

# TRANSLATION

## IFilosofi (inzululwazi) phezu koMngcele<sup>1</sup>

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Esikhathini esiphila kuso, uma kukhulunywa ngokudilizwa kobukoloniyali kuvela lezi zingqikithi eziqavile: ukubulawa kolwazi (epistemicide), ukucwaswa kolwazi (knowledge exclusion), ukungakhathaleli ulwazi (marginalisation), nokufuna ubulungiswa ngodaba lo lwazi (epistemic justice). Zonke lezi zingqikithi zinokukodwa okufanayo. Lokhu wukukhathazeka ngolwazi, ikakhulukazi ukuthola izimpendulo emibuzweni ethi: Kusho ukuthini ukuthi umuntu uyazi? Uma ethi uyazi, wazini ngempela? Ukukhathazeka kuphinda kuguquke uma sekukhulunywa ngokudilizwa kobukoloniyali ngoba lapho kusuke sekukhulunywa ipolitiki. Yiyo eyisisusa kanti iyimpendulo yale mibuzo futhi. Impendulo yalo mbuzo omayelana nokuthi yini ukwazi ayisoze yatholakala ngendlela yokuzihlolisisa nje kuphela (self-reflectivity). Eminye imibuzo ozimpendulo zayo zingatholakali yilena: Ngingaqiniseka kanjani ukuthi engikwaziyo kuliqiniso? Uyini umthombo wolwazi lwami? Ngaphezulu kwayo yonke le mibuzo kunokukhathazeka okukhulu ngokuthi yimaphi lawo mandla asuke esebenza uma sekufakwa uhlelo olulodwa lolwazi. IFilosofi yaseNtshonalanga yamukelwa ngezindlela eziningi, yingakho nje isidlondlobele ngaphezu kwamanye amafilosofi. Ngamanye amazwi amafilosofi amanye iyawabulala (epistemicide), iyawakhipha olwazini olwamukelekile (canon), iphinde iwagwinye (assimilation). Lokhu ikwenza ngendlela engawavumeli ukuthi ayihlome imibuzo mayelana nokuthi zakhiwe kanjani izinhlelo zayo zokufunda (curriculum).

Ubukoloniyali uma ububuka ngendlela elula uyabona ukuthi bakhelwe phezu kwesisekelo esisodwa sokuqonda. Sona siwukuthi lunye kuphela ulwazi olungaphezu kwalo lonke olukhona emhlabeni. Lolo wulwazi lwaseNtshonalanga. Akusho ukuthi ezinye izinhlobo zolwazi azilungile ngandlela thize. Kodwa ubukoloniyali buthi ulwazi olungelona olwaseNtshonalanga luyenqaba

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ukuthi lusetshenziswe emkhathini ongenamkhawulo. Lokho sekusho ukuthi lolo lwazi luba ngoluveza kuphela izinto ezithize futhi zezindawo ezithile lapho ludabuka khona. Izibonelo wukuthi lungachaza nje ukuthi kusho ukuthini ukuzibiza ngokuthi ungum-Afrika, uyiNdiya, uyiShayina, nokunye okunjalo. Ulwazi lwaseNtshonalanga lona luphakeme ngoba lusetshenziswa ukuchaza ukuthi kusho ukuthini ukuba yisidalwa esingumuntu. Ekujuleni kwale nkulumo yokudiliza ubukolonyali kuhloswe ukuveza obala ipolitiki esebenzayo ebukolonyalini, ukuvumbulula umlando wobukolonyali, kanye nalokho okubangela ukuthi ubukolonyali bube yinto evumelekile. Ubukolonyali buphinde bufihle indawo kanye nesikhathi lapho budabuka khona. Kamuva lolo lwazi luphinde luvezwe njengalolo olusha olungelona olwendawo ethile, futhi olungenawo nomlando, bese luvezwa njengoludabuka emkhathini. Ukudilizwa kobukolonyali akuyona into engathathwa kancane. Kufanele ukuthi kube nendlela yokusebenza ngokulandela uhlelo oluthize lobuhlakani ukuze kudilizwe yonke imiKhakha kanye neziFundo zoBuhlakani baseNtshonalanga, 'iGrid'. Yiyo le Grid evalela umhlaba wonke ejele lokucabanga ngodli.

Injula yalo mquleli wocwaningo wukukhathazeka okukhulu okuphathelene nesifundo esibizwa ngokuthi yiPolitiki yeFilosofi. Okwesibili wukushuba kwesimo osekuvelile ngenxa yezimfuno zokuthi akube khona ubulungiswa kwezolwazi. Ingxenyane enkulu yokushuba kwesimo imayelana nokuqonda okwahlukene ngesifundo seFilosofi, kanye nokuzwisisa okungafani lezo zinhlobo zolwazi eziphikisana nobukolonyali obuvela sebudlondlobele. Lo mquleli wocwaningo uhlose ukuveza obala izinto ezishubile ezivamise ukuvela uma abantu ababekade beshiywe ngaphandle ngokomlando sebeqala ukuhloma imibuzo ephathelene nepolitiki esiFundweni.

Ngesikhathi ngiqala ukuhlukanisa lo mquleli ngangazi ukuthi ngiwunike siphilisi isihloko. Kwakufanele ngikhethe phakathi kwaleso esithi, 'IFilosofi eMngceleni' noma 'IFilosofi phezu koMngcele'. Ekugcineni ngacabanga ukuthi uma ngithe 'eMngceleni' lokho akuwuvezi ngokuphelele umoya osenkulumeni edidiyelwe yilo mquleli. Ukuthi 'emngceleni' kuveza isithombe sokuthi umuntu unganeneni noma ungaphesheya komngcele. Kuthiwa umuntu umi 'emngceleni' uma esazowelela ngaphesheya noma esevele esewelele ngaphesheya. Lowo kuba yima ekwazi ukuguquka abuke emuva kuleliya cala alishiyile.

Ukuma 'phezu komngcele' ngakolunye uhlangathi kusho ukuma phezu komugqa wokwehlukana. Lapho umuntu akekho nganeni noma ngaphesheya. Kungathiwa ukuma 'emngceleni' ukuma kunanoma yikuliphi icala, kanti 'ukuma phezu komngcele' kusho ukungehlukanisi phakathi kwalokhu nalokhuya. 'Ophezu komngcele' ubona izinto njengoba zinjalo ngempela.

Ukuba phezu komngcele kuyinto ebucayi kakhulu. Kufaka inselelo kuleyo ndlela lowo omnyama ophethwe ngokwenqubo yobukolonyali aqoka ukuzichaza ngayo yena siqu sakhe. Kuphinda kufake inselelo nasemaqenjini alabo abamnyama abafisa ukukhunjulwa ngandlela thize. Lokhu kuzichaza kwabantu abamnyama kuthinta imvelo yesiFundo uqobo: indlela yokusifundisa kanye nemibuzo okufanele siyiphendule noma siyigweme. Okunye wukuthi abantu bazuzani ekusebenzeni kwalesi siFundo. Isingeniso salo mquleli wocwaningo sinendawo ethunukayo. Leyo yilapho isiFundo sizifumana sihlaselwa khona yilabo ababekade beshiywe ngaphandle. Abahlaseli bambula ipolitiki yesiFundo futhi basisola ngokuthi asibafundisanga lutho esikhathini esedule, kodwa besikade sibaqondisa izigwegwe ngokusebenzisa iMikhakha yaso ehlukeni.

Ifilosofi idume ngokuthi iyisifundo esingachazeki, inombuzo oyohlala njalo usemqondweni womfilosofa othi: Iyini ifilosofi? Mhlawumbe nje uma siphindela emuva empikiswaneni eyaba khona ngeminyaka yawo-1970 kuya ko-1980, singayibona le nkinga yokungachazeki kwefilosofi. Lokhu kudinga ukuthi siphendule le mibuzo elandelayo: Ngabe ikhona yini iFilosofi yase-Afrika? Yini iFilosofi? Emuva komzukuzuku omkhulu umbuzo wokubakhona kwefilosofi yase-Afrika wawa wadicileleka phansi. Lokhu kwakubangelwa wukukhathala kwengqondo. Enye yezinkinga kwaba wukuthi ukubiza umuntu omnyama ngom-Afrika kwabanga inkinga enkulu. Yingoba ukuziqonda komuntu omnyama wesimanjemanje kwakhelwe phezu kwezimpikiswano ezinkulu zepolitiki. Nakuba kunjalo kwakudingekile ukuthi ichazwe ifilosofi yase-Afrika ngenxa yokuthi kwakuzanywa ukuphendula umbuzo owawubuzwe ngqo. Ekugcineni ayibanga khona incazelo ngoba kwakuthathwa okukodwa okungenancazelo kuzanywe ukuchaza okunye okufanayo. Lokho kwaholela ekutheni konke kugcine sekushiywe kulenga emoyeni.

