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Panel: Revisiting the 'National Question' as
a Continuing African Challenge in the 21st Century

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Fanon, Manichean Structure and the Challenges
of Coloniality in the Post-1994 South Africa

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Abstract

The post-1994 South African state cannot be divorced from the prophetic warning embedded in the thought of Frantz Fanon. This paper seeks to analyse and investigate to what extent is the thought of Fanon relevant to the post-1994. Firstly, the paper seeks to investigate in what ways the post-1994 is entangled in the power matrix of coloniality, which then gives the Manichean structure a form of life which makes the infrastructure of black subjugation to remain intact. This means, the continuity of the oppressive aspects, though they have mutated, do feature in the post-1994 and reflect the legacy of apartheid. Secondly, the paper will then argue that in terms of the post-1994 being declared a rainbow nation it should, instead, be declared the one that is pregnant with possibility of being liberated since the black condition remains. Thirdly, the notion of the black condition is a predicament because of existence of structural violence which makes the indignity of the black majority to be seen as normal. Declaring apartheid unlawful and unconstitutional does not mean that the racially marked infrastructure will just end when blacks are in power. The paper will then engage the notion of the national project which provides the correct revolutionary tools to unpack the problematic moment within which the post-1994 finds itself, and points to alternative pathways to liberation that come as a result of political imagination.

Introduction

This paper attempts to contribute to the understanding of the complex societal matrix of the post-1994 South Africa and primarily the unfolding of its political discourse. Since South Africa is tagged as 'post-apartheid', this paper seeks to interrogate black experience while at the same time imagining the making and sociality of the post-1994. The post-1994 is regarded as the creation of the new society and this paper will argue that though it is a new society, it has not created a 'new being'. For this to materialise, it has to be re-imagined and the black condition which is the hellish existence of blackness found in dispossession of land, labour and African should come to an end (Mngxitama 2009).

A new being should not be a contraction to society, but the embodiment of it. That is, the possibility of liberation aimed at resolving the black experience should be consistent with the spoils that come with liberation, the post-1994 being the case. If not, therefore, the post-1994 political era is a contradiction which attributes the term liberation to something that is still-born. For that matter the post-1994 is experiencing the problematic of emancipation not liberation.

It is therefore necessary in this paper to engage in an alternative reading of the post-1994. This will take the form of applying Fanon's existential phenomenology to understand the political discourse as far as the black condition is concerned. This will shed light into the manner in which what explains away and rationalises the existing social relations, or the existing power networks under the mask of validity, facts and objectivity, is the epistemic weapon which seeks to historicise and silence. The black condition is simply a reference to the black life which stands for disaster, which is created and perpetuated by the black government in the post-1994.

While the context of Fanon's thinking was different from this one of post-1994; it has however, proven to be prophetic as encapsulated in *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*. It is clear that some of the warnings and diagnoses he made more than fifty years find relevance to the post-1994. Maldonado-Torres (2008) is of the view that Fanon's social dialectic analysis penetrates deeper into the lived experience, and it is for this reason that Fanon's relevance finds place of relevance in the post-1994.

Fanon still haunting the post-1994

As an elite project, the national liberation struggle underwent embourgeoisement and systematical liberal disciplining which culminated into a negotiated settlement. The post-1994

democratisation is where the black depoliticisation and pacification made way for the illusion of liberation which featured formalistic bourgeois freedoms like the bill of rights, all race elections, a black political administration, launching the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (without any reparations) are some of the things that inform the success of the post-1994 era. The negotiated settlement was about how to move from apartheid to democracy, and this movement did not depart from apartheid legacy which finds itself in structures like economy, land, spatial arrangement all which reflected the power of white capital. The post-1994 in the words of Maldonado-Torres (2008:136), "gives expression to a fundamental contradiction between the existence of the world at large and one's own existence".

The post-1994 was not liberation but transition which is always half-way, and no existential freedoms exist as far as the black condition is concerned. Being in solidarity with the masses and betraying capitalism was not something that was on the agenda of the transition from apartheid to the post-1994 political set-up. Black psyche is not liberated and the African National Congress (ANC) manifest the colonial mentality of reproducing weak imagination of freedom vis-à-vis a radical resolution of the black condition.

The political party may well speak in moving terms of the nation, but what it is concerned with is that the people who are listening understand the need to take part in the fight if, quite simply, they wish to continue to exist (Fanon 1990 [1961]:167).

Declaring apartheid unlawful and unconstitutional does not mean that the racially marked infrastructure and entrenched technologies of racism will just end when the black political administration like the ANC assumed power. To concur with Fanon (1990[1961]), the native bourgeoisie, is ignorant on the economy of the country. Like other liberation and nationalists in the continent, only political power was the priority, that is, the Nkrumaist dictum of 'seek ye political freedom and the rest shall be added unto it'.

