2 STUDY UNIT 1. CONQUEST AND THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EDUCATION AND PHILOSOPHY IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

In the years following the "negotiated" settlement of the early nineties and especially since the adoption of the new constitution of the republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 (hereinafter "the constitution"), a conception of non-racialism has come to rise which dominates the public and academic as well as the legal discourse. This is so since the constitution which also pronounces itself the supreme law of South Africa in its founding provisions also proclaims South Africa as a democratic state founded on the values of "non-racialism and non-sexism" amongst others.

In the past two decades we have witnessed the rise of non-racialism in South Africa applied by the courts and supporting institutions to various situations. The courts have ruled, for instance, that the existence of "blacks only" organisations is unconstitutional. They have even gone as far as outlawing the singing of liberation songs which point to the continued racial disparity in the country on the basis of this questionable interpretation of non-racialism. In 2015, labouring under the banner of Non-Racialism, we have witnessed Afriforum lay a complaint against President Jacob Zuma in the South African Human Rights Commission for suggesting that South Africa's modern troubles originate in 1652 – the year in which the indigenous people began their multi-century war of liberation against their European conquerors. Affirmative action and other measures at social and professional transformation of South Africa are also resisted by certain political quarters in the name of non-racialism.

The dominant conception of non-racialism which appears to prevail in South Africa is akin to what philosopher of race Theo David Goldberg has called anti-racialism which is to be distinguished from anti-racism (Goldberg, 2006: 257). Anti-racialism has its ideal effect in critical terms as the prevalence of a racism without races. In such a situation the categories of race which were used to systematically oppress the indigenous people conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation and differentiate them from the conqueror are required to fall away. This de-categorisation is no more than a name change. It is purely nominal since it is not at once the existential de-categorisation of the racialised subjects. The falling away of the categories of race neither subtracts the unjustly gained privilege and power of the beneficiaries of racism nor does it restore freedom, justice, dignity and equality to the victims of racism. The effect of this approach is ultimately to leave the consequences of a history of injustice undisturbed. This conception of non-racialism very often has left the historical victims of racism without recourse to justice. They are instead under its rule themselves accused of being racist in their pursuit of social justice.

A study of South African political history shows that this dominant conception of non-racialism discussed above originates from the political side of those who conquered the indigenous peoples of South Africa in the unjust wars of colonisation. More particularly, it originates from the English-speaking settler populations and their philosophical tradition of Cape Liberalism. Much like its more explicitly racist conservative counterpart Afrikaner Nationalism which can be traced to the Dutch settlers who began their wars of the conquest of South Africa in 1652, it also has its basis upon an unquestioned ethically questionable "right of conquest" which has its origin in Western philosophy (Day, 2008, pp. 92-111).

This dominant idea of non-racialism has also historically enjoyed and continues to enjoy considerable attention and support from academic institutions and the philosophy departments and philosophers in them. In both their tendency to universalise and coercively impose the European experience of being human upon others in the name of truth and objectivity in science, philosophy departments in South Africa have remained wilfully ignorant of African philosophy. In the case of South Africa this is particularly questionable since African philosophy is precisely the philosophy of the indigenous conquered peoples; the numerical majority in the country. It is a philosophy which has its basis in African history and culture and concerns itself with the experience of oppression and liberation from it.
It is in the light of the fore-going that we propose to examine the history of philosophy in South Africa with special regard to the problem of racism.

2.2 The Study of Racism and Philosophy in South Africa

It is the case that race and racism have until approximately the last twenty years typically received little academic attention in academic (Western) philosophy departments particularly in South Africa. A rise in the prominence of what is commonly called the Critical Philosophy of race has to some extent succeeded in making the point that racism is a philosophically relevant subject and has implications for philosophy in at least two main ways which are interrelated. The first is that (Western) philosophy has itself been complicit and continues to be either explicitly or tacitly involved, in the construction of the theoretical edifice of racism and racist thinking.
There are now countless texts which specifically examine the racism of the “great Western tradition” (Eze, 1997 and Serequeberhan, 2007), with often surprising revelations about the bodies of work of thinkers like Hume, Kant, Hegel, Marx, Montesquieu and Voltaire (Gordon 2007, 2008; Mills 1997, 2007, 2008; Serequeberhan 1991, 2007).There are as many texts dealing with enquiries about the philosophical implications of these expositions for the meaning of their work. The second way is that even in those places where philosophy has not itself been directly responsible, it nevertheless is competent and able to assist. Where philosophy is unable to assist in the solution of problems of race, it can certainly assist us in the gaining of a better understanding about the origins of the problems, their nature and workings. Thus there is no provision for philosophy to be a passive spectator in the discourses on racism and the practical implications thereof.