Leli qoqo lama-esitye liveza ukuthi isifundo sefilosofi asiqondakali kahle. Inkinga wukuthi isiFundo asikwazi ukuqapha imingcele yaso futhi sinenkinga nepolitiki. Abakhi baso bazithola sebehloniwa imibuzo esabekayo. Okungcono engibona ukuthi ngikwenze ukwakha inkulumbo phakathi kwedlanzana lamafilosofa ngendlela yokuyichaza ngokuphindaphinda (tautology).

IsiFundo esethulwe lapha sifaka phakathi imisebenzi yezifundiswa eziningana ezazenza amaphrojekthi okucwaninga ehlukeni. Lezi zifundiswa zanikela ngesikhathi sazo zixoxisana nami ngokudilizwa kobukoloniyali nangendlela imibhikisho noma izimvukelambuso zango 2015–2016 ezaba yisisusa ngayo sokuhloma imibuzo yepolitiki kufilosofi. Incazelo engiyinikeza lapha yesiFundo ngingathi ingeyesikhashana. Angizishayi nakancane isifuba ngayo. Angisho futhi ukuthi izophendula yonke imibuzo noma ingeyomkhathi ongenamkhawulo.

Njengesifundo, ifilosofi ifakwa ezifundweni zeNhlalakahle neSintu, kodwa manje isizithola isendaweni yokuthi iqanjwe kabusha, ikakhulukazi mayelana nendlela ebikade icwaningwa ngayo futhi nesafundiswa ngayo emanyuvesi aseNingizimu Afrika emva kweminyaka eminingi. Ngokomlando, incazelo ekhona yefilosofi yileyo eveza ukuthi yabe iyisithombe nje esasisemiqondweni yabaseNtshonalanga. Leso sithombe sivusa ekufeni (incarnation) ulwazi kubafundi lokuthi baphethwe eNtshonalanga (colonised). Imikhakha eminingi yefilosofi ifundiswa njengohlelo olusenovelini yokukhula komuntu waseNtshonalanga imsula ebuntwaneni imusa ebudaleni. Le noveli ibizwa ngokuthi yi-*Bildungsroman*. IFilosofi yaveza amasiko aseNtshonalanga ngokusebenzisa imithetho njengethuluzi lokuwenza abonakale ewulwazi olunezimpindulo zayo yonke imibuzo emayelana nesintu. Lokhu yakwenza ngokunikeza isithombe sokuthi lolu lwazi lusabalele kuwo wonke umkhathi ongenamkhawulo. Ubukoloniyali babuyindlele ebonakalayo yokugcizelela ukuthi le filosofi ingeyomkhathi futhi kufanele yamukelwe. Uma sengicizelela, ngingathi ifilosofi yisiFundo esavusa ekufeni sabuyisa ekuphileni, saphinda sabethelela emakhanda abafundi ukuqonda kwaseNtshonalanga. Ekugcineni yase ibacindezela labo abamnyama abaphethwe ngendlela yobukoloniyali, ngoba kamuva yasebenzisa izindlela zokubaqondisa izigwegwe abaphethwe. IFilosofi akusiso nje isiFundo, kodwa inesimo esigxile eNtshonalanga, ngakho-ke ingeminye yemiKhakha yezifundo ezakha esikubiza ngokuthi yiGrid. Le Grid yakhelwe ukuchaza ubunzima obuphathelene nesimanjemanje saseNtshonalanga kanye nokwenza kube lula ukuphoqelela ukuthi yamukeleke e-Afrika (Mudimbe 1996).

Ngayo le Grid kanye nokuqondiswa izigwegwe okuhambisana nayo, i-Afrika yaguqulwa yaba yisiFundo sokufundiswa. Kwase kufakwa nemfundo eyenza ukuthi icabange ngendlela ehambelana neGrid nokuthi konke efisa ukukwenza iqale icele imvume ku Grid ngaphambi kokukwenza. Uma sibheka ukuthi yonke eminye imiKhakha yokufunda yayibambisene nayo iphrojekthi yobukoloni, singakhuluma ngalowo nalowo Mkhakha ngokuthi wabe uyindlela yokuqondisa izigwegwe. Labo ababepethe ngendlela yobukoloni babaphoqelela bonke ababephila ngaphansi kwabo ukuba baqhubeke nokusisekela isiFundo kuze kube phakade. Babaphoqelela nokuyisekela yonke eminye imiKhakha yezifundo eqondisa izigwegwe. Nakuba kungaculisi osekushiwo manje, lezi zenzo zobukoloni seziyavunywa namhlanje. Lokhu kufakazelwa yifilosofi eveza izingqikithi ezinjengo kubulawa kolwazi, ukukhishelwa phandle kolwazi, nokufuna ubulungiswa ngezolwazi.

Ngesikhathi ngiqongelela izinhlelo zalo mqulu, ngaqala ukucabanga ngendaba engingayibhala ukuze ngiyisebenzise njengesethulo sale ngxoxo. Leyo ndaba yangenza ngizithole sengisemngceleni womkhakha wokufunda. Lokho kwakusho ukuthi kufanele ngiziqgamise zonke izimpawu ezaphumelelisa isiFundo ukucindezela abantu ngokomlando. Lo mcabango wenza kubonakale ukunquma kwesiFundo ngezindlela okufanele kukhulunywe ngazo ngaso, ukuqondisa izigwegwe kulabo abaphethwe nokuvala imicabango yabo ngemitheshwana yephrojekthi ethize.

Ngobani laba abenza isiphakamiso sokuthi akuphele ukuqondiswa izigwegwe njengoba sikwazi sonke? Ngubani lesi sidlamlilo esifuna ukukhuluma ngodlame olwasetshenziswa ukwakha iGrid yolwazi lwaseNtshonalanga? Yilo yini lolu lwazi olubethelelwa ekhanda lophethwe ngendlela yokuvusa ekufeni nokuphinda kubuyiselwe ekuphileni izinto ezintathu: IsiFundo, imiKhakha yeSifundo kanye nosiko lokuqondisa izigwegwe? Njengokuvamile kuphendulwa kuthiwe vele ngumuntu omnyama lowo ophonsa inselelo, yi-Afrika noma ngophethwe ongum-Afrika. Uma sekushiwo lokho bese kulandela uxhaxha lwezimpindulo oluphuthula ngokuthi kuthiwe: 'Myekeleni afunde nangaphezudlwana ifilosofi yakubo okuyi-Filosofi yase-Afrika'. Kwenye inkathi kungathiwa uma ekhohliswa: 'IFilosofi yase-Afrika ayibe yisisekelo sohlelo lwakhe lokufunda', bese kuqhutshekwa kuthiwa: 'Uma umbuka nje kufanele uzisholo uthi: i-African Philosophy kuye ayifane ne-Analytical Philosophy kumaNgisi, i-Idealism kumaJamane, iPragmatism kumaMelikana, njalo-njalo.'

Kodwa, inkinga isekuphikisaneni nobukoloni njengoba buqondwa manje, okuwukukhetha ukulwa nobubhongoza befilosofi ngokuzama ukuthi leyo efundiswayo yenziwe ibe ngeyama-Afrika noma ngeyabaphethwe e-Afrika. Akwanele lokho. Iqiniso lalokho wukuthi, le Filosofi yama-Afrika ayisoze yabudiliza ubukoloni. Singathi nje iwumfanekiso osaphupho elithuthuzela kamnandi uma ulele (identarian illusion). Lo mfanekiso uyahluleka ukubona ukuthi kunezinto ezishubile nezingaxazululeki phakathi kwezinto ezibonakalayo, esingathi yilokhu nalokhuya nalezo ezingabonakali eziyopolitiki yobukoloni, okuyizona eziyimbangela yezinkinga.

Umuntu wenza izinto zibekhona (performative action) ngalokho akushoyo nakuphimisayo ngomlomo wakhe, ngaleyo ndlela kuyiphutha ukunaka izinto ezibonakalayo (the constative) ukhohlwe wukuthi zazenziwe ngabathize phambilini. Ukwengezelela kulento wukuveza ukuthi kuyihaba ukuthi kwake kwaba khona amasiko azimele ngawodwa efilosofi ngezinkathi ezadlula afana nefilosofi yase-Afrika, yaseNtshonalanga, yaseNdiya, neyaseShayina. Iqiniso wukuthi alikho isiko elimsulwa elingazange lixubane namanye ngaphambilini. Lapho kuthiwa isiko limsulwa njengefilosofi yamaShayina okuthiwa yi (neo) Confucianism, akukho lokho.

Ngisho neConfusianism yesimanjemanje ayikho msulwa futhi uma kukhulunywa ngayo kuchazwa ukuphindela emuva endulo. Ayehlukile kuFilosofi yase-Afrika yesimanjemanje ngoba iyibuya. Iyinhlanganisela yamasiko ayelandelwa ngaphambi kwezikhathi zobukoloniyali nezamanje. Ngamanye amazwi, yize ezinye izinhlobo zefilosofi ezifana ne-Afro-Radicalism zisitshela ukuthi uguquko lungenziwa kalula ngokusuka ekubeni ngophethwe omnyama ongaphansi kobukoloniyali, i-Afro-Radicalism yona ngokwayo inezinkinga ezimangalisayo.