As Hill (1997:71) puts it, "[a]partheid South Africa was a society over determined by race". In such a state, Hill adds that the dominance of white oppression and exploitation of blacks creates a situation where the oppressor has the luxury of choice, while the oppressed are severely restricted. As such, apartheid was "the mission of domination, exploitation, and self-aggrandisement" (Bulhan 1985:4).

The imagination of Fanon has been, among other things that of freeing the black body from the yoke of oppression, and also from inferiority complex. According to Ahluwalia and Zegeye

(2001), Fanon struggled for black liberation, because of his opposition to a condition in which the blacks lived in bondage. This is because the “coloniser distorts the colonial subject’s (or object’s) psyche” (Ahluwalia and Zegeye 2001:465). The work of Fanon, primarily *Black Skin White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth* provide a relevant prophecy and critique of the post-1994 which in some way is identical to other postcolonial registers.

Colonial matrix of power and the Manichean structure

Bhabha (1994) would argue that the post-1994 and its transition, constitutes hybridity, in which the binary division are replaced and complicated by their own intimacy. In this way, the transit of space and time, results in complexities of cross-crossing which in effect, undermine the Manichean structure. Hybridity means cultural forms emerging from cross-cultural relations. Such cross-crossing occurs at the level of “difference and identity, past and present, inclusion and exclusion” (Bhabha 1994:2). In this form there is inter-subjective negotiation of collective experiences of a nation, community, interest and cultural value – the notion of the rainbow nation can be regarded as a mythology of the post-1994.

The post-1994 era then, according to Bhabha, can be regarded as society in hybridity – that is, the one characterised by the double edgeness in the process of iteration and differentiation. According to Bhabha (1994:43), hybridity “informs the political space of its enunciation”. This, as Bhabha states, is not self-contradictory since there is a contribution to the ‘in-between’. JanMohamed (1985) argues that Bhabha ignores conditions within which the coloniser and the colonised operate in the nexus of the Manicheanism. He further states that Bhabha reduces the colonial discourse to something that occurred in a vacuum. Fanon (1990) argues that in the Manichean order of things the “belly of the coloni[s]er is always full”.

Nuttall (2009) in articulating the post-1994 formulates the notion of entanglement in which social relations are complicated in the sense that humanity is in its foldedness. In relation to race, Nuttall deploys the notion of ‘racial entanglement’ and also links it to ways of being, modes of identity-making and material life. Similar to Bhabha, she states that entanglement unravels binaries like coloniser and colonised, black and white, declaring these binaries simplistic. Nuttall (2009:30) goes on to argue that theorists, who engage these binaries, in the socio-political reality, mainly focus on “conflict, violence, social hierarchy and inequality”. She

proposes that the more racial boundaries are erected; the more should be a continued search for transcendence.

Both Bhabha and Nuttall regard race as a burden if it dominates the discourse – so, they call for its erasure under the guise of diluting it, while reality expresses its concreteness as far as the black condition is concerned. Both theorists call for living together through difference to produce or in search of sameness. Nuttall (2009) goes further to argue that the social is mutually entangled and it is in its constant search of definition in which sameness and difference are entangled. Even though entanglement is “becoming something you were not in the beginning” (Nuttall 2009:58). It will be argued here that copulation with blackness does not necessarily mean all racial formation are equal and the same since such copulation occurs outside the black condition.

The in-between, which Bhabha (1994) regards as the ‘liminal space’ and ‘symbolic interaction’, presents a situation where the quality of change is still a contested terrain. The in-between provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal “that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself” (Bhabha 1994:2). The argument concurs with the view of JanMohamed (1985), that indeed Bhabha plays in the in-between which is the ambivalence and the confusion of the discourse not taking the lived experience of blacks into account. JanMohamed deploys the notion of Manichean allegory which is not a fixed binary, but rather a diverse and yet, interchangeable opposition between black and white, good and evil, civilized and savage etc. According to JanMohamed (1985:64), Manichean allegory “functions as the currency, the medium of exchange, for the entire colonialist discursive system”.

Maldonado Torres (2008:142) writes: “The Manichean logic of the colonial system operates in favo[u]r of the truncation of the possibility of generous interhuman contact”. Such a structure is informed by, and is a process of coloniality of power. Coloniality of power means the long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism and in this way; social, political, cultural and economic conditions are defined by the legacy of colonial power in absence of colonial administration (Maldonado-Torres 2008, Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012 forthcoming).