In South Africa even other disciplines such as political science, sociology, history and psychology fare quite badly with regard to the taking up of the question of racism as a matter for serious scientific enquiry. The situation in philosophy is arguably even worse. Writing in the American context about a similar situation Charles Mills (1998) has suggested that part of the reason for this is “the self-sustaining dynamic of the ‘whiteness’ of philosophy, not the uncontroversial whiteness of most of its practitioners but what could be called, more contestably, the conceptual or theoretical whiteness of the discipline.”(Mills, 1998: 2)

He suggests that this theoretical “whiteness” has by itself been enough to discourage black post-graduate students considering a career in the academy which in turn causes certain traits to go either wholly or very weakly challenged so as to maintain the “consistently monochromatic” character of the discipline (Mills, 1998: 2). Problematic as this may be in the United States of America, surely the problem is even more serious in South Africa where Africans make up the majority of the population.

Racism has received very little attention in South African philosophy as can be seen in both the worlds of teaching and in publishing. Despite South Africa's worldwide fame as a "once" Racial Polity (Mills 1997), surprisingly little work has been done or rather seen light in South African philosophy specifically examining the philosophical significance of racism.
Much of this has got to do with the general under-representation of the historical victims of racism from academic philosophy in South Africa as well as the continued commitment to ignorance of African philosophy (itself arguably a consequence of racism) as can be seen by the overall commitment to continue along the colonial lines of mimesis of either continental or analytic philosophy in South African departments of philosophy.

In the next section we examine racism in the South African university both from the perspective of African philosophy and its exclusion from philosophy in South Africa.

2.3 Racism, the Eurocentric university and the marginality of African Philosophy in South Africa

2.3.1 Introduction

The school and university as they currently exist in South Africa were founded by the European settler. Initially the school was to serve the settler's immediate personal interest fulfilling the wish to remain intimately connected to 'the metropolis' or "source" (of civilisation and culture). Thus the curriculum and approach to teaching were as consistent with the trends in the original home of the settler as possible. The initial objective was to ensure that the graduate of the university in the colony received an education comparable in character and quality to that of her counterpart at home. Phillips writing of the universities in the Cape Colony suggests that their founding administrators were "keen to inculcate the cultural dominance of English into the new colony" (Phillips, 2003: 123) and drew on various models of British universities. The mimesis of the universities in the metropole could be seen, according to Phillips (2003), in teaching and examining procedures as well as curricula, even "the very architecture of the seating in lecture rooms" was borrowed from Glasgow and Aberdeen (Phillips, 2003: 126). As such, the university had an unnatural existence of being deliberately ignorant of the space and experiences within the place in which it existed.

Later on the indigenous peoples conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation were admitted into schools and universities. With the disseizin of the land and its resources which had previously provided for the subsistence of the African, the conquered were thus immediately thrust into a state of severe unnatural but structural, systematic and systemic poverty. In the face of this reality, the logic of survival compelled the conquered to abandon labour as a teleological positing and to enter into the new world of employment established unilaterally by the conqueror (Ramose 2002: 4).

In the world of employment it was apparent that those with the benefit of "Western Education" enjoyed better pay and more bearable work, so the older people were forced to recognise the benefits of the education that the missionaries and state over time imposed on Africans. From the side of the colonizer who increasingly recognised the value of and encouraged the education of Africans, it was to serve the dual function of providing the job market with more skilled labour and in turn generate a new population of consumers of the products of Europe and those produced in the local factories.

The other purpose of education, supposedly an altruistic and humanitarian one was to civilise (humanise) the as yet "sub-human African" by introducing her to the culture, language, religion, values and knowledge of her supposedly superior conqueror. The assimilation of such values either by gentle persuasion or subtle coercion was deemed to be the possibility condition for the ascent to the level of human being on the part of the indigenous conquered peoples.

