Black Consciousness link to the Africanists was reinforced when Sobukwe was released from Robben Island in May 1969. SASO member, Saths Cooper, later recalled the symbolic importance of Sobukwe to Cooper’s generation, as well as how after Sobukwe’s release and banishment to Kimberley, the young activists would secretly visit him. Cooper particularly emphasised how Sobukwe’s ‘opinions were solicited and in effect his encouragement and blessings were received … He was seen as one of the progenitors, one of the key thinkers, in the run-up to the development of Black Consciousness’.\textsuperscript{26} According to Pogrund, Sobukwe was particularly consulted as plans developed for the founding of a new political organisation.\textsuperscript{27} This organisation was to materialise in the creation of the Black People’s Convention (BPC), launched in December 1972 with Winnie Kgware as president and Biko being accorded the position of honorary president.

**Black consciousness confronts the state, 1972–1976**

SASO had initially been able to convince the state that its brand of Black separatism was congruent with the aims of separate development, as apartheid was euphemistically branded at the time. A series of strikes in 1972 at the ethnically segregated universities would shake the government out of its complacency. It was initiated by an outspoken denunciation of Bantu Education by Student Representative Council (SRC) president, Abram Onkugopotse Tiro, in front of Prof J.C. Boshoff, the rector, at the university’s graduation ceremony in April 1972. It took the university less than a week to summarily expel Tiro, a step that led to a student petition and a sit-in that led to the mass expulsion of students. A group of SASO activists who had gathered for a workshop, responded with the ‘Alice Declaration’, which called on Black students across the country to boycott lectures on 1 June. Although this step caused controversy as it was taken without the activists’ consultation with SASO’s national leadership,\textsuperscript{28} Black, Coloured and Indian students responded enthusiastically, even pre-empting the 1 June date, with hunger strikes, lecture boycotts and sit-ins. Their actions,
in the opinion of Aubrey Mokoape would ‘bind forever the Black Community – Coloured, Indian and African’. His comments indicated an important distinction between Black Consciousness and Africanism, where in the former Blacks were identified as those oppressed under apartheid, in favour of the more exclusive appeal to the ‘African’ that the Africanists had favoured.

The immediate result of the nationwide strikes was a series of ‘bannings’ (house-arrests) that targeted both Black and white activists. Eight SASO leaders and eight NUSAS leaders were targeted. The ‘banning’ was a form of internal exile, intended to render the individual ineffective and break their influence. As an example, Biko was forced to leave Durban, where he had lived since 1966 and was sent to King William’s Town in the Transkei. This form of public censure was augmented by a nefarious campaign of bombings, assassinations and abductions. Although it did not appear a targeted assassination, Mthuli ka Shezi, a playwright and Vice President of the BPC, had been the movement’s first martyr, pushed in front of an oncoming train in a scuffle on a Germiston platform. Tiro was, however, purposely killed by a letter bomb whilst in exile in Gaborone, Botswana on 1 February 1974.

The independence of Mozambique in 1974 was to provide another flashpoint in SASO’s growing struggle with the state, what the historian Julian Brown has called its ‘reluctant embrace’ of confrontational tactics. In a move of astonishing brazenness, SASO invited Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) representatives to attend rallies in South Africa, organised at the University of the North and in Durban to celebrate Mozambique’s independence. South African public intellectual Xolela Mangcu argues this move was taken against Biko’s counsel. It resulted in the police violently breaking up the rally that had been assembled in Durban at Curries’ Fountain, as well as the arrest and expulsion of students at the University of the North who had gathered for the event.

As Biko had feared, the ‘Pro-Frelimo’ rallies afforded the state the opportunity to conduct a nationwide swoop on SASO and led to a national and public trial, commencing in 1975, of the activists Saths Cooper, Zithulele Cindi, Mosiuoa Lekota, Aubrey Mokoape, Strini Moodley, Muntu Myeza, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Nkwenkwe Nkomo and Kaborane Sedibe, the so-called ‘SASO Nine’. It became increasingly apparent through the lengthy trial, that those in the dock were being prosecuted for the radical potential of Black Consciousness, more so than the act of organising the rallies. The trial afforded Biko, as a witness for the defence, an opportunity to publicly broadcast the message and approach of Black Consciousness in such a brave and forthright manner that he forever cemented his place in the imaginations of Black South Africans.