In this way, Manichean structure informs coloniality and this creates complexity of the site in which the power is located and how it is exercised. Capitalism, which dictates the social, the

political, the cultural and the economic spheres of existence, directs and allocates the systems of domination and subordination. That is why liberation, especially post-1994 finds itself “in-between” in relation to the perpetuation of the black condition. The black condition is characterised by landlessness, exploitation, exclusion and loss of African humanity - that is, the modalities of dispossession (Maldonado-Torres 2008; Mngxitama 2009). This is the condition which exists, but its existence lacks or it is in total absence of existential presence.

Fanon (1990 [1961]:127) puts it, “[t]he colonial economy is not integrated to that of the nation as a whole”, there is only deracialisation of the economy. This suggests that South Africa has been, and still pregnant with possibility, but never gives birth to such a possibility. Fanon’s radical thought is provocative in that it allows for much of the issues in the discourses to be engaged upon, and one such issue in particular is the power matrix of coloniality and the Manichean structure. The power matrix of coloniality and the Manichean structure also points to the locus of power, in which there will be an exploration of the site which power is located as to unravel complexities and the dynamics that are embedded in power.

Since Fanon’s thought is phenomenological, the lived experience, particularly in relation to the black condition, is necessary to understand how it is affected by the power matrix of coloniality and the Manichean structure. In articulating the Manichean structure, Fanon (1990 [1961]:29) writes, “the colonial world is a world divided into compartments”. The discourses of post-1994 are often caught in the situation where Manicheanism is not taken into account. Manichean hierarchies are created and sustained by racial imperial enterprise, the condition in which blackness is the antithesis of being. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:7 forthcoming) states that the coloniality of being is not only the “depersonalis[s]ation of black people under colonialism but also the constitution of Africans as racialis[s]ed subjects whose life is not valued”. This creates and perpetuates the absence of humanity - that is, the black condition which reflects a pathology that negates agency and even ontology.

Bulhan (1985:123) argues that “[o]ppression pervades more aspects of life the longer it prevails”. This underscores the capacity of the oppressed to attain genuine freedom and to take control of their lives. The prolonged social existence of the black condition is rewarded with a deadly institutionalised and normalised combat by means of suppression. This is depersonalisation and desocialisation (social death), which exhibits morbidity and mortality while being alive. Blacks

do not possess a human life, but a black life – which is already substitutedly dead – blacks die because they lived (Wilderson 2008).

According to Bulhan (1985:142), “[t]he Manichean psychology is hard to counteract once it takes root in people, the environment, and the culture”. Those who live in it depend on its continuity and they benefit from it. This is found on wreckage and dehumanisation of others. Gibson (2001:107) posits that the “[c]olonial society appears as the Manichean one, whose superstructure is its structure”. Manicheanism is pervasive as it is found in all forms and spheres of life. The forms of life that Manicheanism assumes are the zone of being and zone of non-being. “These zones are totally separate” (Gibson 2001:108). The spheres of life are political, social, cultural and economic. Manicheanism cannot be avoided, since belonging on one race determines one place in society. The negation of earlier Manicheanism and articulation of the new or the creation of the new forms of life is breaking the negation of both the colonialism and the decolonisation – the latter becoming clear to itself to avoid reproduction of oppression wearing a black face (Fanon 2008 [1952]).

Fanon detects and unmasks Manicheanism at the psychological and social level where human oppression and oppression resides. The black condition is that of the tormented and troubled psyches. Bulhan (1985) argues that the black condition should be rid off because it is constituted by inferiority complex, loss of identity and identity is something which should be retained. Also, the blacks who endure the yoke of the black condition should break away from bondage and take control of their destiny.

The hegemony of the discourses in the post-1994 downplay race in the quick chase for non-racialism as if there are no problems that are confronting blacks who are trapped in the black condition. South Africa is trying to move beyond apartheid, while there is resurgence in racialisation and ethnicity (Geertsema 2004). To study the black condition is to examine the ways in which blackness is interlocked and confused in the power matrix of coloniality and the Manichean structure. The black condition is the result of exclusion from, and subjugation by the system of power in which it is determined or market at what form of life should be assumed. The subject position of blackness has been that of the being restricted, excluded, dehumanised and to the lesser extent, being acted upon. In short, blackness has been, and is still that which is objectified.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012 forthcoming: 3) states that “coloniality is rooted in colonialism, but also distinct from it”. Maldonado-Torres (2008:100) argues that coloniality is the “long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, and continues to define social, economic and cultural conditions in absence of colonial administration”. In addition to Maldonado-Torres definition, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012 forthcoming) states that coloniality also defines labour relations and knowledge production. This means the content and form of colonial matrices of power is identical to colonial administration, but operates in implicit means which makes subjugation normal. In this way, the Manichean structure operates as a dividing line of patterns of power signifying and representing that of the colonial order, even if they can put a black face in the administration of power. The latter is always at the bottom of the hierarchy of power and likely to mimic the colonial order of things.

