



Afrika's Cause Must Triumph: Towards the Hegemony of Lembede's "Afrika for the Afrikans" as a Political Philosophy of National Liberation in "South Africa".

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Abstract

Anton Lembede, who is regarded as a member of the "new Afrikans", propagated the political philosophy of Afrikanism that is premised on an exclusive idea of "Afrika for the Afrikans." On the other hand, A.P. Mda's idea of "broad nationalism" pursued an inclusive idea of Afrika. This paper seeks to foreground Lembede's exclusive idea of Afrika in contrast to Mda's idea of "broad nationalism" and inclusive idea of Afrika. We will rely on the historical and comparative method and the Afrikan-centred theoretical paradigm. There are several findings which this paper has deduced. The first one is that the political and intellectual relationship between Lembede and Mda has eventuated in the epochal emergence of the antagonism between two Afrikan political philosophies of national liberation in conquered Azania. These philosophies are Afrikanism and broad nationalism. The second one is that the intellectual legacy of Lembede is a marginalised study in South African scholarship especially on the figures of the

Black Radical Tradition. The third one is that the broad nationalism of Mda was transformed into the Azanian political tradition by Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko. The last one is that the triumph of Mda's idea of Afrika must triumph has contributed to the disastrous dominance of nonracialism in South Africa at the expense of the racial nationalism of Lembede. This nonracialism has taken the form of the Congress/Charterist nonracialism of the African National Congress and its Tripartite Alliance and the Azanian nonracialism of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement. The fundamental objective of this paper is a call for the replacement of these naïve and dangerous forms of nonracialism with the uncompromising racial nationalism of Lembede, so that Africa's cause can triumph as he envisioned it.

Keywords: Political philosophy, National liberation, Garveyism, Afrikanism, Broad nationalism, Anton Lembede, A.P. Mda.

Introduction

The desire for national liberation and collective self-determination is a reaction to the race war which European conquerors have declared on the indigenous people since their catastrophic invasion of Azania in 1652. This race war is multifaceted but fundamentally manifests itself in the forms of land dispossession in wars of colonisation (Ramose, 2018) and intellectual warfare (Carruthers, 1999). When Anton Lembede formulated the political philosophy of Afrikanism, he had in mind these forms of European race war of racial domination and extermination. His idea that *Afrika's cause must triumph* was premised on the deduction that if the natives of Afrika in this case conqueror South Africa (Ramose, 2018) do not attain *freedom in his lifetime*, they will be racially exterminated by the white settlers who conquered them since 1652.

The literature on the life and intellectual legacy of Anton Lembede is scarce. The most important sources for his intellectual contribution to the struggle for national liberation (Cabral, 1979) in conquered Azania is a book entitled *Freedom in Our Lifetime* (2015), edited by Robert Edgar and Luyanda Ka Msumza. They also edited another volume entitled *Africa's Cause Must Triumph* (2018), which is about the life and intellectual legacy of Lembede's friend, namely Mda. Lembede and Mda belong to a generation of Afrikan scholars which came of age in the 1940s within the African National Congress. The intellectual legacies of these Afrikan scholars is intertwined due to their close friendship until the devastating and untimely death of Lembede in 1947. During their interaction as intellectual sparring partners (Edgar and Ka Msumza, 2018) there emerged the antagonism between two political philosophies of national liberation in conquered Azania.

According to the Azanian political tradition of Sobukwe and Biko, Azania is the rightful name for the territory currently called South Africa. These philosophies are Afrikanism and broad nationalism. At the core of these philosophies of national liberation are the exclusive and inclusive ideas of Afrika. The exclusive idea of Afrika is premised on the uncompromising assumptive logic that "whites are not here to stay" while the inclusive idea of Africa is based on the misguided premise that "whites are here to stay". By situating Lembede within the

generation of Afrikan scholars called "New Africans" (Masilela, 2013), this paper seeks to foreground the political philosophy of Lembede. Ntongela Masilela (2013) regarded African intellectuals who were influenced by the idea and movement of the New Negro in America as New Africans. They embraced modernity and modelled themselves on the New Negroes in America.