In all of this education of the conquered, her identity, language, historical contribution, culture and perspective were of course absent. As long ago as 1934 educationist Loram is quoted trying to explain the high-drop out and failure rates of the children of the indigenous conquered people in the formal education system of South Africa writing that "We have forced the Native child through a course of study which he can dimly conceive. We have taught him subjects foreign to his experience, and in a language which he cannot understand. At first, he comes to school eager to receive the education which he thinks has made the white man his master. For years [social pressure] causes him to continue [...] and when he wants to know the why and wherefore of things, he sees no meaning in his school work. He finds no satisfaction in doing the tasks given to him [...] no wonder he becomes listless in his school work, fails to satisfy those in authority, and either leaves school or remains there unwillingly."(Cited in McKerron, 1934: 174)

Even after 1994, 60 years after the abovementioned study was written. A year which supposedly marked a fundamental transition in the politics and practices of South Africa from substantive injustice to hollow formal justice; from oppressive and tyrannous to democratic and fair, it would appear very little has in fact changed in the identity of the university in general, save for its admission policy which now allows for the admission of Africans to all South African universities. The identity and project of the university however remains unchanged. It continues to be as Ali Mazrui so appositely observed- "a transmission belt" of Western educational paradigm (Mazrui, 1978: 366).

Much of the curriculum in South African universities is still obdurately chauvinistic and not even, as might arguably be the case with other parts of the world, a locally-derived cultural chauvinism but the most classical and unapologetic Eurocentrism . It has a bias against and condescension towards "non-European" thought and even more especially against the African thought and experience. The scholars, theories, methods and experiences favoured are usually exclusively Western.

In the case of African philosophy for example after previewing a typical South African curriculum and teaching programme one could be forgiven for assuming that African Philosophy did not exist. In the review of many academic programmes in the country it would be reasonable to assume that there were not world-renowned African scholars. Yet, such scholars have existed long before the birth of 1994 South Africa. The historical continuity of such scholarship is present in South Africa, often expressing views different from the Euro-American and Eurocentric poles.

The reality in fact is that there is plenty of such scholarship coming out from all over the continent and throughout the African Diaspora (Mudimbe 1988, Oyewumi 2007, Adiume 2004) and this country specifically (Magubane 1970, Mafeje 1971, Nolutshungu 1975) Worse so is the fact that some of this work has specifically problematised Eurocentrism, its unjustifiability and the dangers of its dominance in Africa. This is a critique and call which although it is strangely enough ignored in South Africa has been heard in many parts of the West, with some European philosophy departments prescribing such works.

There are, of course, some exceptions in South Africa but in most cases where Africa is considered at all it is usually ghettoised, under the auspices of African Studies or Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Although the contemporary meaning of "ghetto" is "a part of the city, especially slum area, occupied by a minority group", its original meaning referred to "the quarter of the city, chiefly Italy where Jews were restricted". Ghettoising comes to mean then both placement of someone in an inferior and precarious place subtracting from equal citizenship as well as an ethnic quarantine where those ghettoised are identified for particular ethnic or racial reasons.

What one finds in practice then are African history, politics, epistemology, psychology within this Ghetto where the history, politics, philosophy and psychology departments in the same university continue to exist undisturbed in their unbending Eurocentrism and racism. In this way "that African stuff" has no way of affecting the mainstream (read Eurocentric) and dominant curriculum. The effect of the pre-fix Africa before philosophy or history is the same effect as that of scare quotes, diminution or a question mark. What happens is then that African philosophy and philosophers, history and historians may be found in the African Studies departments where real (read Western) philosophers and historians may be found in the philosophy and history departments. While Africa as a place of some Other may justify the existence of African Studies in Europe or the Americas, where the European or American is silently prefixed against other disciplines or studies, its existence in Africa suggests precisely that all else, that is, those disciplines which are not specifically pre-fixed with "African" are not African. The reason for the foregoing is the persistence of doubt concerning the reality or quality of African knowledge and the importance and value of the experience which brings it about. It is a doubt which has its philosophical foundation in the racist doubt concerning the humanity of Africans themselves. In the academe it is largely the reason for which we continue merely to have universities in Africa rather than African universities. In light of this general history and character of the university let us now turn our attention to philosophy in South Africa specifically.

2.3.2 Some General Characteristics of South African Philosophy

The purpose of the discussion under this section is not so much to provide an exhaustive history of philosophy in South Africa but rather a brief overview of the history of institutional philosophy. Our purpose also rather than a systematic study of trends and specific contributors is to show the basic colonial, Eurocentric and racist structuring of philosophy departments and their practices since their beginnings.