It is clear from the above that the continuation of colonialism through its effects is the absence of the colonial administration. This means that coloniality applies to a situation where the black face will occupy the power structure, just like the ANC, but not in absolute control of it. This is evident in the post-1994 gains, which are still a complete loss when it comes to land ownership, economic ownership, geographic spatialisation, healthcare education system, just to name but a few. Coloniality survives colonialism and apartheid in the case of the post-1994 in that capitalism is the system of domination and subordination. Gibson (2001) argues that the problems that South Africans are facing are far from inevitable in that the transition was the ideological terrain promoting globalisation and silencing alternative paradigms. Since the concern in the transition has been about the end of apartheid, the inheritance of apartheid economic inequalities suggested little change with the black elite in the band wagon.

The illusion of liberation and the black condition

What takes centre stage of the black condition is the self-destruction that seems to be the nature of the black being. “There is no open conflict between white and black” (Fanon 2008 [1952]:169). Negation of beingness in the aspect of the native life is that which breeds aggressiveness in the native (Fanon 1990[1961]). “The coloni[s]ation of the mind is manifested in the manner in which a people’s history is denied and they are made to feel inferior and incapable of challenging the colonial order” (Ahluwalia and Zegeye 2001:456). This breeds self-hate and promotes anti-blackness, and the ‘Afrophobic’ (popularly known as xenophobic) attacks which occurred in

May 2008 serve as a testimony to this. Fanon (2008 [1952]:165) argues that “[s]ince in all periods the Negro has been an inferior, he attempts to react with a superior complex”. Blackness is something that is fled upon, and accommodation is sought into whiteness.

Bulhan (1985) argues that the fact of historical scandal and conditions of those who are affected always come into being when one seriously considers Fanonian thought. He argues that Fanon always thought that the oppressor dehumanises the oppressed to gain and maintain power and privilege. As a result of this, the oppressed forfeit their humanity and fear to fight and confront the institutionalised and systematic violence. This makes the black condition remain intact, even in the post-liberationist phase. This means, the violence that is meted out against the black body, is exorcised by another form of violence but that goes against another black body. This is because, Manicheanism can be a polarisation and volarisation of the bifurcated society, it comes out as overt or covert (JanMohamed 1983). The black condition is perpetuated by the unchanged social scripting – that is, being born, bred and socialised in the Manichean world which creates victims and perpetrators as assuming the same roles.

The dominant narratives in the post-1994 political discourse suggest that the 1994 moment in South Africa was a time of realisation of liberation. The point here is that it is not and the clear terms should be that South Africa is a negotiated settlement. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012 forthcoming) exposes the myths and illusion of ‘juridical freedom’ which is the freedom that is bottlenecked and does not translate to the people’s liberation. That is to say, juridical freedom leaves the black condition the way it is, while the colonialist elites with their native assistants will perpetuate such a condition. The native assistants who are postcolonial elites are infamous for engagement in primitive accumulation of wealth like the colonial master, while at the exclusion of the black majority.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni points out that this accumulation of wealth is seen as freedom for the black elites. This freedom is an illusion as people are fighting for a genuine one, and they are launching it against the black elite and the ruling class – the ANC. However, it needs to be pointed out that such an agitation against the ANC is weak, and the ANC enjoys legitimacy and the support of the excluded majority of black citizenry.

It is Fanon (1990 [1961]) who states clear that national liberation is realisable only when those who are oppressed undergo the process of consciousness by means of political education. Here Fanon’s work dovetails with that of Paulo Freire. According to Freire (1972), the notion of

pedagogy of the oppressed is both humanist and liberationist. There are two stages of pedagogy; firstly, the oppressed unveil the world through praxis and commit to transformation. Secondly, it follows that pedagogy will belong to all instead of the oppressed only in the process of permanent liberation. In articulating the oppressed, Freire (1972:31) argues that “[t]hey are contradictory, divided beings, shaped by and existing in a concrete situation of oppression and violence”.

Further still, the problematic presence of post-1994 liberation, is still a plague since the illusion of emancipation has diluted the core ethos of liberation as the post-1994 is just a reformist initiative (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012 forthcoming). As such, it is clear that deracialisation of the economy was central rather than a total recreation of the new being as part of resolution of the black condition.

Emancipation is a child of European modernity not African liberation and it is about attaining civil political rights only. It does not clarify how the black condition will be done away with; it only presents the sets of rights. These are rights which are born out from the bourgeois revolution which its end is only reformism does not resolve the black condition. This is related to class not the conditions of radicalised black oppression and that is why the black condition is given a scant attention or it is ignored in total.