The significant contribution of this paper is two-fold. The first one is the redressing of the marginalisation of Lembede's intellectual legacy and contribution to the struggle for national liberation, while the second is the recommendation of his exclusive idea of Afrika as embodied in his political philosophy of Afrikanism as the final solution to the national question in South Africa. We will rely on an Afrikan-centred theoretical paradigm as it prioritises Afrikan culture and thought and advances the collective interest of Afrikans. This paper is not biographical but seeks to foreground the intellectual legacy of Lembede as far as the struggle for national liberation is concerned in South Africa. This implies that we will focus on his intellectual work as opposed to narrating his life. To effectively accomplish this objective, this paper will engage in a comparative analysis of Lembede's idea of Afrika's cause must triumph with Mda's idea of Afrika's cause must triumph. This paper is divided into three sections. We now turn to the first section which will provide a sketchy outline of the intellectual life of Lembede.

Lembede and The Making of the Political Philosophy of Afrikanism

The intellectual legacy of Lembede is a marginalised study in South African scholarship especially on the figures of "the Black Radical Tradition" (Robinson, 2000). According to Robinson (2000), this tradition emerged from the resistance of the enslaved Afrikans who rebelled against slavery on the basis of Afrikan culture and metaphysics. Because of the geographical and cultural context, this paper will designate the Black Radical Tradition as formulated by Cedric Robinson as the Afrikan Radical Tradition. This is because our idea of Afrikan culture and thought on the continent is different from "the idea of Black culture" in the Diaspora. The effect of the "*Maafa*" (Ani, 1994) on the culture and thought of the Afrikans who were subjected to the "middle passage" is different from those of

the natives on the continent. *Maafa* is a term used by Marimba Ani (1994) to describe the inexplicable and incalculable destruction and suffering inflicted on Afrikans by their conquerors and enslavers. This *Maafa* has resulted in the “dismemberment of the continent” (Armah, 2010) due to “two thousand seasons” (Armah, 1973) of a race war of racial domination and extermination.

This is not to suggest that all African Americans are no longer Afrikan and that the “middle passage” made them “to lose their mother”. The middle passage denotes the horrendous process of crossing the Atlantic by the enslaved Afrikans after being kidnapped from Afrika. The barbaric violence of settler colonialism which produces the figure of the native and later the “new African” (Masilela, 2013) and the violence of enslavement which produced the figure of the Negro and later the “new Negro” both with naïve “double consciousness” are dissimilar. Double consciousness is a term developed by W.E.B. DuBois to describe the striving of the Negroes in America to be both African and American at the same time. While both forms of violence share the common objective of racial domination and extermination, their effect on Afrikan culture and thought is different. In general, the native remains *umuntu* while the Negro becomes fixated with being human due to the proximity to whiteness in America. *Umuntu* is an Afrikan philosophical term which denotes the ethical meaning of being a person in the context of Afrikan culture and social relations.

While Afro-pessimism (Wilderson, 2020) has its flaws, it encapsulates very well this fundamental distinction between the native and the Negro. Afro-pessimism (Wilderson, 2020) is a theoretical paradigm which analyses the structure of violence inflicted on the blacks who are reduced to slaves by humans. The Negro who embraces the negative image of Afrika becomes an enslaved object without culture. The native on the other hand being a historical figure who is a majority both numerically and culturally can easily “return to the source” (Cabral, 1979) to resist being an ontological native (an equivalent of a slave), a racist fantasy of racism/white supremacy (Welsing, 1991). The historical native is the rightful owner of the land with own culture and civilization since

time immemorial, while the ontological native is a racist figment of imagination of the white settlers. While the ontological native is a structural figure of white supremacy, the historical native is a figure of agency who can escape the structure of racism through culture and revolutionary violence.

This is not to negate the common efforts of the struggle for racial liberation as embodied by the Garvey movement. While the culturalism of the maroons (Robinson, 2000) in the diaspora is commendable, it is different from the role culture (Cabral, 1979) plays in the struggle for national liberation for the natives. The natives are more rooted in their culture and thought than even the most radical of the Afrikans in the diaspora. The case of *amaqaba* and the maroons is a good case in point. *Amaqaba* are the natives who rejected western culture and whites while the maroons rebelled against slavery on the basis of the retention of Afrikan culture which survived the middle passage. Thus, while *amaqaba* and the maroons epitomise the figures of the African Radical Tradition and the Black Radical Tradition respectively, *amaqaba* are more rooted in Afrikan culture from which both draw inspiration in their struggle against racism/white supremacy.