In an article entitled Philosophy in South Africa Under and After Apartheid, Mabogo More argues that apartheid was merely the name of a juridical specification of a long existent, violent and racist colonialism which properly started in 1652 with the arrival of the Dutch. Apartheid as such then has limited historical significance and is often used in obfuscatory manner to distort the length of time over which liberation has been outstanding and to deflect attention from the conquest of indigenous people in the unjust wars of colonisation. More writes "the name 'apartheid' emerged- in its legal sense- in 1948 as a means of strengthening and perfecting an already existing system of racial discrimination and domination rooted in attitudes of whites ever since they came into contact with the African". He concludes, in the case of academic philosophy before apartheid, that it was fundamentally and ideologically no different from philosophy during apartheid.

There have been two basic traditions of colonialism in South Africa; the Dutch and the British. The former may be traced back to the arrival of the Dutch in 1652 as well as subsequent European populations who immigrated into that community over the years.

This Dutch population has also despite its self-declared re-identification as Afrikaner and its language Afrikaans, relied on Continental Europe for inspiration of its cultural, religious, intellectual and political life. The latter can roughly be traced back to the 1820s, it was formalised and strengthened after the discovery of Diamonds and then Gold. The evidence of these two "traditions" may be seen in the systems of law in South African history which are still dominant today, as well as in language, culture and education. The nature of imitation in higher education which we discussed in above has also largely adhered to these traditional types.

Philosophy has been no exception in this regard. A self-evident feature is exclusion; the deliberate and sometimes forcible negative discrimination of the indigenous peoples conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation in order to ensure and sustain political, legal, cultural and even religious separation between them and the colonial conqueror. This logic of deadly and destructive exclusion is the enduring leitmotif guiding the conqueror in the forging of relations with the conquered.

2.3.3 ***The Afrikaans-Continental Tradition***

The beginnings of institutionalised philosophy in South Africa were at the theological school in Stellenbosch in the mid-19th century where a number of professors offered tuition in the history of philosophy. Several Afrikaans universities were then formed in the Orange Free State, Pretoria and Potchefstroom. Amongst early notables were Dr WA Macfayden who began teaching ethics and political science at the University of Pretoria in 1911 and was appointed as Professor of philosophy and political science the following year where he taught until his death in 1924. Amongst the assortment of offerings he introduced during his tenure were essentials of later apartheid thought such as city planning and eugenics. (Duvenhage, 2008:110)

According to Duvenhage, what one sees in a study of the development of institutionalised philosophy at the Afrikaans universities during the 20th century, for instance at Stellenbosch, is the influence "of a certain blend of continental philosophy and Protestant theology (influenced by the powerful Dutch Reformed Church). This is evident, for example, in the works of Kirsten, Degenaar and Rossouw. He suggests that even in Pretoria the trend was the same but observes that the Pretorians Rautenbach, Oberholzer and Dreyer were more conservative. (Duvenhage, 2008:112)

According to More (2004), there developed from the religious and cultural traditions of the Afrikaner people- a certain distinct Calvinist and Neo-Fichtean tradition especially at Potchefstroom. Many of the advocates of this philosophy studied in Europe under philosophers such as Schelling, Herder or Fichte and were under the influence of mostly Dutch and German philosophers (More 2004: 151).From the doctrines of divine election and predestination in Calvinism were the justification for the social ideology of a chosen people which justified racial conquest and domination. From Fichte the concept of nature was invoked to justify the maintenance of separation between groups of different languages as well as his view of the individual sub-ordinate aspect of the Absolute Spirit which reveals itself historically in the life of the community. Much of this thinking was to provide a philosophical basis to apartheid under the leadership of the Afrikaner Nationalist party.

Once apartheid had commenced (after 1948) most Afrikaans university philosophers explicitly defended it. A variety of approaches were employed towards this end including Rawls's Theory of Justice (More 2004: p.153).

It was, however, Husserlian and Heideggerian phenomenology which were put to greatest misuse. Phenomenology, for instance, was the basis of the apartheid state's philosophy of education Fundamentiele Pedagogie (Fundamental Pedagogy) the development of which was headed by the Afrikaans University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education (ibidem). A study of the Christian National Education Report, for instance, will show a combination of phenomenological categories with neo-Fichtean notions.

The relationship between the academe and political power however extended beyond mere intellectual support. The historical relationship between racist ideology and practice in the development of universities reveals a tangible and historical agenda. Writing of the Afrikaner secret society known as Broederbond in 1978, political journalists Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom (2012: 14-15) state that: "The Broederbond has an abiding passion for control of education because of the obvious advantages this holds for any organisation wishing to influence the minds and lives of young people. Consequently its representation in the top echelons of all the Afrikaans speaking universities is extremely strong." In their book on the Broederbond this claim is accompanied by an extensive list of former rectors, chancellors and chairpersons of council who were well known "broeders". If the list were extended to the general professoriate and ordinary academics employed at these universities, the number would grow quite exponentially. Amongst those who would come to light are several philosophers who at one point in time taught at some of these universities. Prof Nico Diederichs was by far the most famous broeder philosopher, going on to become the first vice-chancellor of the Rand Afrikaans Universiteit (later the University of Johannesburg) and Finance Minister before becoming State President of South Africa in 1975.