The first priority of liberation movements is to return the dignity to all citizens, which creates the new possibilities of the new society (Nurse-Bray 1980). For this society to emerge, new forms of life that must be lived by the black subjects are the ones that do not need an elite project, but the liberation that is fermented and managed by the people themselves to realise justice and reparations. For such a liberation, “[t]he social revolution must distribute the fruits of national liberation struggle to the nation” (Wright 1992:432). The post-1994 launched an elitist project of emancipation and that is why it haunted by the black condition.

The post-1994 was produced by the anti-apartheid struggle – a discourse which was emancipating not liberating since the end was to reform apartheid. Slaves, serfs and other oppressed sectors in the parts of the world were emancipated since the structures which were keeping them in bondage remained intact and change was only cosmetic.

Liberation centres on fundamental question like addressing the economic injustices inflicted in the black condition. It is multifaceted and engages issues like land and psychological liberation.

As Fanon states:

Day after day, the native who is taking part in the struggle and the people who ought to go on giving him [or her] their help must not waver. They must not imagine that the end is already won. When the real objectives of the fight shown to them, they must not think that they are impossible to attain. Once again, things must be explained to them; the people must see where they are going, and how they are to get there (Fanon 1990 [1961]: 112-113).

The bourgeois imagined liberation does not have the capacity to imagine the total overhauling of anti-black structures that perpetuate the black condition. It is such a lack of imagination which makes liberation to be an illusion since it intends to only reform the colonial infrastructure instead of dismantling it. It is this repetition that signal and brings to bear the betrayal of liberation which is managed by the black comprador bourgeois who capture the state power, manage it and fail to fundamentally change it in line with the aspirations that informed liberation.

It is the oppressor who must always emancipate, for that liberation is considered too radical if it brings the colonial infrastructure to a total collapse. It is for this reason that liberation is the invention of the new self and as far as the black condition is concerned it means the end of it. The post-1994 has not yet produced a new being but the damned, excluded and oppressed exist. The existence of blackness in the mould of liberation is not the one that must be given life by whiteness, for that liberation cannot be given.

The act of conferring liberation to the oppressed is in Fanon's terms treason in the eyes of architects of global colonialists and its locals representatives. As Fanon (1990 [1961]:116) states, "[t]he treason is not national, but social". In the post-1994 blacks are a political majority, who in economic terms are in a marginality. If the post-1994 is plagued by the black condition, it means that apartheid was reformed on the basis that its legacy is continued by this pseudo-liberation.

The post-1994 is a reform since there is no start towards genuine liberation, Fukuyama's 'end of history' - that is, the notion that there is no alternative to neoliberal emancipatory pretensions which the 1994 victory concretised. It is this victory which does not speak to the aspiration and the content of liberation in that it aims to reform the racial and exploitative apartheid infrastructure. Fanon (1967) states that "[t]he liberation of the individual does not follow national liberation. An authentic national liberation exists only to the precise degree to which the individual has irreversibly begun his own liberation".

The black condition begs the question of creating new forms of life in a form of the dialectic of reordering of society (Gibson 2011). By contrast, the post-1994 is the elite project where liberation is that of the few at the exclusion of the black majority and society has been the way it is. The post-1994 era is fraught with the black condition which is the predicament, and something which is inherited from the legacy of apartheid.

The post-1994 has a romantic view that is premised on the notion that diverse people unite to create a rainbow nation. This will not continue indefinitely and for the rainbow to transform there should be incentives to think in unitary terms. The black condition must not symbolically vanish, but vanish in realistic terms. Economic freedom, reparations and justice must ensure that collective goods by people to benefit not a few black elite. There has been a consistent failure to bring a total end to the black condition.

So, blacks must become their own liberators because the liberation that is given is not genuine. The last apartheid president, Frederick de Klerk told Nelson Mandela that “you are now free”. Fanon (1952 [2008]) articulates the very same words to describe freedom being conferred upon a slave by the master as a mere gift. Fanon refers to such a freedom as a ‘flag-freedom’ for that it is symbolic and does not change the structures of oppression. Political action and agency is what should inform liberation. As Gibson (2011) argues, there is a need, even when liberation is attained to deepen the dialectic. That is, exploring uncertainties to understand the complexities that come with the liberation project.

The logic of repetition without difference which then means those who are leading liberation become oppressors has been a major pitfall in most post-liberation eras. This is where there is a tendency of a regression effect which means to move from better to worse and enriching the few, while leaving many in perpetual state of suffering – the black condition. The post-1994 with its absence of the liberation project failed to open the vistas of creating a new being out of the ashes of the black condition.

As Gordon (2000) notes, the implications and the possibility of studying the black condition should be framed in the ways in which black subjects are capable of questioning their ways of being. The black condition is often framed as a way too far for blacks to claim dignity and to be afforded humanity. The black condition is a continual suffering – that is, the life of crisis which is a hellish zone (Gordon 2007; Maldonado-Torres 2008).