Okokuqala kuyacaca kimina ukuthi ifilosofi yase-Afrika ingehlukaniswe namanye ngoba ihlangene nawo (iyingxubevange) futhi ilandela umthetho wokudidiyela ulwazi (the law of hybridity). Sekuvamile-ke ukuthi ababhala ngokuthukiswa kolwazi bangene ogibeni axwayisa ngalo umfilosofa uJacques Derrida lapho ethi: 'Inkolelo yokuthi impendulo iwukufundisa iFilosofi yase-Afrika ayihlukile nasekwamukeleni ukuthi umuntu ojwayelekile angahlenga isintu (secular messianism).'

Kungasiza ukuphakamisa ukuthi amasiko efilosofi awumsebenzi wezimpikiswano okungenani ezimbili. Eyokuqala ingaba yimpendulo embuzweni ombaxambili othi: Ingabe umuntu useke wazihlolisisa yini wase enquma ukuthi yena umi kuphi mayelana nohlobo lwefilosofi okuthiwa ingumlando wemibhalo (*Wirkungsgeschichte*)? Umbuzo ohambisana nalowo ngowokuthi: Ingabe ikhona yini impendulo embuzweni wokuthi izinkinga zemibhalo zilandelana kanjani (*Problemgeschichte*)?

Eyesibili ingaba yimpendulo embuzweni omagatshagatsha othi: Usiko olulodwa lapho luxoxisana nolunye luxoxa kanjani? Lokhu kufanele kubukwe ngaphansi kokuthi zimbili izindlela zokuxoxisana, okungaba ngokufihlekile (okungaqondile) noma okuqondile. Lapha sizokhumbula iqhaza elabanjwa yi-Afrika eseNyakatho ekwakhiweni kweFilosofi yamaGrikhi. Leli qhaza lamukelwa ezikhathini zangaphambili, kodwa lagcina selesuliwe futhi lingasamukelwa, ngoba ukuxoxisana okwabakhona kwasekufihlekile ngokuhamba kwesikhathi futhi sekulula nokukuphika. Lokhu kuphika kwakuwumphumela wokuthi isimanjemanje saseNtshonalanga sase sinqume ukuziphendula ubhongoza kwezolwazi nezokuphila.

Ngicabanga ukuthi ukuze amasiko efilosofi abonakale egxile kakhulu empikiswaneni emayelana nokuzihlolisisa wena kunokuthi agxile ekuxoxisane namanye, kuwumphumela wokungalingani kwamandla ezomnotho. Amasiko athanda ukwengamela amanye avame ukukhuluma kuphela ngokuthi adabuka kanjani wona. Awakukhombisi okuwahlaba umxhwele uma sekukhulunywa ngamanye amasiko efilosofi akhona emhlabeni. Le ndlela evalekile yokubuka izinto iwumphumela wepolitiki ekhombisa amandla nokuziqhenya. Into eyodwa isiko lobubhongoza befilosofi elingeke ngokomthetho walo lifune ukuyiqonda ukuthi yini okwasemkhathini elikufunde lapha emhlabeni.

Lokhu kuliqiniso mayelana nezikhathi ezedlule, ngoba zazibeka ulwazi lwaseNtshonalanga ezingeni eliphezulu. Inhloso enkulu ye-Afro-Radicalism wukuguqula amatafula ukuze yona ibe ngenhla kolwazi oligxile eNtshonalanga. Ulwazi lo mkhathi okuyilona lwangempela kufanele lukhombise ukukhathazeka ngokuthi isintu sihlolene kanjani nomkhathi esihlala kuwo. Lolu lwazi lutholakala ngendlela yokuxoxisana namanye amasiko efilosofi. Izinkulumompikiswano kufanele ziveze izisombululo nezithelo ezizovunwa yimiphakathi, ikakhulukazi leyo esengozini yokugwinywa ngamasiko angobhongoza.

Amasiko abukelwa phansi ayaphoqeka ukungenela izingxoxo ngolwazi lo mkhathi ngoba uma kungenjalo azulelwa ngamanqe. Ngakolunye uhlangothi isiko elibukelwa phansi lingazakhela

ubudlelwano benkululeko ngokungenela izingxoxo namanye amasiko abhekene nezimo ezifanayo. Iziphondo ezimbili ezisanda kuvela ubudlelwano obakhiwa ne-Afrika noma neNingizimu okuthiwa phecelezi yiGlobal South.

Ukunikeza isithombe sale ngxoxo kunganginyaza ukuthi ngibe nakho ukuyiqonda kakhudlwana inhlobo yempikiswano enginayo emqondweni engenza ngikhethe ukubeka lo mqule phezu komngcele. Ngandlela thize kungashiwo ukuthi le mpikiswano yayilokhu ikhona kuFilosofi yase-Afrika. Ukuthi kusho ukuthini uma ngithi 'ngandlela thize' ngenye yezinkulumompikiswano ezinkulu engingeki ngangena kuzo lapha. Okungihlaba umxhwele wukuveza ezinye zezinto ezishubile ezivame ukugqama emngceleni lapho ifilosofi edlondlobele yaseNtshonalanga ihlangana khona nefilosofi yesimanjemanje yase-Afrika.

'Isimanjemanje' sithi ifilosofi yase-Afrika iyazazi ukuthi iyifilosofi yabantu abamnyama. Uma ngabe ukhona umehluko ozwakalayo phakathi kwefilosofi yasendulo noma yangaphambi kobukoloni kanye nefilosofi yase-Afrika yesimanjemanje, wukuthi lena eyokugcina isiphenduke isiFundo. Lesi siFundo sidabuka ekutheni ophethwe omnyama aqale ukuzibona njengalowo ofakwe ngaphansi kweGrid yobuHlakani baseNtshonalanga ngodli. Lokhu kwenziwa ngezindlela ezimbili, ngokusebenzisa isimanjemanje ngokungakhethi nokungenisa umshoshaphansi wezobukoloni. Ngokomlando nangokuqondile amafilosofa aseAfrika nabantu abamnyama babengazicabangi ukuthi bamnyama ngendlela efanayo neyamaqembu ezinhlanga ezikhona namuhla.

Izinhlango nobukoloni kwavezwa yisayensi yobuhlanga yesimanjemanje yaseNtshonalanga. IFilosofi yakudala yase-Afrika yaguquka yaba yiFilosofi yaseAfrika yesimanjemanje ngaso lesi sikhathi sokuvela kobuhlanga. Iphuzu lokuba ngumuntu omnyama ophila ngaphansi kobukoloni laqala ukulumbana nesidingo esimqoka sokukhulula incazelo yokuba ngumuntu omnyama ekuqondiseni izigwegwe wubukoloni neGrid yobuHlakani baseNtshonalanga.

I-Afrika eyaphenduka yabuswa yiNtshonalanga kwaba yiyona nto enkulu eyayikhathaza amafilosofa ase-Afrika. Kuphezu kwawo lo mngcele lapho izinsizakufunda zenza khona ukuthi umuntu omnyama abe ngaphansi ngokwesithunzi futhi aqondiswe izigwegwe wubukoloni. Kukuyo lendawo lapho izinsizakufunda zigqanyiswa khona ngamandla ngulowo ophethwe omnyama ngoba esephenduke isidamlilo. Yiyona ndlela-ke lo mqule wocwaningo ozibalula ngayo izinto.

Kulukhuni ukubuyisa ubuhlobo obavezwa wubudlelwano neNingizimu kanye nalobo obakheka nezinye izindawo ngenxa yemizabalazo eyaba khona. Akuyona futhi inhlosongqangi yalo mqule ukuzama ukuveza lokho. Njengoba sekushiwo, ezinye izahluko zalo mqule zibhalwe ngezinto ezijwayelekile nangendlela ezaziwa ngayo kulezo zindawo. Lokhu kunomphumela wokuthi umzabalazo waseNingizimu Afrika uthathwe njengalowo wase-Afrika ngokokuhleka kwezingqikithi ezinkulu emhlabeni. Ukuguqula nokudiliza ubukoloni kwaduma ngenxa yemisebenzi yezifundiswa zaseNingizimu ezisebenza ngaphansi kwengqikithi 'yejika lokudiliza ubukoloni' ('the decoloniality turn').