Before his rise to academic administration and politics, Nico Diederichs had been chair of political philosophy at the University of the Orange Free State and had studied in both Holland and Germany (Moodie, 1975: 154), had made many politically relevant contributions in his academic career. He had, for example, theorised a social metaphysics opposed to human equality in his Nasionalisme as Lewesbeskouing en sy Verhouding tot Internationalisme (Nationalism as a Weltenshaaung and Its Relation to Internationalism) (Moodie, 1975: 154).

Just to quote an example from one of his treatises: "Only through his consecration to, his love for and his service to the nation can man come to the versatile development of his existence. Only in the nation as the most total and inclusive human community can man realise himself to the full. The nation is a fulfilment of the individual life."(cited in Moodie, 1975: 154). Elsewhere Diederichs (cited in Moodie, 1975: 154) argues: "and one man is more human than another to the extent that the spiritual powers within him are more expressed and developed … The only equality which must be accepted is the equality of opportunity for each to bring that which is within him to full expression"(Moodie, 1975: 154). More (2004: 153) argues that Diederichs' Calvinist Nationalism was during apartheid realised in all domains: social, cultural, educational, religious and political.

Diederichs was however, hardly the only politically minded and active Afrikaner academic. There were many more senior Broederbond members who had senior positions at universities. This fact is not unlikely to have affected philosophy departments amongst others, in terms of the appointment of personnel, the selection of curricula and the epistemological paradigms favoured. Amongst senior Broeders who were Vice Chancellors or Rectors of universities, for example were, Dr Hilgaard Muller (former Minister of Foreign Affairs) at the University of Pretoria, Prof Samuel Pauw, University of South Africa (Serfontein, 1979: 83; 86).

Professor WL Mouton the University of the Orange Free State, Professor EJ Marais at the University of Port Elizabeth (now Nelson Mandela Metropolitan university).

Professor Tjaart van der Walt at the University of Potchefstroom. One need only wonder whether or not there is a family relationship between these paragons of apartheid and some of the academics either still active in universities or just recently retired. If there are indeed family relationships then it is pertinent to ask how far – to translate an Afrikaans idiom – has the apple fallen from the tree.

At the University of South Africa as well there was Herman de Vleeschauwer a Kant specialist who was Chair of the Philosophy Department from 1951 through to 1965. A professor who was an escaped convict for Nazi-war crimes committed during the German occupation of Belgium during the Second World War. (Delport, 2015: 9) According to Delport (2015: 10) de Vleeschauwer's immigration was preceded by a correspondence with none other than Nico Diederichs who was by that time a member of parliament for the National Party. The aim of the correspondence was to convince the latter of his usefulness for the country. The temptation and necessity to wonder what sort of intellectual legacy these men left at these departments and the extent to which it survives to date is curbed by contemporary events and practices at these universities. Some of these events and practices will be discussed later.

The Diederichs-de Vleeschauwer amity represents a natural relationship between apartheid and institutional philosophy in South Africa. To all appearances, the successors of de Vleeschauwer as Heads of the Department of philosophy, including other academic staff, were likely to have been sympathetic to apartheid either as members of the Broederbond or the National Party. It is unlikely that at the time, Professor Samuel Pauw, himself a member of the Broederbond and Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa, would have sanctioned the appointment of academic, even administrative staff who posed a substantial and serious challenge to apartheid. The demise of apartheid delivered with it an irony in the history of the Department of philosophy in the University of South Africa. The irony is that unlike de Vleeschauwer, a Belgian fugitive from his association with Nazi-war crimes, yet another Belgian, a refugee from the injustice of colonialism, racism and apartheid in South Africa was appointed Head of the Department of Philosophy. This was Professor Ramose. A comparative study of the meaning and impact of Heads of the Department of Philosophy from de Vleeschauwer to Ramose is beyond the scope of this research. Suffice it to state that since Ramose's appointment, the struggle for epistemic justice as an ineradicable ethical imperative for social justice in South Africa became the living reality of academic discourse and, continues.