The philo-praxis of *ubuntu* which the natives of conquered Azania maintained despite the ravages of settler colonialism and its “logic of elimination” (Wolfe, 2006) is the basis of the antagonism between *Abantu* and *abelumbi/abelungu*. It was on the basis of Afrikan cosmology that *amaqaba* were able to designate whites as *abelumbi/*

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abelungu (sorcerers/wizards) and not *Abantu* (thus irredeemable and incapable to co-exist with). It is this Afrikan philosophy of *ubuntu* which was the basis of *amaqaba's* rejection of whites as evil and irredeemable and from which Lembede drew inspiration through his peasant upbringing. Lembede formulated the philosophy of nativism (a philosophical outlook which proudly prioritises the collective interests and power of the natives to the exclusion of foreign invaders) on the basis of this inspiration which is at the core of his idea of *Afrika's Cause Must Triumph*. He embodied this by stating the following: "Africa is a Black man's country. Africans are the natives of Africa, and they have inhabited Africa, their motherland. From times immemorial, Africa belongs to them" (Lembede, 2015:139). Because Lembede formulated the political philosophy of Afrikanism in these terms, we postulate that he was not merely providing a descriptive analysis of the land and national questions, but that he was also formulating a prescriptive framework for the struggle for national liberation and the final solution for the national question in South Africa.

Anton Lembede was born on January 21, 1914, on a farm in Eston and died on July 29, 1947, an untimely and devastating death, especially regarding the direction of exclusive Afrikan nationalism and liberation in South Africa. He studied for a BA, an LLB, and an MA in philosophy. This was regarded as an intellectual feat by his generation, such as his close friend Mda. Lembede proudly proclaimed, "I am proud of my peasant background. I am one with Mother Africa's dark soil" (Edgar & Ka Msumza, 2018:13).

This is an early indication of his Afrikan nationalism, which he called Afrikanism. The idea of the dark soil prefigures race pride which was fundamental to Garveyism. Being one with Mother Afrika and the dark soil are the prefiguration of his love for Afrika, which is also foundational to Garveyism. Lembede encountered Garveyism while reading *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. He became one of the leading intellectuals of his generation in the Youth League of the African National Congress. In line with the racial nationalism of Garveyism, the Youth League policy, which bore his influence, stated that "The conflict in South Africa... was fundamentally a racial one between whites and blacks. Because whites had

defined their dominance in terms of race, this led blacks to view his problems and those of his country through the perspective of race" (Edgar & Ka Msumza, 2018:34).

By this time, Lembede was reading widely and would have come across the literature on Garveyism, which arrived in the 1920s. This formulation of the conflict in South Africa in terms of race rather than class is a manifestation of the anti-communism and race-first ideology in which the Garvey movement was embedded and which Lembede embraced. We know that Lembede regarded communism as a foreign ideology and adherence to it as a symptom of a pathological state on the part of Afrikans (Edgar & Ka Msumza, 2018). "There is ample oral evidence that Lembede was familiar with Garvey, and he frequently peppered his speeches with quotations from *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (Edgar & Ka Msumza, 2018: 41).

It is a well-known fact that Garvey was influenced by the father of Pan-Afrikanism, namely Edward Wilmot Blyden (Gerhart, 1979). One of the ideas Garvey got from Blyden was race pride. Similarly, "Lembede's ideas, for instance, echo those of Edward Wilmot Blyden, the West Indian educator who wrote on the creative and distinctive genius of the Negro race and the necessity for Africans to express racial pride" (Edgar & Ka Msumza, 2018: 41). Thus, Lembede's Afrikanism not only accentuates race pride just like the Garveyism, but also underscores the uniqueness of the Afrikan spirit, thus formulating racial nationalism that excludes all non-Afrikans, such as Europeans and Indians.

Commenting on Lembede's idea of *uncompro-mising* Afrika for the Afrikans, Edgar and Ka Msumza (2018:57) state "His advocacy of an exclusive African nationalism meant that Africans had to emancipate themselves psychologically and rely on their own leadership in order to challenge white domination..." This exclusive Afrikan nationalism, which was exemplified by the slogan of the Garvey movement in the form of "Africa for the Africans those at home and abroad", was the core of Lembede's Afrikanism.

When Afrikans in the 1920s in South Africa envisioned the arrival of Garvey so that whites could clear out of Afrika, they were expressing what Lembede would incorporate into his political

philosophy of Afrikanism in the 1940s. They wanted Africa's cause to triumph. Echoing Garvey's *African fundamentalism* and its elements of race first, racial pride, and self-determination, Lembede (2015: 146) posits that "African nationalism is to be pursued with the fanaticism and bigotry of religion. We must therefore verily believe that we are not inferior to no other race on earth...We must develop race pride". We now turn to the second section of this paper to conduct a comparative analysis of Lembede's idea of Afrika's cause must triumph with Mda's counterpart idea.