Yize ngibamukela ubukhona bobudlelwano benkuleleko, ngibona singcono lesi simo somlando esikhona manje esinikeza ophethwe omnyama olwela inkululeko ithuba loku phikisana ngqo nobuhongozo befilosofi yaseNtshonalanga. Lokhu kudinga isineke sokucubungula umlando wefilosofi yaseNtshonalanga. Kufanele kutholakale ukuthi izehlakalo zangokomlando zalandelana kanjani nokuthi kungani izinto zahamba ngaleyo ndlela. Lokhu kungaphendulwa ngombuzo

othi: Kungani emva kwesikhathi eside kangaka ubukoloniyasi bulokhu bumnamathele ophethwe omnyama bungafuni ukumdedela? Olwela inkululeko kufanele aqale ngokuqonda ukuthi ipolitiki yefilosofi iyinto enkulu impela nokuthi kusuke kushiwo yona uma kukhulunywa ngeFilosofi yokuQala. Kusukela ku Aristotle ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga selokhu yadideka ngalokho okuthiwa ngumqondo oলেখা য়িFilosofi yokuQala. Le Filosofi yokuQala empeleni ingomunye wemikhakha yefilosofi yaseNtshonalanga nokungathiwa ingaphansi kwayo.

IFilosofi yokuQala ihloma imibuzo eyisakhiwongqangi kuFilosofi yaseNtshonalanga ngendlela ebuka ubudlelwano phakathi kwefilosofi nalapho umhlaba wadabuka khona. Ngokuhamba kwesikhathi imicabango eyehlukene yaqhamuka ngeFilosofi yokuQala eyase iveza lezi zimpendolo ezithi le filosofi empeleni kungathiwa: iyilokho isintu esikwaziyo nesingakwethemba (epistemology), iyisizathu sokuba khona kwesintu emhlabeni ngokwendabuko (ontology) futhi iyisidingongqangi sokuphilisana ngokuhloniphana nokwethembana kwesintu (ethics).

Yize kunjalo, kwaze kwathatha izifundiswa ezisebenza ngaphansi kwesiko lokudiliza ubukoloniyasi ukuba ziveze ukuthi imibuzo eyisisekelo esingayibuza ngefilosofi yaseNtshonalanga yileyo yepolitiki ebuza ukuthi: Lolu lwazi ngolukabani? Lokhu kuphila ngokukabani? Ngumcabango kabani othi abanye kufuneka baphathwe kanjani?<sup>2</sup> Akushiwo ukuthi ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga yayiyibukela phansi ipolitiki. Kodwa kusekelwa umbono owaphakanyiswa nguHannah Arendt (1994: 430) embhalweni wakhe othi ‘Concern with Politics in Recent European Philosophical Thought’, lapho ethi: ‘Kusukela ekuqaleni amafilosofa aseNtshonalanga eyelokhu ebuka ifilosofi yepolitiki njengaleyo eyivezandlebe.’

Ifilosofi yamaGrikhi yaphenjelwa phezu komehluko okhona phakathi kwefilosofi emsulwa kanye nefilosofi yepolitiki. Ifilosofi emsulwa ibonwa njengedlondlobele kuneyakamuva ngoba yona ixutshwe nezinto zemihla ngemihla. Umehluko phakathi kwefilosofi emsulwa nefilosofi yepolitiki waba ngezinye zezisekelo zokuchaza ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga. Kwaze kwaba wukuthi izifundiswa zomkhakha wokudiliza ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga zikuveze obala ukuthi lefilosofi okuthiwa imsulwa selokhu kwathi nhlo ibihlezi ingcoliswa yileyo engemsulwa. Ngaleyo ndlela-ke, azikho izifundo zolwazi lokuba khona kwesintu kulo mhlaba ezikhiphela ngaphandle ulwazi oseluvele lukhona.

Yize kunjalo sithola ukuthi umehluko phakathi kwalokho okumsulwa nokwepolitiki uyaphindwaphindwa, kuze kube nokushayisana phakathi kwemikhakha yefilosofi yaseNtshonalanga neFilosofi yokuQala. Lokhu kugqama lapho idiphathimenti yefilosofi idweba umehluko phakathi kwefilosofi emsulwa neyepolitiki, nalapho amafilosofa ase-Afrika esolwa ngokufaka ipolitiki kufilosofi noma kuthiwa ehlulekile ukuvezela umhlaba ifilosofi yase-Afrika emsulwa. Lokhu kuvamise ukuphinda kwenzeke lapho kuthiwa amaziko efilosofi awadilize izinhlelo afundisa ngazo ukuze kuqedwe ubukoloniyasi, wona bese ephendula ngokufuna ukuba kungeniswe izifundo zeFilosofi yase-Afrika (African Philosophy).

Ukungenisa i-African Philosophy ngaphandle kokuthinta udaba lweFilosofi yaseNtshonalanga kunikeza inkinga ngoba yonke iMikhakha yokufunda yenganyelwe yifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga kanti nayo kusafanele iguqulwe. Ngakolunye uhlangothi abafundi bavame ukukhalaza ngokuthi sebenele ngepolitiki, sebefuna kwandiswe ifilosofi emsulwa. Lokhu bakusho ngoba bengazi ukuthi

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2 Ukuze uthole ingxoxo engathi ijulile, bona uPraeg (2014).

basuke besho iFilosofi yaseNtshonalanga. Uma sesiqashelisiwe ngeqhaza elingabanjwa yiFilosofi yokuQala (iFilosofi ye-Politiki) ekuguquleni izinto, singabona ukuthi lezi zimpawu ezivezwa ngamaziko efilosofi nabafundi ziqondephi. Ziqonde ukuthi labo abamnyama abaphethwe bavamile ukuvele baqoke ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga ngaphandle kokuqondisa ukuthi iyini imiphumela yokufundiswa ngendlela nangezikhathi ezilandelayo zobukolonyali.

Umsebenzi walabo ababhala 'ngejika lokudiliza ubukolonyali' wukukhumbuza lowo omnyama ophethwe ukuthi sekunesikhathi esemzabalazweni wokuzwakalisa ilaka lakhe ngobukolonyali. Lokho kuwuphawu olusemqoka oluyinkomba yomzabalazo waseNingizimu Afrika olwisana nokukhishelwa ngaphandle kwabamnyama abaphethwe emsebenzini wokukhiqiza ulwazi. Yikho lokhu okwangikhuthaza ukuthi ngihlanganise lo mqulu.

Into eyaqama kwaba yimibhikisho yokuvukela umbuso yango 2015–2016. Esikhathini esicishe sibe yizinyanga eziyishumi nesishiyagalombili, lokho okwakubonakala kunjengemibhikisho yesikhashana kwadlondlobala kwaba ngokungapheli, yize sekusayindwe nezivumelawano zokukuqeda.

Kamuva abanye basola abafundi ababebhikisha ngokuthi bangamambuka. Nakuba kunjalo baqhubeka abafundi bethi mazisishulwe izimpande zobukolonyali. Enye yezinhlosongqangi zabafundi kwabe kunguphakamisa ukuthi: izimali zokufunda mazingakhushulwa, umkhuba wokudlwengula owawusudlangile emakhampasini nasemiphakathini mawuphele ngokushesha, ukudayisela izinkampani ezizimele ngemisebenzi yangaphakathi emanyuvesi makuyekwe, ukuxhashazwa kwabasebenzi akuphele nokuphepha emakhampasini nasezindaweni zokuhlala abafundi makuqinise.

Okwakufunwa kakhulu ngabafundi kwakuwukudilizwa kwemfundo yobukolonyali nokulethwa kwemfundo ephakeme yamahhala. Uma icatshangwa ngale ndlela i-#MustFall<sup>3</sup> kungathiwa yayimele zontathu 'izigaba' zomlando wemibhikisho yabafundi base-Afrika eseNingizimu neSahara (sub-Saharan Africa). Lezi zigaba uMahmood Mamdani (ngukusetshenziswe ku Hewlett, Mukadah, Kouakou & Zandamela 2016: 148) uzihlukanisa ngokuthi: 'Kuqala ngempi yenkululeko ebukolonyalini (decolonisation), kulandele eyokwakha isizwe (nationalism), kugcine eyokuchitha umnotho ogxile ezimakethe (neo-liberalism).' UProf Susann Booysen (2016) lapho ephawula nge neo-liberalism wathi kwakunohlobo oluthize lwabafundi ababebambe iqhaza emibhikishweni kodwa babe sebaqukela emnothweni wezimakethe. Lokhu kwakubenza bazithole sebesiqhingini ngoba umnotho abakholelwa kuwo ugxile kubathengi (consumers). Eqhuba wathi: 'ngokwalo mnotho abathengi baphoqelekile ukuba bathobele izivumelwano abazenzile, nezwe kufanele lilandele inqubo yentando yeningi evuna umnotho wezimakethe' (Booyesen 2016: 24). Wakubiza lokhu phecelezi ngokuthi: 'Be an obedient consumer and play by the rules of a neo-liberal democracy' (Booyesen 2016: 24).

Lezi zizigaba ezishiwo nguMamdani zacindezelwa ndawonye lapha kuleli lizwe zaphenduka isehlakalo esisodwa ngenkathi kulwelwa inkululeko. Kodwa akufanele lokhu kufike njengento emangazayo. INingizimu Afrika yaziwa njengezwe elakhululeka ekugcineni (last-born post-

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3 Kulomqulu kukhulunywa nge-#MustFall hhayi i-#FeesMustFall ngenxa yokuthi umbhikisho wawuthinta izinto ezehlukene.



colony) (ku Hewlett, Mukadah, Kouakou and Zandamela 2016). Lokhu kwaholela ekutheni izinto zingalandeli umlando ojwayelekile wase-Afrika wokuya enkululekweni.