**Black consciousness after Soweto**

It seemed that Biko had no sooner finished his eloquent defence of Black Consciousness in the Pretoria courtroom than school children in Soweto engaged in an open protest against the imposition of Afrikaans as a language of instruction on 16 June 1976. The influence of Black Consciousness was clear, facilitated by a generation of expelled students from the segregated universities who had taken up teaching positions across the country. In Soweto alone at least ten had taught between 1972 and 1975, including Tiro. Their efforts had also been focused through the establishment of the South African Students Movement in February 1972, an organisation aimed at school children that had formed after contact with the Black Consciousness Movement.

The Soweto march was peaceful initially but was confronted by armed police who opened fire on the children, a moment that, like Sharpeville sixteen years prior, changed the
country forever. The regime would never fully regain the upper hand but rather set in motion a cycle of violence that would engulf the country for more than a decade. The immediate result of a nationwide outbreak of rioting and police brutality was the exile of a generation of young Black South Africans. Many simply walked across the South African border, determined to join the struggle to end apartheid. In the process the new wave of recruits paradoxically breathed new life into an organisation that would become a political rival the following decade, the ANC.

After the Soweto Uprising and the exile of thousands of young South Africans to join the ANC, the perception grew that Black Consciousness had been a ‘forming ground’ of sorts with the implication that when students matured they would grow out of Black Consciousness and come around to the ANC’s view of things. Nelson Mandela’s condescending judgement from prison was that ‘In a cosmopolitan environment where common sense and experience demand that freedom fighters be guided by progressive ideas and not by mere colour, the ideology of the BCM remains embryonic and clannish’. The advocates of Black Consciousness were thus characterised as lacking both experience and common sense.

A major blow to the BCM took place when on 12 September 1977 Biko was murdered in police custody. Although Biko’s murder led to an international outcry and pushed the United Nations to impose an arms embargo on South Africa, and even though Biko’s funeral attracted 20,000 mourners to King William’s Town, his death was a severe blow to the cause of Black Consciousness. The rise of what was to be called ‘Charterism’, a broad term encompassing the Freedom Charter and the ANC that had by now monopolised the document, signalled a serious challenge for Black Consciousness. In the realpolitik of an escalating Cold War, Biko was accused of having links to the Central Intelligence Agency. The ANC, waging a desperate counter-espionage campaign against the apartheid state, sought to assert ownership over the civil uprising that had spread over South Africa. In this context, ideologies became polarised and the violence would even spill over to internecine clashes between those who supported the offshoot of the BCM, the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) and those who identified with the ANC.

Conclusion

Black Consciousness in South Africa grew out of a confluence of the African struggles against European colonialism, the history of Africanism under the Garveyite flag, and solidified under the ANC Youth League, until the breakaway of Sobukwe, Leballo and others to form the PAC. Black Consciousness also reflected its generational context, with the impact of Black Theology and Black Power, as well as the heroes of African independence. Black Consciousness activists drew on this intellectual tradition to reinvigorate the struggle against apartheid. Although it was misrepresented as an embryonic stage of development, the abiding memory of Black Consciousness in South Africa indicates the mistake of assuming it would die a natural death. Rather, it has seen a revival of interest, as the late American scholar C. R.D. Halisi predicted it would after the arrival of democracy in 1994.

Author biography

Ian Macqueen is a lecturer in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the University of Pretoria and is a research associate of the Society, Work and Politics Institute (SWOP) at the University of the Witwatersrand. He is the author of Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid (UKZN Press, 2018).
Notes

1 The first to point out the links between Black Consciousness and Africanism, was the American political scientist, Gail Gerhart in Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1978).


10 ‘Africans’ Claims in South Africa’.


12 Cited in Lodge, Black Politics, 21.

13 Lodge, Black Politics, 21.


17 I. Macqueen, Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid (Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press, 2018), 38.


19 Macqueen, Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid, 43.


24 Mzamane and Howarth, ‘Representing Blackness,’ 189.


26 Cited in Pogrand, How Can Man Die Better, p. 350. Pogrand continues … ‘There’s a wonderful story that Steve once walked into a room where Sobukwe was holding forth. Surprised and overwhelmed by the sight of this great leader he simply exclaimed: ‘Tyhini no Thixo Ulapha’ (Xhosa for ‘What! Even God is here!’). Steve was using this figurative expression to show the kind of awe and respect in which he held the Prof …’ (400). My thanks to Prof Tinyiko Maluleke for this reference.

### Bibliography


SASO Newsletter 2, no. 3 (May/June 1972).