Lembede's Afrikanism and Afrika's Cause Must Triumph

While Ntongela Masilela (2013) located Lembede within the "new African movement" which, according to him, was influenced by the "new Negro," this paper prefers to locate Lembede within both the Afrikan Radical Tradition as a native counterpart of the Black Radical Tradition (Robinson, 2000) and Afrikan political philosophy. The essence of the Afrikan Radical Tradition is the total negation of whites, white settler colonialism and white supremacy globally, in this order. The figures of this tradition comprise ordinary people like *amaqaba* and highly gifted thinkers like Lembede. The historico-cultural objective of this tradition is the restoration of the historical personality of the Afrikan race and national sovereignty, while its political aim is the search for "historical being," in the sense of the uncompromising elimination of whites and the European world-order. This order that is based on *Maafa* and *Isfet* (evil force) will be replaced with the Afrikan world-order as premised on *Maat* (a Kemetic moral and ethical philosophy premised on balance, harmony, and truth) and ubuntu, through an Afrikan revolution

In a nutshell the Afrikan Radical Tradition seeks to restore *Maat* by eliminating all the forces of *Maafa* such as Europeans and Arabs on the continent. This is the only way in which Africa's cause can triumph. Because of this uncompromising nature of this tradition, radical liberals like Mda, Sobukwe and Biko are excluded from it. These figures form part of the Afrikan Liberal Tradition. The fundamental aim of this tradition is the search for "actual being" in the sense of the transformation of whites and the white settler world. This transformation is premised on the distortion of Afrikan culture such as the

philo-praxis of *ubuntu* by extending it to whites to convert them to *Abantu* and to treat them as Afrikans. This is a naïve and dangerous proposition as premised on Azanian nonracialism.

The metaphors of the African tree and African table are the highest expressions of the treacherous search for actual being by both Sobukwe and Biko. While for the Afrikan Radical Tradition the fundamental problem is whites, for the Afrikan Liberal Tradition the main problem is the system of racism which can be abolished and still retain whites. This is because, as a result of the naïve humanism of the figures of the Afrikan Liberal Tradition there is an absurd separation between whites and the system of oppression. Thus, one can destroy the system of oppression without destroying whites who are its creators and beneficiaries. For the Afrikan Radical Tradition the destruction begins with whites and ends with the system of racism which they created and benefit from. It is in this sense that the Afrikan Radical Tradition is fundamentally anti-white and not just ant-racist or non-racist.

Following Odera Orika's *Four Trends in African Philosophy* (1979), we will also locate Lembede within the Nationalistic-Ideological school of Afrikan philosophy. The essence of this school is the ideas and philosophies of Afrikan political leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere. While Nyerere has created the political philosophy of Afrikan Socialism, Nkrumah has formulated Consciencism. It is in this sense that just like these Afrikan philosophers of the Independence movement of the 1960s, we locate Lembede within Afrikan philosophy and specifically the Nationalistic-Ideological school. Our location of Lembede in terms of Afrikan philosophy is informed by the fact that he studied philosophy. Lembede, as already stated above, completed a Master of Arts' thesis with the University of South Africa on the idea of God within Western philosophy. Without repeating the details around the difference between the professional school and other schools of Afrikan philosophy such as the ethnophilosophical school, we posit that although Lembede studied philosophy academically, he does not embody the traits of the professional school as epitomised by the likes of Paulin Hountondji and Kwasi Wiredu.

One of these traits is the methodological and epistemological reliance on "icons of the Occident"

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”

(Serequeberhan, 2008) such as Karl Marx. Besides the Nationalistic-Ideological school Lembede can also be located within the hermeneutical school as propagated by Tsenay Serequeberhan (2008). Serequeberhan in his book entitled *The Hermeneutics of African Philosophy* (2008), employs figures such as Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral within Afrikan philosophy as important Afrikan leaders and thinkers who contributed to *The Triumph of the African Cause* of independence. It is also important to note that Serequeberhan accentuates the fact that the likes of Cabral drew from what Serequeberhan designates as “our heritage” in their contribution to address the outstanding issue of Afrikan liberation. Just like Cabral as an Afrikan philosopher who has emphasised the role of the peasants and their culture to formulate the notion of “returning to the source”, Lembede’s peasant upbringing exposed him to “the source”. For the purposes of this paper, this source is accessible through the native sphere which comprises of the wisdom, culture, and thoughts of our ancestors or “the living tradition of our ancestors.”