Okwamangaza kakhulu emibhikishweni yabafundi kwaba yisiphakamiso sokuthi akube khona ubumbano lwe-Afrika (Pan Africanism). IPan Africanism yabe ihlose ukulwa nezingqinamba eziningi ezase zikhungethe iNingizimu Afrika njengokwebiwa kwezimali zomphakathi (corruption), ukwehluleka ukusebenza lapho 'uthunye khona' (incompetence), ukugweva nezintambo zokubusa (authoritarianism), ukugxambukela kwabangaphandle ezindabeni zombanzwe nomnotho (foreign meddling), nokwanda kwemibhikisho yokukhonondela ukungabibikho kwezinsiza (service delivery protests).

Le mibhikisho yabafundi yabaphumelelisa ukwenza okuyivela kancane ezweni, okuwukhumbuzo uhulumeni ngesidingo sokuziphatha kahle nokuzwakalisa ilaka ngokungahlonishwa kwemfundo (status incongruence). Iziphakamiso eziqavile kwakuwukudilizwa kwemfundo yobukoloniyali (decolonisation of education) nokuvuselelwa kobuhlakani be-Afrika yaphambi kobukoloniyali (African renaissance). Okokugcina kwabe kuwukuzazulula indida yokwanda kwabadla izambane likapondo, iningi libe lidla imbuya ngothi (proliferation of economic inequalities).

Abafundi babefuna kubhekane ngqo nalokho u-Anibal Quijano akubiza ngokuthi 'izintambo zamanethi' ezingamandla obukoloniyali okulawula umnotho aziwa ngalezi zinto: ukwemukwa umhlaba, ukuxhashazwa kwabasebenzi, ukugweva nemvelo; ukuqhoqhubala izintambo zokubusa, unya lwamaphoyisa, ukulawula izindaba zobulili, ukuphoqelesa ukuncishiswa kwemindeni, ukunciphisa amathuba okufunda, nokuvala ukuxhumana ngokulawula intengo yako (Mignolo 2007).

Noma ngamukela ukuthi imibhikisho yokuvukela umbuso kwabafundi kwaba yisisusa, kodwa leli qoqo akulona ele-#FeesMustFall, lingelokuxoxisana ngalokho okwavela ku-#MustFall. Yingakho-nje ngabona ukuthi eqinisweni i-#MustFall iyisisusa esimqoka sokudilizwa kobukoloniyali esake saba khona ezweni kusukela ngo1994. I-#MustFall yavula isikhala sokuthi labo abakhishelwe ngaphandle bangene babambe iqhaza empikiswaneni ekhona ngesiFundo seFilosofi oselokhu kwathi nhlo abafakwe ngaphakathi babelokhu behlomula kuyo.

Lena akuseyona indaba yalabo abacabanga ngepolitiki bodwa, kodwa isiyijoka elingasabalekeleli lanoma ngubani ongaba negalelo emfundweni ephakeme eNingizimu Afrika. Ezinye zezehluko ezikulo mqulu ziqondene ngqo ne-#MustFall njengesehlakalo esaba yisisusa semibuzo. Ezinye izahluko ziphendula ngokuvulekile umbuzo wokusungula indawo yengxoxompikiswano ngefilosofi. Lezi zingxoxo zimayelana nokufanele kufundiswe kumadiphathimenti efilosofi. Kufanele kukhulunywe ngalokho okwavela kwizinkulumompikiswano ezendulela imibhikisho yabafundi, yize noma manje konke sekufanele kwenziwe ngokuphuthuma ngenxa yezehlakalo zango 2015–2016.

Esigabeni esilandela lesi ngiqala ukuphendula imibuzo emibili ehlobene ne-#MustFall okuyiyona eqondisayo ngokuthi kungani ngacabanga ukubhala lo mqulu wocwaningo. Umbuzo wokuqala uthi: Yini eyaholela ekutheni izehlakalo zango 2015–2016 zibe yisisusa sokuthi akubhekwe ipolitiki yokukhiqiza ulwazi?

Ngikholelwa ekutheni impendulo yalo mbuzo izothlakala empendulweni yombuzo wesibili othi: Empeleni saba ngofakazi bani ngo 2015–2016? Ngabe loku kukhononda kwakungumbhikisho

noma invukelambuso? Yize izehlakalo zango 2015–2016 zingaphendulwa ngokuthi zazi yinto entsha, zagcina sezibizwa ngemibhikisho yomphakathi. Ngibona ukuthi kungaba yinto engaba ngumsebenzi omkhulu kakhulu ukujula nencazelo yalesi 'sehlakalo' engisibiza ngokuthi sasiwukuvukela umbuso.

Ngokuqhelisa nje kuphela ulimi 'embhikishweni' wabafundi silubeke 'ekuvukeleni umbuso' kwabasha, singasondela ekuqondeni ukubaluleka kwalesi sehlakalo abafundi abasisebenzisa ngendlela yokuveza 'isikhala' sokuzwakalisa izimvo zabo (enunciative space). Phela emva kwalesi sehlakalo ifilosofi njengeSifundo yavuleka yaba yinkundla yempikiswano phakathi kwabaphethwe, abakhishelwe ngaphandle ngendlela eyimfihlo nalabo abafakwe phakathi ngendlela ebonakalayo.

Kafuphi sizithola siphezu komngcele wefilosofi, ngakolunye uhlangothi le mvukelambuso yavumbulula ukungeneliseki ngokukhiqizwa kolwazi. Okufufusayo kwadlondlobala kwazamazamisa isisekelo solwazi. Konke lokhu kudinga lowo okuvivinyayo azihlolisise yena kuqala. Engxoxweni elandelayo ngizochaza kancane ngemibhikisho yokuvukela umbuso ka 2015–2016 nobunzima obukhona bokuthatha isinqumo ngayo.

Engxenyeni yesithathu neyokugcina uma sengisika elijikayo ngizonikeza izincazelo ezimfushane nezimpendulo.

## Isisusa

Angilisebenzisi igama elithi #FeesMustFall njengetemu elichaza le mibhikisho yango- 2015–2016 njengoba lasetshenziswa nguBooyesen (2016) encwadini yakhe ebizwa ngokuthi yi-*Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*. Isizathu wukuthi ekuqhubekeni kwayo le mibhikisho yayithinta izinhlobo ezahlukene zokukhathazeka njengesiphakamiso sokulethwa kwemfundo ephakeme yamahhala (free higher education) nezinye okwathi uma sezihlangene zakha umkhankaso omusha owawungahle ubizwe ngokuthi 'ukuWisa' noma 'ukuKetula' (*Fallism*) ukube kwenzeka lokho. Esinye sezizathu esenza ukuthi ngingalisebenzisi igama elithi *Fallism* wukuthi ingxeye yesiqu salo, u-*ism*, uphakamisa ukuthi kwabe kukhona ukuma noma ukubumbana emkhankasweni i-#MustFall. Kanti zozimbili lezi zinto zazingekho kulo mkhankaso. Ngalezi zizathu ngase ngingquma ukuthi i-#MustFall yitemu elifaka phakathi zonke izinhlobo zokukhathazeka ezaziphakanyiswa ngabafundi.

I-#MustFall kwakukhulunywa kakhulu ngayo, futhi kwaze kwaqokelelwa imibhalo, nezingqwembe ngayo. Ngemuva kwesikhathi yonke imibhalo ye-#MustFall yahlanganiswa neyayivela ku-#RhodesMustFall kwase kwakhiwa umqulu okhethekile owashicilelwa ngaphansi kwesihloko esabizwa nge-*Salon* 2015.<sup>4</sup> Yabe seyigcinwa ngaphansi kwe-*Johannesburg Workshop on Theory and Criticism*, etholakalayo ku-*website* enegama elifanayo.

Incwadi kaBooyesen (2016) i-#FeesMustFall iqukethe iqoqo lemibhalo yabafundi nabasebenzi bemikhakha ehlukeneyezemfundo. Omunye wale mibhalo ngokaMalcom Ray (2016) obizwa ngokuthi yi-*Free Fall: Why South African Universities Are in a Race against Time*. Kule ncwadi uRay uchaza lo mkhankaso wabafundi njengento okufanele kusukelwe kuyo uma kulwelwa ukudilizwa

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4 [http://www.jwct.org.za/resources/docs/salon-volume-9/FINAL\\_FINAL\\_Vol9\\_Book.pdf](http://www.jwct.org.za/resources/docs/salon-volume-9/FINAL_FINAL_Vol9_Book.pdf)

kwemfundo yobukoloni yali ngoba sekuyisikhathi eside abantu abamnyama bekulindele lokho (*lounge durre*).