To counter this black condition there must be a clear understanding of the structures of oppression (hooks 1996). The only way to unmask these structures of oppression is to have the “new self-invention and alternative habits of being” (hooks 1996:15). Gibson (1999) on the other end argues that the subject in its fragmentation constitutes or is in a dynamic dialectic rather than a static one. Subject is becoming of new being, since it was a thing – the object, in the colonial condition. Subjectivity becomes objectivity through revolutionary praxis.

The ANC lacks the audacity to transform and to expand political imagination beyond their negotiated liberation which settles only in political freedom. Instead, as Fanon would argue, it is clouded by fear and this makes political imagination to be a mere plateau. They take over without being productive and innovative, and as a result of this, exploitation is exacerbated. Fanon (2008 [1952]) also warned that exploitation can wear a black face, and this is the same like mimicking the master. In reference to the political leader who fails to lead the masses Fanon has this to say:

The leader , because he refuses to break up the national bourgeoisie, asks the people to fall back into the past and to become drunk on remembrance of the epoch which led up to independence (Fanon 1990 [1961]:135-6).

Fanon then continues:

During the struggle for liberation the leader awakened the people and promised them a forward march, heroic and unmitigated. Today, he uses every means to put them to sleep, and three or four times a year asks them to remember the colonial period and to look back on the long way they have come since then (Fanon 1990 [1961]:136).

If this can be applied to the ANC, it can be argued that it typifies the masses as people who cannot exist without them, but while in power the ANC leaders neglect the masses. This can be related to a situation where the ANC knows that it negotiated the liberation and therefore it will be hard for it to be toppled by other political parties since it has the majority of support from the masses.

In relation to their black condition in the post-1994, blacks who are dispossessed and excluded often ask peripheral questions. These questions relate to service delivery, human rights, wages among others and most of the black majority rarely articulate questions in relation to their condition and demand answers to them (Maldonado-Torres 2008). Maldonado-Torres points out

different attitudes of blacks in relation to their condition. These include the silent subjugation of the black subjects.

Firstly, the black subject will see their black condition as normal and having nothing to do with the structures that seek to dehumanise them. Secondly, there will be those black who will formulate the project of assimilation and they will be quick to condemn those who point out at racism or other forms of discrimination. In this sense, liberation means absence of racism and nothing should be mentioned about it. Lastly, there are seemingly revolutionary black subjects who affirm the value of blackness in categorical terms. Such black subjects will use the seductive language of race to gain inclusion in the white economy at the exclusion of the black majority. The accommodationists always assume the contradictory position and it always haunts them, but they suppress it – a form of sadism (Kamara and Van der Meer 2007).

Liberation means that the violence structured and justified to attack the black body becomes obsolete. If this is not the case, freedom and liberty can be non-existent and the slave cannot be non-existent. Freire (1972) argues that the precondition for liberation is that the oppressed must confront their reality by objecting it and acting upon that reality. This is only possible if the oppressed only agitate for genuine liberation become the antithesis of the black condition. This means that the oppressed should be part of the process of liberation and it should not be something that is mediated on their behalf. Exclusions mean their objection because they are acted upon. In this state of affairs they will be led into “the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated” (Freire 1972:41). Kamara and Van der Meer (2007:384) argue that “[o]nce the slave resist or refuses to accept his (or her) condition the relationship is forever transformed”.

Though South Africa is in the phase of liberation and celebrating the post-1994 freedoms, its history is still closed bound with colonialism, racial segregation and apartheid (Pillay 2004). Furthermore still, the problematic presence of post-1994 liberation, is still a plague since the illusion of emancipation has diluted the idealist ethos of liberation as the post-1994 was just a reformist initiative (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012 forthcoming). As such, it is clear that the power matrix of coloniality and the Manichean structure is something that has never been taken into account by the ANC, and that is why deracialisation of the economy and the forms of life was central rather than a total recreation of the new being to thwart the black condition.

Structural violence and the 'othering' of the black body

The political reform of the post-1994 is a transition from apartheid to liberal constitutional democracy which left the question of structural violence unaddressed. Galtung (1969) is the one who coined and popularised the notion of structural violence – a form of violence that has a huge impact on the human beings since it is the condition of social injustice. Galtung (1969:173) states that “[s]tructural violence is silent, it does not show – it is essentially static, it is the tranquil waters”. This view suggests that structural violence is rigid and systematic.

Structural violence refers to the “violence that occurs in the context of establishing, maintaining, extending or reducing hierarchical relations between categories of people within a society” (Iadicola and Shupe 2003: 316). The national project is often evoked in the post-1994 political discourse, but little is done to trace and understand it within the context of structural violence, the violence that needs to be dealt with to ensure that the national project is addressed. Colonial structures and systems give multiple lives to structural violence, and to limit the national project to one form of violence or a mere social deficit, is to defeat the whole purpose of seeking to address it.