Due to his peasant upbringing which Lembede was proud of, we argue that he was exposed to

the sentiments of *amaqaba*, despite becoming a Christian. We argue that despite his Christian influence which we think he was going to outgrow had he lived long enough and to dismiss it as a foreign ideology just as he did with communism. Lembede combined both the uncompromising sentiments and ideas of *amaqaba* and Garveyism. It is in this sense that Lembede’s intellectual legacy as an Afrikan political philosopher within the Nationalistic-Ideological school and the hermeneutical school comprises of the combination of the culture and thought of *amaqaba* and Garveyism.

In other words, Lembede’s political philosophy of Afrikanism is a combination of *amaqaba*’s culture and sentiments as well as Garveyism. Fundamental to *amaqaba*’s uncompromising philosophy of nativism is the antagonism between *Abantu* and *abelumbi/abelungu* who can never be *Abantu* due to their inherent evil nature and the race war of conquest. This includes or involves the racial domination and extermination which whites as *abelumbi/abelungu* have embarked on against the natives of Azania since 1652. Garveyism on the other hand was premised on the battle-cry of “Africa for the Africans those at home and abroad” (Vinson, 2012). In essence, both *amaqaba* and Garvey were advocating in an uncompromising manner the *en masse* expulsion of whites from Afrika as the preliminary step towards the destruction of global white supremacy and the restoration of a “new Afrika” (Lembede, 2015).

Lembede in line with his peasant upbringing and intellectual evolution managed to combine both the native tradition of resistance as epitomised by *amaqaba* and the diasporic tradition of resistance as embodied by the Garvey movement. This combination accounts for his exclusive Afrikan nationalism. The idea of *Africa’s Cause Must Triumph* as formulated by Lembede was encapsulated in his uncompromising sentiment of Afrika for the Afrikans, Europe for the Europeans, and Asia/India for the Asians/Indians. Due to the combined nature of his political philosophy of Afrikanism as comprising of the influence of *amaqaba* and Garvey, at the core of Lembede’s idea of *Africa’s Cause Must Triumph* is the total rejection of whites as *abelumbi/abelungu* and Garvey’s sentiment of Africa for the Africans. Thus, for Lembede “whites are not here to stay” and

that the cause of Afrika can only triumph with the expulsion of whites as opposed to co-existence with them. Herein lies Lembede's intellectual legacy of exclusive Afrikan nationalism and its exclusive idea of Afrika for the Afrikans. Lembede "...mentioned men like Hintsisa and Ntsikana who had tried for years fighting against superior weapons, to hurl the White man into the sea" (Lembede, 2015: 128).

Mda on the other hand formulated the political philosophy of "broad nationalism" (Edgar and Ka Msumza, 2018). At its core is Christian humanism (Edgar and Ka Msumza, 2018), which is the foundational pillar of the Afrikan Liberal Tradition of Sobukwe and Biko. This is how Mda (Edgar and Ka Msumza, 2018: 224-5) stated it:

"Now it has to be noted that there are two brands of African nationalism. The first brand is extremist and ultra-revolutionary. *Extreme African nationalists demand that Europeans "quit Africa" and that all the white men are to be thrown into the sea.* The other brand of African nationalism is comparatively moderate. It is totally opposed to white domination and to foreign leadership in Africa: *but it takes account of the concrete situation and recognizes that the different racial groups have come to stay in South Africa. It insists that a condition for inter-racial cooperation is the abandonment of white domination, the complete national freedom of the African people, and such changes in the basic structure of South Africa that those relations which breed exploitation and misery shall disappear*" (our italics). "Mda inserted a section, "Two Streams of African nationalism," in which he rejected the one variant of African nationalism identified with Marcus Garvey's slogan: "Africa for the Africans."

It is based on the "Quit Africa" slogan and on the cry "Hurl the Whiteman into the sea.". This brand of African nationalism is extreme and ultra-revolutionary. Because Lembede often referred to Garvey in his speeches, this was a subtle way for Mda to signal a departure from some of Lembede's positions" (Edgar and Ka Msumza, 2015:53).