UJonathan Jansen (2017) owake waba ngumphathi wamanyuvesi embhalweni wakhe othi *As by Fire: The End of the South African University* uyajula ngokukhathazeka ngekusasa le mfundo ephakeme eNingizimu Afrika.

Ngokungesabi ukuthi kukhona okushiywa ngaphandle, kungathiwa le mibhalo iqondene nengqikithi enkulu okungeyemibhikisho noma imvukelambuso. Lokhu kuthinta umlando, ipolitiki, nesithunzi semikhakha yezolwazi emanyuvesi. I-#MustFall ibukwa njengokuphenjwa kweriphabhliki osekwedlulelwe yisikhathi. Iyodwa incazelo ehlanganisa zonke izincazelo ze-#MustFall, leyo yile ethi: 'Ngo1994 kwehluleleka ukuthi kube khona ukuguqukela entandweni yeningi.'

Yikho lokhu kubhuntsa kokuphamba kabusha abantu abaningi abakuzwayo emizweni yabo uma becabanga ngeriphabhliki eyaqanjwa ngo 1994. Abaningi baze bathi ukubhikisha noma imvukelambuso eyabakhona kwakuyindlela yokuphindela emuva ukuze 'kuphenjwe ngendlela okuyiyona-yona'.

Ngamanye amazwi ugqozi lwalo mkhankaso kwaku wukuthi i-#MustFall yayi yindlela yokungenisa izwe entandweni yeningi yangempela. Lokho kwakuzokuqedisa ukungalingani kwezomnotho nobuhlanga bangezikhathi ezedlule. Abafundi babememeza bethi: 'Sifuna imfundo engenabo ubukoloni futhi akulethwe imfundo ephakeme yamahhala!' Akugcini lapho, ngoba kufanele kucatshangwe kujulwe uma kubukwa ubuhlobo phakathi kuka-1994 nemibhikisho yabafundi yango 2015–2016.

Lokhu kugcizelela ukuthi kufanele kube nohlaka umuntu angalusebenzisa ukuchaza imicabango ephathelene ne-#MustFall. Le micabango kufanele yongiwe futhi kujulwe nayo. Lokhu kufaka phakathi imicabango enjengalena: 'ukuphamba, ukuphamba 'osekwedlulelwe yisikhathi' nokuphamba 'kweqiniso'.

Lolu hlaka lokuchaza lungaphinde lusetshenziselwe ukuchaza lezo zinto eziwukungabaza uma sikhuluma nge #MustFall. Lokhu kufanele ngoba izinto eziphathelene nokuphamba nokuphindela kuko azizazululeki. Lo mkhankaso wabafundi owawuthinta ukuphamba umbuso wawuzobhekana nezinkinga ezinkulu nezingazuzazululeka.

Lo mqulu akuwona owokujula ngezinkinga zokuphamba kodwa ungowokuveza lokho okusemngceleni wefilosofi okuqhakanjiswa yi-#MustFall. Okusemngceleni yikho okwenza ukuthi imicabango yabafundi icacelwe yiqhaza elabanjwa yi-#MustFall okungathiwa yaba yisisusa senkulumo yokudilizwa kobukoloni. Le nkulumo kufuneka ibukwe ngokukhulu ukucophelela.

Ukungabaza enginakho emqondweni wami kuyaziwa yilabo ababamba iqhaza nababengofakazi bezehlakalo zango 2015–2016. Ngabe i-#MustFall kwabe kuyimibhikisho noma imvukelambuso na? Ngabe udlame olwaluhambisana nayo lwalamukelekile noma lwalungamukelekile yini?

Ngabe izinkulumo zabaholi bepolitiki zokuthi: bona 'bayimindeni yabafundi', bango 'yise nomama babafundi', babuka abafundi 'njengabantwana babo' nokuthi bezwile 'ngobuhlungu bomntwana womuntu omnyama' nezinye ezifuze lezo, zaziyithukisa noma zaziyibulala yini intando yeningi?

Ukuze ngiphumelele ukucacisa ngizothinta kafuphi umbhalo kaDerrida ([1986]/2014) othi 'Admiration of Nelson Mandela, or the Laws of Reflection,' engiwufunda kanye nalowo owabhalwa

ngu-Arendt (1963) i-*On Revolution* lapho umbhali wayejula khona ngezindaba zokuvukela umbuso nokuphamba iriphabhliki.

Bobabili ababhali bayaqinisekisa ukuthi ukuphenjwa kwanoma yiyiphi iriphabhliki kuhambisana nodlame nezinto ezingeke zaxazululwa. U-Arendt (1963: 183–184) uziveza kangcono lezi zinto uma ethi: ‘Labo abahlanganayo ukuze bakhe uhulumeni omusha abanalo ilungelo lokukwenza lokho.’

Eqhuba uArendt (1963: 184) wathi, ‘Obaba nomama besikhathi sokuphamba bangahle bathi: Thina baphembi bombuso sizothobela imithetho futhi sizokwakha izivumelwano ezizokwenza ukuba sikwazi ukuyiphophelela leyo mithetho.’ Nakuba kunjalo kuyaziwa ukuthi ngesikhathi sokumiswa kwemibuso egameni ‘labantu’, abakhi bawo basuke bengenalolo igunya lokukwenza lokho.

Iziphathimandla nabanamagunya okwenza izinto babakhona kuphela emuva kokusekelwa komthetho. Ngaleyo ndlela uDerrida ([1986]/2014) uthi yonke into ephathelene nokuphenjwa kombuso yenziwa ngodlame noma ngezikhwepha esingathi phecelezi *coup de force*. Yizo lezi zikhwepha eziveza izakhiwo zepolitiki nomthetho wezwe. Lokhu kubuye kuholele ekwakhiweni kwiriphabhliki esemthethweni.

Uma indaba ibekwa ngendlela elula singathi ngesikhathi sokuphamba kuthiwa ‘thina bantu’ kodwa ‘abantu’ babe bengekho ngaleso sikhathi. Ukuphamba yinto eyenziwa ngokuthi kuphinyiswe ngomlomo kuthiwe: ‘Ngiqamba iriphabhliki entsha’, okuthiwa, phecelezi yi *performative act*. Lokhu kuwumphumela wezikhwepha okuthiwa yi-*coup de force*.

Lencazelo iyaphambana namazwi athi kukhona ukuthula ekuphambeni. Akusoze-ke kube khona ukuphamba kungadlulwanga ezikhathini ezinzima zokusebenza kwezikhwepha. Lokhu kuyinkomba yokuthi kuhlale kunokushuba kwesimo phakathi kwezinto ezikhona (*the constative things*) nalezo ezisazokwenziwa ngesikhathi esizayo (*the performative things*). UDerrida ([1986]/2014: 67) ubhala athi:

Isenzo esimqoka esenziwa ngabaphembi wukuthi baphimise ngomlomo lokho abathi bazokwenza, bayakumemezela, bayakuqinisekisa, bayakuthembisa, futhi bayakuphamba. Abaphembi kufanele basho ukuthi yini ezolandela emveni kokuphamba kwabo iriphabhliki. Kufanele bacabe nendlela yokuthi yini okufanele icatshangwe noma igcizelelwe ngengomuso le riphabhliki yabo. Lokho kufanele kube wukukhanya kwangempela futhi kubonakalise ubumbano.

Ngokuhamba kwesikhathi umbuso uyakhiwa uphinde umiswe. Udlame olwalusetshenziswe ekuphambeni kufanele abantu balukhohlwe. Ngaleyondlela uhulumeni kufanele abe ngowepolitiki nomthetho kuphela.

Uma kwenzeka ukuthi abantu basalokhu bengafuni ukukhohlwa yilezo zinto ezimbi ezabavelela ngesikhathi sokuphamba kuvuka amanxeba asethanda ukuphola. Lokho kube sekwenza ukuthi umbuso omusha ungabi nakho ukuzinza. Yikho lokho esakubona eRwanda ngenkathi uhulumeni wakhona ephoqa abantu ukuba bangawalibali amanxeba abawathola odlameni olwabakhona ngenkathi yokuphambenjwa kwalelo lizwe ngo 1959.

Leso kwakuyisikhathi esibi sezivunguvungu kuvukelwa umbuso wobukoloniyasi ukuze kuphenjwe umbuso omusha owawuzolandela owobukoloniyasi. Uhulumeni waseRwanda wangaphambi kuka-1994 waqhubeka wadunga imiqondo yabantu ebahlukanisa ngokobuhlanga, futhi evula izilonda ezase ziphola ngokuphoqelela abantu ukuba baphindele emuva ukuyolungisa lokho okonakala ngesikhathi sokuphamba. Ngalokho kuphindela kuleso sikhathi lo hulumeni wayethi uqonde ukuba kwakhiwe uhulumeni omusha wenkululeleko yangempela (Praeg 2008). UDerrida ([1986]/2014) isizathu salokho wukuthi lezi zinto zaba khona lolo hlelo lungakemukelwa ngabantu. Singazichaza sithi: ‘Ziwubuhle nobubi balo’ (Honing 1991: 106).