The point here is that the target of structural violence is the black body in general, but a black body in the black condition in particular for that it is the body that is objectified as it constitutes absence of ontology. The black body exists in the anti-black world and it is in this world that complains against structural violence will not be recognised but ridiculed as mere victimhood or obscene claims by the other blacks who are not part of the lived experience of the black condition. Being in the anti-black, the black condition which is hellish suggests being circled in structural violence. That is, the black body is the target but which cannot be seen when hit or affected by such a forms of violence.

According to Bulhan (1985), apartheid was a form of structural violence. The same can be said about the post-1994 era, where structural violence continues to be directed at the black body, and such violence cannot be accounted for since it is a black party – the ANC which is in charge of political power. Blacks do not even have the language to articulate their experience of suffering, since structural violence is denied in terms of its existence (Wilderson III 2008; Mngxitama 2009). Even such articulation can exist it will be ridiculed, denied and negated.

Structural violence mutates its melanin to fit various conditions and encounters as stories of structural violence directed against the black body invited silence (Iadicola and Shupe 2003).

Social structures even if they change, the presence of structural violence makes the effects to be the same. This clearly shows that the national question cannot be static, but should trace the amoebic nature of structural violence. However, it is interesting to note that even if structural violence is amoebic, its effects are the same, the target being in Fanon's terms, the Damned of the Earth – that is, those who are excluded and who are at the peripheral margins of society. Structural violence exists in well meaning conditions because its actions are not physical and the doer cannot be seen, touched and pointed out. It defeats social dynamics and mutates into them and cannot be held liable (Galtung 1969).

Black suffering and dispossession are intermingled with structural violence. The lived experience of the black body is “characteri[s]ed by inequality, exploitation, and coercion” (Iadicola and Shupe 2003:316). The binary of possession and dispossession comes into being, through with the since of the dispossessed holding some ground for possession and therefore making claims that possession is not of fundamental importance. Those who live in the black condition “where squalor, evictions, poverty, disease, and crime are rampant” and they are excluded and this form of inhumanity is seen and articulated through the stereotype of fate. That is, blacks who are living in this hellish condition are often accused of being fatalistic and bringing such a condition upon themselves.

The lived experience of blacks in the black condition can be fully understood by unmasking the Manichean structure which is articulated by structural violence. Inequality, poverty, dispossession need to be understood structurally and to interrogate why they are ills that target the black body. In other words, there is a need to understand the directionality of structural violence which enables Manichean expressions to be normalised and institutionalised, and as a result they become defensive when they are interrogated. This is because such an interrogation is rendered irrelevant, and little will be admitted that the modes of life are different for whiteness and blackness.

Landscapes of violence are both visible and invisible; they prevent people from living the lives that are afforded to normal beings, the lives which allows access to basic needs is made difficult. Structural violence functions well under the power of denialism and this blinds the view that the national question is about the location and the location of the racist encounter. What Fanon is concerned about is the lived experience of the ‘other’, the one who are the Damned of the Earth. Blackness is that of which is interlocked into their skin colour. This in Fanon terms is the

psycho-existential crisis, the encounter where the black skin gives away and cannot hide from the anti-blackness of the structural violence. 'Look, a Negro, Look, a Negro!' is a scream that shouts at the unwanted blackness. Fanon in this encounter after so much aversion finally realised that his body is a stranger in the world. His blackness is "determined without". This creates a temptation for the black body to escape through constant comparison with whiteness to get rid of blackness. This is the scream that differentiates and as Bulhan (1985:129) states, "[t]he circle draws tighter and there is a little room for escape". Structural violence is a circle, the eternal inferno which burns the black body beyond ashes.

Through erasures and distortions the death of blacks trapped in the black condition as a result of structural violence who are trapped in the black condition cannot be accounted for as they are not beings in the world, but sub-beings. Maldonado-Torres (2008:251) amplifies thus; they are "subjects who are not considered to be part of the people [since] their situation is different". The black condition is pathologic *par excellence* for that it reduces blackness to animality. The existence of blacks in the hellish condition is the ordinary for that the articulation of structural violence has made it so, even after the visible structures of oppression are deemed to have left. The black condition reels from day to day and it also gets normalized and institutionalised by structural violence.

Beyond emancipation: towards reconstruction of the African national project

Fanon did imagine another world, the world where the black will be human, and the human which realises humanity not as forms of gift from the master, but as a form of realising humanity as a result of pursuit and realisation of genuine liberation by the oppressed blacks themselves. This world, which Fanon imagines, is yet to be realised and come into birth, and emancipation is not heading towards a direction of realising the world of total freedoms as the snares of colonial matrices of power are still intact to dilute the path to the realisation of liberation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012 forthcoming).