Because Mda was deceived by Christian humanism and its dishonest idea of universal brotherhood, he accepted the ridiculous idea that "whites are here to stay.". Edgar and Ka Msumza (2018:14) stated that "during Mda's school years, his political and cultural

views fitted comfortably into a black "Cape liberal" paradigm shared by many mission-educated Africans who believed this to be the surest basis for advancement in both white and black worlds." This is how Mda has sown the seed of Afrikan nonracialism which grew into the African tree of Sobukwe which was used by Biko to make an African table to co-exist with *abelumbi/abelungu* who were rejected by *amaqaba* and Lembede. It is in this sense that in contrast to Lembede, Mda's idea of Africa's cause must triumph is premised on the acceptance of whites and coexistence with them. Lembede on the other hand envisioned the idea of Africa's cause must triumph on the basis that "whites are not here to stay" and that they should be rejected and expelled *en masse*.

The intellectual legacies of both Lembede and Mda are seminal. One of the findings of this paper is that their antagonistic ideas of Africa's cause must triumph are still relevant to the struggle for national liberation in the so-called post-Apartheid South Africa. While Mda's idea of Africa's cause must triumph is not hegemonic in South Africa today, it is gaining traction through the Azanian critical tradition (Dladla, 2021 and Modiri, 2021). This tradition which is a philosophical refinement of the Azanian political tradition of Sobukwe and Biko is contesting the hegemony of the Congress tradition of Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela. Another finding is that Lembede's idea of Afrika's cause must triumph is marginalised because it is regarded as ultra-revolutionary, extreme and nativistic. This paper seeks to correct this naïve and dangerous marginalisation by accentuating the significance of Lembede's intellectual legacy. We now turn to the last section to discuss how Lembede's intellectual legacy can aid the natives in conquered Azania to finally resolve the national question in the so-called post-Apartheid South Africa.

Lembede and the National Question in South Africa: Towards the Hegemony of Lembede's Afrika for the Afrikans

Lembede's idea that Afrika's cause must triumph can be reduced to the idea that the natives of Azania will only be free when they restore their ownership of the land since time immemorial. The restoration of the land by the natives who are by definition native to it, entails the resolution of the national question in conquered Azania through

a *chimurenga* (war of liberation). Due to the brevity of this paper, we will not discuss at length the different schools of thought on the national question. It is in this sense that the national question is fundamentally the land question in “conqueror South Africa” (Ramose, 2018). This is because the national question begins with conquest in wars of colonisation since 1652. Following Lembede’s exclusive Afrikan nationalism, the natives of “pre-conquest” Azania formed nations on the basis of their nativity to the land, their unique Afrikan spirit and race. When European conquerors invaded Azania through a race war of racial domination and extermination, they invented the racist fiction of “the native question”. At the core of this question is the question, how can whites racially dominate and ultimately exterminate the natives, after they have conquered them in wars of colonisation?

The natives on the other hand as the rightful owners of the land especially as *amaqaba* who rejected whites and their fiction of white civilization, posed the historically and politically correct question, namely *the white settler question*. This is because the natives regarded whites as “white strangers” (Kunene, 2017) who have invaded their land and are destroying them as an Afrikan race.

Lembede made a seminal contribution to the national question in South Africa, namely the race paradigm. According to this race paradigm of the national question, the fundamental antagonism in South Africa is premised on race as opposed to class. Due to his embrace of Garveyism, Lembede is the best proponent of this paradigm as already stated above regarding his ideological contribution to the Program of Action and the Youth League Manifesto. Lembede who was the main ideologue in the Congress Youth League of the ANC in the 1940s contributed to this race paradigm by rejecting communism and its class conflict thesis as a foreign ideology. Because of his studies of Garveyism, Lembede embraced its race-first ideology and its race pride. Lembede accentuated the idea of the Afrikan race as opposed to the Afrikan class. For instance, Lembede (2015:190) states: “Africans are not primarily oppressed as workers but are oppressed on the ground of colour or race”. While his reflections and contributions to the race paradigm of the national question are scattered in his writings, they are also encapsulated succinctly in a piece by Lembede entitled *Fallacy*

of Non-European Unity Movement (1945). It is in this piece that Lembede formulates what we can call the “four-nation thesis” regarding the national question in South Africa. This “four-nation-thesis” is premised on the logic of race groups in South Africa which constitute autonomous nations.