Ukuhlaziya okungenhla kuveza ukuthi ukuphenjwa kombuso kuwumisa phezu kwezinhlaka ezintathu: ipolitiki, umthetho kanye nesishaya-mthetho. Kufanele kwamukeleke ukuthi yilowo nalowo mbuso kungakhathaleki indawo okuyo, unazo izinto ezingaxazululeki. Okukhulu kunakho konke okufanele kungalibaleki wukuthi le Riphabliki yaleli lizwe yamiselwa phezu kobunzima, njengawo wonke amanye akhona emhlabeni.

Lokhu kwazi ngezinkinga ezifuze lezi kuholela ekuqondakaleni kokuthi le mibhikisho yabafundi i-#MustFall yayihlose ukuvusa indaba yobunzima bokuphamba ngoba yayimayelana nokuphindisela izwe khona lapho. Okubi wukuthi yayingenayo indlela i-#MustFall eyayingabugwema ngayo lobu bunzima. Kwakungasho lutho ukuthi yabe izethula ebantwini njengomzabalazo olwa nomkhuba ogcwele ezweni wokushiya abantu abamnyama ngaphandle kwezinhlaka zomnotho. Yize noma umbhikisho wayiveza inkinga elethwa yisiFundo seFilosofi ewukunikeza izizathu zokuthi kungani abantu abamnyama kufanele ukuthi bashiywe ngaphandle komnotho wezwe, nakho lokho akwenele ukuthi kungaba yisizathu sokuphindela ekuphambeni.

## Okwesibili okungaxazuleki: ukugidela izigubhu ezahlukenene

Ngabe aluchazeki yini udlame esalubona ngo-Okthoba 2015 nangoSeptemba kuya kuDisemba 2016? Ngabe ukulichaza kungalwenza lulahlekelwe yizimpawu zalo zepolitiki nomthetho na? Lungamenza yini olwamukelayo noma ongalwamukeli ukuba abonakale enjengongaziphathi kahle ngokobulungiswa?

Udlame olufana nalolu luyakhathaza ngoba lungaholela ekubeni umbuso uphendule ngodlame ngoba labo abalwenzayo basuke bengasenabo ubuzwe futhi sebephenduke umhlambi kazalusile obhajwe endaweni engenawo umehluko (*zone of indistinction*).<sup>5</sup>

Ngezikhathi zodlame lwe-#MustFall kwakubonakala sengathi izwe lingaphansi kwesimo esiphuthumayo ngokomthetho (*de jure*) noma ngokwezimpawu (*de facto*). Ukuze ucaciseleke kabanzi bheka incazelo ngezansi.<sup>6</sup> UDerrida ([1986]/2014) wachaza kanje: ‘Emhlabeni kunemingcele futhi bonke abantu babalulekile ngoba kunendima abangayidlala uma besebenza ngaphansi komthetho.’

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5 Ukukhishwa ngokuphindaphindiwe okokuqala yilokho okubizwa ngokuthi ngokungahlukaniseki kwaseceleni (horizontal indistinction) okuphakathi kokuphamba nokuphindwa kokuphamba, okwesibili wukungahlukaniseki kwaphezulu (vertical indistinction) ngoba kuvamile ukuthi kube nezinto ezingaxazuleki phakathi kwababusi nababuswayo

6 Kulabo bafundi ababengekho kumakhampasi amayuvesi aseNingizimu Afrika ngalezi zikhathi ezimbili idokhumentari ka-Aryan Kaganof osihloko sayo sithi *Metalepsis in Black* iyacacisa ngalokhu. <https://vimeo.com/193233861>

Ekuphembeni akukho noyedwa ongaphansi komthetho ngoba umthetho usuke ungakamiswa. Abantu baze babe ngaphansi komthetho emuva kokumenyezela kwawo njengozoba yingxenye yepolitiki yezwe.

Okwavela kamuva-ke kwaba wukuthi abafundi basemanyuvesi bathathe isinyathelo sokuphindela emuva ekuphembeni ngokusungula umkhankaso i-#MustFall. Lesi sinyathelo sasizofaka abafundi esimweni esingaxazululeki ngoba babezophenduka babe ngabantukazana abangavikelwe yipolitiki nomthetho, izidalwa nje ezingenabo ubuzwe.

Imibhikisho yango 2015–2016 yayigcwele futhi isindwa yiziphakamiso zabafundi (*it was resonating with students' demands*). Lezi ziphakamiso zazeqela ngale kwemigomo ebekiwe futhi zingaphezulu kwalokho okwakungafezwa yi-Riphabhliki yango 1994 ngaleso sikhathi.

Umzekeliso owethulwe esandulelweni salo mqulelo uqhakambisa iphuzu lokuthi ngaso sonke isikhathi abantu yibona abazinqumela ukujoyina izwe bangene ngaphansi komthetho walo ukuze ubavikele. UFreud, Kafka noDerrida bathi abantu bazikhetela bona ukujoyina umthetho kaBaba. UBaba akusiye lowo ongabonwa noma ongumuntu, kodwa kushiwo obaba nomama abaphemba inqubo yombuso olandelwayo ngaleso sikhathi. Uma abantu sebethola kamuva ukuthi umthetho awulungile noma awunabo ubulungiswa, banalo ilungelo lokuwuphikisa nokuwubizela ezinkantolo ukuze bathole ubulungiswa. Umbuzo uthi: Ngobani labo bafundi okwathi ngesikhathi sokwenziwa kwesiphakamiso sokuthi umbuso awuphenjwe kabusha bona banquma ukuphikisana nomthetho nokusebenzisa ulimi lwemvukelambuso? Ngabe ukungawuthobeli umthetho nokuba 'ngumuntu nje' yikho okungenza kube nokuphemba kabusha? UGiorgio Agamben uthi ekuphembeni kabusha baningi abanquma ukuphikisana nomthetho nokuziphendula abantukazana abangelutho. U-Agamben wathi ukungabi semthethweni kufaka umuntu enkingeni yokuthi umphakathi umkhipele ngaphandle ngoba usuke eseluke nomhlambi kazalusile, esehlala ngaphesheya komngcele ohlukanisa abangaphakathi nabangaphandle, ngendlela engabonakali futhi okungakhulunywa ngayo. Nakuba kunjalo, lo mngcele wamukelekile futhi uyaziwa ngumphakathi, kanti nomthetho uyawuvikela. Kulesi simo ubudlelwane phakathi kwabadingisiwe nomphakathi busuke bulimele.

U-Agamben uthi abadingisiwe bawumhlatshele ongemukelekile (*a sacrifice that cannot be sacrificed*). Lesi sithombe sibuyisa umcabango kaDerrida ngokuphemba osekwedlulelwe yisikhathi.

ULaclau (2007) uthi akukho ukudingiswa okushiwo ngu-Agamben ngenhla ngoba uma kuvunywa kuyosho ukuthi abangaphandle komthetho baphucwa ubuzwe babo futhi abakwazi ukuzivikela odlameni olungahle lwenziwe ngumphakathini kubo ngoba uthi wona uvikelwe ngumthetho. Lokhu kokubili akwenzeki emphakathini.

ULaclau (2007) uyaqhubeka uthi abafundi babesemshikashikeni womzabalazo futhi babenza udlame ngokubambisana nabanye. Umthetho wezwe awuzivikeli izenzo ezinjalo. Wenza umzekeliso ngenhlobo yemashi eyavezwa okokuqala nguFanon. Le ndlela yokumasha ibizwa ngokuthi ngumbhikisho wabalweli benkululeko abamanikiniki (*the march of the lumpen proletariat*). Echaza lesi simo uFanon ([1963]/2004) encwadini yakhe, *Wretched of the Earth* le mibhikisho uyifanisa neyalabo abadayisa ngomzimba, izigebengu, amasela, abafundi basemanyuvesi abayizephulamthetho, abadayisi bezidakamizwa nabanye abanjalo. Uthi bamasha ngaphandle kokukhathazeka ngobubi abakubona. ULaclau (2007) yena uchaza abamashayo njengalabo abaphokophele ukwenza umsebenzi wabo.

Labo abangaphandle komphakathi akusho ukuthi awukho umthetho abawuthobelayo. Nakuba ukhona kodwa wehlukile. Inkinga wukuthi kukhona ukushuba kwesimo phakathi kwalowo mthetho nomthetho wezwe. Okwesibili okuyinkinga wukuthi le mithetho emibili ayinakho ukuthobelana.

ULaclau (2007) uthi umphumela wokungathobelani kwale mithetho wukudingisana emphakathini. Umthetho obusa umphakathi usekelwa yipolitiki kahulumeni kodwa lona ongewona wezwe wawulawula imibhikisho nemvukelambuso yabafundi yango 2015–2016. Izikhalo zabafundi zokuthi ayiphenjwe kabusha iRiphabhliki zazedluliselwa kuwo lo mthetho ongewona owezwe.