A systematic deployment of Fanon to the post-1994 era enabled a new reading of the South African national liberation as tragedy not as romance for its failure to bring new forms of life in relation to the black condition. It is tragedy because the perpetuation of the neo-apartheid rests with blacks as a powerless majority with political power where there are only cosmetic changes

in absence of fundamental transformation. Fanon (2008 [1952]:171) affirms tragedy to state that “the black man (sic) was acted upon”.

The bourgeois imagined liberation does not have the capacity to imagine the total overhauling of anti-black structures that perpetuate the black condition. It is such imagination which makes liberation to be an illusion since it intends to only reform the colonial infrastructure instead of dismantling it. This repetition signals and brings to the fore the betrayal of liberation which is managed by the black comprador bourgeoisie whose sole aspiration is to capture the state power, manage it and fail to fundamentally change it in line with the aspirations that informed liberation.

In the post-1994 era blacks are a political majority, who in economic terms are in marginality with a few black elites included in the economic mainstream. If the post-1994 era is plagued by the black condition, it means that apartheid was reformed on the basis that its legacy is continued by this pseudo-liberation. The victories of South Africa are said to be non-racialism, a “progressive” constitution, free and fair elections, freedom and equality. As if Fanon had the South African in mind when he states:

The white man, in the capacity of the master, said to the Negro, “From now you are free”. But the Negro knows nothing of the cost of freedom, for he has not fought for it. From time to time he has fought for Liberty and Justice, but these were always white liberty and white justice; that is, values secreted by his masters (Fanon 2008 [1961]:172).

The post-1994 has a romantic view that is premised on the notion that diverse people unite to create a rainbow nation. This will not continue indefinitely and for the rainbow to transform there should be incentives to think in unitary terms. The black condition must not symbolically vanish, but vanish in realistic terms. Economic freedom, reparations and justice must ensure that collective goods by people to benefit not a few black elite. There has been a consistent failure to bring a total end to the black condition.

To counter this black condition there must be a clear understanding of the structures of oppression (hooks 1996). The only way to unmask these structures of oppression is to have the “new self-invention and alternative habits of being” (hooks 1996:15). Gibson (1999) on the other end argues that the subject in its fragmentation constitutes or is in a dynamic dialectic rather than a static one. The black being is supposed to become a new being, since his or her ontology was a mere a thing - the object in the colonial condition. Subjectivity becomes objectivity

through revolutionary praxis, where those who engulfed by the black condition are the agents of their won liberation.

By way of conclusion

Fanonian thought continues to haunt the post-1994, and such a haunt is the exactness of what he imagined it to become – a self-fulfilling prophecy of the liberation betrayed and the postcolonial predicament of repetition without difference. The snares of colonial matrices of power and the Manichean structure to conceal the fact that the legacy of the past is still in operation and gives life to structural violence, the forms of violence which is hidden in structures which naturalises the form of life and the operation of society as if it is normal whereas it is not. As Gibson (2003:107) stated elsewhere in this paper, the “[c]olonial society appears as a Manichean one, whose superstructure is its structure”.

For there to be a new world, there should not be a colonised society. The society that should prevail is where freedom is lived instead of it being reduced to slogans, flags, national anthems, symbols, national holidays, monuments just to name but a few. There is a pretention that creates the national project has been resolved, or at worse, the claim that it has failed and resulting into a postcolonial disaster (Mbembe 2002; Nuttal 2009). This is far from the truth as the post-1994 leadership does not is not informed by the national project which is informed by true liberation. The post-1994 is emancipation because its logic of operation is reformist – that is, reforming apartheid with the aim of creating a rainbow nation, but without dismantling its infrastructure. The black condition for it to change, there should be economic rights, justice and reparations where the black majority are at the commanding heights of the economy and ownership of wealth. If there is a call for economic rights under the era that propagates civil rights, the economic rights will be considered radical. This means the black condition should be reformed with piecemeal changes while the status quo remains.

The post-1994 South Africa is yet to give birth to liberation beyond the fake flag freedoms which do not address the lived experience of the black majority who are still trapped in the hellish black condition. To them liberation is just a rumour. There needs to be liberation not emancipation which is symbolic as it only gives reconciliatory gestures which cannot change the concealed anti-black structures which are the antithesis of black humanity. The Fanonian perspective serves as testimony to the fact that the black condition finds itself in the self-

imposed veil that generates misrecognition of humanity founded on self-deception and legitimised colonisation (Maldonado-Torres 2008). For there to be genuine liberation in the post-1994 it should not be imported, but embedded in those who want it.

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