According to Lembede, South Africa consists of the Afrikan nation, the European nation, the Indian nation and the Coloured nation. In line with the Garvey movement’s battle-cry of “Africa for the Africans those at home and abroad,” Lembede formulated his uncompromising idea of Afrika for the Afrikans, Europe for the Europeans and India for the Indians. The fundamental premise is the land question. According to Lembede, Afrikans are the natives of Afrika and Afrika is their motherland. It is in this sense that both Europeans and Indians are non-Afrikans because they are not native to Afrika. In terms of his political philosophy of Afrikanism, these non-Afrikans lack the unique Afrikan spirit which the Afrikan environment endowed the natives with. Lembede (2015:137) posits in this regard, that “an eternal law of variation has developed peculiar people in the spirit of the environment called the African, Native or Aborigine. And that Africans are the natives of Africa from times immemorial.” Lembede (2015:137) further argued that:

“Now from time immemorial Africa has developed her own peculiar plants, animals and man-the African Native or Aborigine . . . *This African spirit can realise itself through, and can be interpreted by, Africans only. Foreigners of whatever brand and hue can never properly and correctly interpret this spirit owing to its uniqueness, peculiarity and particularity*” (our italics).

Europe is the motherland of the Europeans while India is the motherland of the Indians. These non-Afrikans cannot interpret and understand the unique Afrikan spirit thus cannot co-exist with the natives. Despite their long presence in conquered Azania, these non-Afrikans cannot possess this unique Afrikan spirit. They are the products of their unique environments which are Europe and India as their motherlands respectively. It is in this sense that Europeans and Indians as non-Afrikans are Asiatics because they emerged from the continent of Asia and are the “implacable and

everlasting enemies" (Williams, 1987) of the natives as members of the Afrikan race.

The Coloured people on the hand do not have a motherland. This is obviously because they emerge in the wake of slavery and wars of colonisation since 1652. According to Lembede, Coloureds and Indians are non-Europeans. Following Lembede's exclusive Afrikan nationalism and its exclusive idea of Afrika, the resolution of the European and Indian problem within the national question is expulsion to their motherlands. But because the Coloureds do not have their own motherland, this en masse expulsion is impractical. In order to resolve this Coloured problem, Lembede divided the Coloureds into three types. According to Lembede (2015:182), the first type is the one which embraces Afrikan culture, the second type regards itself as a Euro-African nation while the last one regards itself as European.

Lembede (2015:181) argued that "Africans are natives of Africa, they and Africa are one, their relation to Africa is superior to the relations of other sections of the populations . . . *it is evidently wrong to place Africans on a footing of equality with other racial groups at present residing in Africa*" (our italics)." Departing from this fundamental and unapologetic nativistic premise, Lembede posited that the Coloured people who embrace Afrikan culture by for instance speaking Afrikan languages "we can tolerate in our society" (Lembede, 2015:182). It is in this sense that Europeans and Indians cannot be tolerated in our society and thus must be expelled to their motherlands. As Lembede (2015:181) states: "A great hullabaloo is being made by advocates of the Unity of all Non-Europeans in South Africa in their struggle against white supremacy or white oppression. This unity we are told is to include Africans, Coloureds, and Indians. Before irreparable harm is done to the development and progress of the African people, this fallacious and fantastic theory must be exposed. Unity among the above-mentioned classes on Non-Europeans is impossible..." This is how Lembede's Afrikanism embodies exclusive racial nationalism. This paper seeks to restore this uncompromising racial nationalism of Lembede as a worthy intellectual legacy which Afrikans can use to launch a *chimurenga*/war of liberation to destroy whites and white supremacy in South Africa in this order, so that finally Africa's cause can triumph.

Conclusion

This paper has foregrounded the intellectual legacy of Lembede. In doing so, we have provided a brief intellectual sketch of Lembede to demonstrate that he was influenced by Garveyism. In addition to this intellectual influence, Lembede was exposed to peasant upbringing which placed him in proximity with *amaqaba*'s wisdom. This was in order to argue that Lembede's political philosophy of Afrikanism which is his main intellectual legacy comprised the influence of *amaqaba* and Garvey. It is in this sense that we designated Lembede as an Afrikan political philosopher who formulated the political philosophy of Afrikanism. The findings of the paper are attempting to break a new ground in studies on the national question and political philosophy of national liberation in South Africa. We located Lembede within the Nationalistic-Ideological school and hermeneutical school of Afrikan philosophy. It is also in this sense that Lembede's intellectual legacy as an Afrikan philosopher of liberation should be used to resolve the national question in South Africa.

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