Lokhu kwakuletha imibuzo ngomthetho obusayo. Abafundi babenza lokhu ngoba base befike endaweni yokungaboni mehluko ongase wenziwe ngumthetho wezwe. Base befuna ubulungiswa obungebona bendawo kodwa bomkhathi ongenamkhawulo. Lobu bulungiswa babebona ukuthi bungavela emthethweni obizwa ngokuthi yi-*Black Lives Matter*. Yiso-ke leso sigubhu esabe sigidelwa ngabafundi ngo-Okthoba 2015 nangoSeptembha kuya kuDisemba 2016.

## Okwesithathu okungaxazululeki: ukubulawa kwabazali nokubhuntsa kwentando yeningi

Umzekelo osesandulelweni saleli qoqo uneqhaza kokwesithathu okungaxazululeki nokuvezwa yizinkulumo ze-#MustFall. Emzekelweni umbusi waphoqelela umgcini wendawo ukuba abulale abazali bakhe, okuyinto ayengahambisani nhlobo nayo ngoba uyise wayehlonishwa futhi wayebazisa abazali bakhe.

Uma sisusa umgcini wendawo sifaka abafundi abayizidlamlilo endaweni yakhe siyaqaphela ukuthi kubakhona ubuhlobo obahlukile ngoba abafundi babewuphikisa umthetho wezwe. Lokho kwaholela ekutheni abafundi bangabi nayo inkinga yokubulala abazali. Bakwenza lokho ngendlela yokubakubahlalela ngokwepolitiki. Abazali lapha ngomama nobaba bomzabalazo wenkululeko abaphemba lo mbuso esikuwo manje olandela owobandlululo.<sup>7</sup> UPatrick FitzGerald no-Oliver Seale (2016: 236) babhala bathi:

Into evame ukusimamisa umbuso yizakhiwo zepolitiki ezikhombisa ukuqina nokukwazi ukugcina umthetho nokuthula ezweni. Ngesikhathi sangaphambili i-African National Congress (ANC) ne-Youth League yayo kwakunamandla futhi kwesekelwa. Emva kwalokho iqembu lafadlalala. Izintambo zobudlelwano nomphakathi zagqashuka, nobudlelwano phakathi kwabafundi neqembu bashabalala. Le nhlekelele yavulela ububi obuningi, njengokwanda kwemibono ezimele emakhampasini amanyuvesi. Eminye yayo yayigqugquzela ukusetshenziswa kodlame njengesikhali sokuzuza lokho okwakuhlosiwe.

Lezi zakhiwo ezawa, nalezi zintambo zokuxhumana ezagqashuka zaziyinghliziyo yohulumeni we-ANC, owawaziwa ngaphambilini ngokuthi yi-*Family democracy*. Emuva kwenhlekelele inkulumo eyabe isihamba phambili kwabe sekuwukuvukela umbuso kwentsha. UBooyesen (2016: 35)

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7 Funda u-Everatt (2016).

uphawula athi: 'Esikhathini sangaphambili i-ANC yayingumzali onakekelayo nokwakwemukelwa ukuthi akazukuphumelela ukulungisa zonke izinto ngaso sonke isikhathi. Nokho kwakwaziwa ukuthi akasoze adikibala emsebenzini wakhe wokuletha ukudla njalo ntambama.' UBooyesen (2016: 25) eqhubeka wathi: 'Kodwa kulokhu i-ANC yazibona isiqheliswa endaweni entofontofo ebikade iqhiyeme kuyo. Yayigudluzwa ngabafundi ababesebenzisa lona kanye lolo limi lomndeni, olwaluyisisekelo seprojekthi yokubusa kwe-ANC.' Eqhubeka uBooyesen (2016: 25) uthi: 'Intsha eyayibhikisha yayikhala ngokuthi isifana nabantwana abayimilanjwana ye-ANC, abangasanakiwe.'

Yayihlasela i-ANC ikhala ithi: 'Ake nibheke ukuthi umntwana womuntu omnyama unjani, 'nalu usizi lomuntu omnyama, nokuthi 'nakhu ukuxhashazwa kabuhlungu kwabasebenzi abamnyama.' Abafundi babephinde bathi: 'Laba basebenzi basemanyuvesi bawuphawu lokuhlupheka komama nobaba bethu kuleli lizwe' (Booyesen 2016: 25).

Kukho lokho kukhala omunye wabafundi wezwakala ethi: 'Njengomntwana womuntu omnyama ngizokwenza noma yini ukuze ngithole ukulalewa yibo ... Kodwa ngubani owaziyo ukuthi abaholi bepolitiki bakhuluma bathini ngezinhliziyi?' (Booyesen 2016: 44).

Yini impendulo yombuzo othi: Ngubani owaziyo ukuthi bathini ngezinhliziyi? Impendulo iwukungabaza okuyikhona okwagqashula izintambo zobudlelwano phakathi kwababusi nabafundi nokwaqeda nobumbano olwalukhona kuhulumeni womndeni.

Abafundi baqoka ukwehluka kumgcini wendawo wasemzekelweni osandulelweni saleliqoqo ngoba banquma ukuphikisana nomthetho. Leyo ndlela yokuziphatha kwabo yaphenduka isihlava esagcina sesibulele abazali basekuphambeni.

Yize babephumelele abazali ukuletha inkululeko, kuncane kakhulu abakwenza ukwakha ithemba entsheni. Kwase kucacile ukuthi kwakungekho lutho abasha ababengalulindela embusweni owawakhiwe.

Uma sengiyiphetha le ngxenye kufanele ngiveze ukuthi iyiphi indlela engcono yokuchaza i-#MustFall. Kungabe yayingumbhikisho noma yayiyimvukelambuso? Udlame lwayo kungabe lwaluvumelekile noma lwalungavumelekile futhi ngabe lolu dlame lwalunobulungiswa noma qha? Yiyo kanye le mibuzo eletha ukungabaza nezinto ezingaxazululeki ekuphambeni nokuphindwa kwako.

Ebuhlotsheni obulimele bomndeni kuvamile ukuthi intsha ivukele abazali bese labo ababekade bethandwa baphenduke abazondwayo, ababekade bethenjwa baphenduke abasolwa, nabahlonishwayo baphenduke abadelekile. Konke lokhu kwenzeka ngesikhathi esisodwa.

UBooyesen (2016) uthi i-ANC yaba nokuzisola okukhulu ngemibhikisho, yase inquma ukubamba iqhaza lika baba ovikelayo, kodwa abe eqhelele kude nezinkinga. Yakhapha umyalelo obhekiswe emaphoyiseni othi: 'Babambeni bame ndawonye, bavimbeni bangasondeli, kodwa ningalibali ukuthi kunezibopho zegazi phakathi kwabo nabagcini bomthetho' (Booyesen 2016: 15).

Ukuqhubeka nokuphila kobandlululo luze lungeniswe nakuyo iNingizimu Afrika yentando yeningi, yikho kanye okwaholela ekuzanyazanyisweni kweRiphabhliki ekhona. Zavela lapho nezinkulumo zokuthi akuphindwe ukuphamba ngoba ukuphamba kwakuhlelisiwe ngo 1994. Yayihlaselwa kakhulu inqubo ebusayo yepolitiki, umthetho oyisekelayo nolwazi olutholakala emanyuvesi.

Lesi sehlo se-#MustFall saba yisisusa sokuqala nesokugcina sokwesula zonke izinkolelo ezazikhona kubabusi bamanje. Lezo kwabe kungezokwakha isizwe (*nationalism*); ukungenisa



inqubo yokwenza ngokwase-Afrika (*Africanisation*); nezinkulumo ezincane zokuguqula izinto ngokuhamba kwesikhathi (*transformation*). Abafundi bakuveza obala ukuthi lokhu okungenhla kwabe kuyizibonelo zenqubo yobu-*neoliberal*. Le nqubo yayizoholela ekutheni kungaguqulwa lutho ezweni (*maintenance of the status quo*).

Zonke izahluko zalo mqulu ziyimpendulo eqondile noma engaqondile yalokho kuzanyazanyiswa kombuso okwenziwa yi-#MustFall. Ziphendula ngokuqondile ezinye zezinto ezavezwa ngumkhankaso noma zixoxa ngezinkulumompikiswano zangaphambili. Ngenxa yalo mkhankaso, konke sekuyaphuthuma.

Ukuzanyazanyiswa kombuso akuyona into elula, ngakho-ke akusoze kwaphendulwa noma kwachazwa ngokugcwele ngemibhalo yodwa. Injongo yami ngalo mqulu wukudweba ibalazwe eliqhakambisa izindawo lapho uqhekeko luhamba khona. Ngifuna nokukhomba lapho umkhondo wezimpikiswano phakathi kwesiFundo nabafundi uholela khona. Okokugcina ngifuna ukuwukhanyisa umngcele okumi kuwo umfundi ohloma imibuzo esiFundweni ngoba esephenduke isidlamlilo. Ngikwenza konke lokhu ngoba ngibona kungifanele.

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