2.3.4 The Anglo-Saxon Tradition

Academic philosophy at English speaking universities began at the University of the Cape of Good Hope established in 1873(More 2004 and Duvenhage 2007). It from the off-set was characterised by a focus on the British philosophical tradition studying empiricism and figures such as Locke, Berkeley and Hume. One of the first philosophers to occupy the chair of philosophy at the South African College (later the University of Cape Town {UCT}) was R.F.A. Hoernlé. He became one of the major figures in the intellectual formulation of South African liberalism (More 2004: 153). In his inaugural address in 1923 as Professor of Philosophy at another English University, The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), Hoernlé stressed the significance of liberalism in a multiracial society such as South Africa.

A text he authored in 1939 with the title South African Native Policy and the Liberal spirit argued for racial separation as opposed to assimilation or parallelism (More 2004: 153).
It is noteworthy that apartheid was exactly a tangible juridical realisation of this kind of view. It would appear as More (2004: 153) observes then that "both the Anglo-Saxon and Continental traditions may have been used to provide justification for racial and cultural discrimination before official apartheid in 1948 and during apartheid in the years that followed".

Later philosophy in the English universities, while continuing to uphold the liberal spirit, became increasingly associated with analytical philosophy (More, 2004:154). The analytic philosophers took what has been described by some as a "neutralist position." (More 2004:154) The proponents of this position held that philosophy ought to be pursued for its own sake without involving itself in social and political issues of its day. More summarises their argument as follows "since according to [them] philosophy is a second-order activity concerned mainly with the logical analysis of concepts, the task of the philosopher is therefore the clarification of the logic of concepts and their meaning. Social and political issues are not accordingly the task of the philosopher qua philosopher but qua active citizen." (More, 2004: 154) It must be noted though that despite this popular self-conception of analytical philosophy, there certainly are historical exceptions. Some analytic philosophers have been thoroughly engaged in the social and political worlds both through their activism and philosophical work. Bertrand Russell is one such example.

The a-political disposition of the English-speaking philosophers must however not be over-emphasised at the expense of examining some of the political activities that took place within these departments. In a recent article, historian Teresa Barnes writes about how the English speaking universities have, as with most individual politicians and activists, been over-celebrated for their "struggle" and "resistance" against apartheid. This mostly through the slanted discussion of their quest for academic freedom and students they produced who became antiapartheid activists. She makes the focus of her paper an examination of the extent to which the English-speaking or so-called 'open universities' were complicit in the sustenance and support for apartheid in South Africa. Dealing in particular with the case of UCT's philosophy department, some interesting details about that university's departmental history emerge which contradict the idea that philosophers "Stayed Out of Politics" to use Aronson's phrase (1990). Professor Andrew Howson Murray, who held the chair of UCT's department of philosophy and ethics from 1937-1970 was a well-known and widely employed collaborator and agent of the apartheid regime. In the course of his academic work Murray, for instance, contributed chapters to volumes published in honour of two conservative South African philosophers the Belgian ex-Nazi fugitive Herman de Vleeschauwer of Unisa and Stoker of the University of Potchefstroom (Barnes, 2015: 21). Barnes writes "As a philosopher and educator, Murray's perspective was that the concept of pluralism was the only answer to the challenges of life in a multi-racial society. Although in other settings pluralism can be a reasonable call for democratic decentralization, in Murray's hands it was deformed into an apology for apartheid" (Barnes, 2015: 22). Barnes draws on a variety of his writings as well as of his students' marked copies of examination papers to support her reading that for Murray pluralism became a "euphemistic legitimation for injustice"(Barnes, 2015: 23).

It is arguable but one might suggest that an Ethics professor's most significant work can happen outside of the classroom. Murray appeared as the state's anti-communist expert in the Treason Trial where he was "brought in as a state witness by the pro-Nazi, chief prosecutor Oswald Pirow" (Barnes, 2015: 24).Murray's main task as expert witness was to identify the accused's writings as "communist".

The defence famously successfully had him unknowingly analyse his own earlier writings which he classified as communist (Barnes, 2015: 24). According to Barnes, Murray continued to testify against anti-apartheid activists well into the 1980s. Murray also worked for the Publications Appeal Board (the main South African censorship body from the 1960s until the 1980s). (Barnes, 2015: 25)

According to Barnes, "Murray was the head of the political committee of the Board and wrote many opinions that were central in the Board's decisions to ban books and silence authors of critical political materials" (Barnes, 2015: 25). He in some instances recommended authors be investigated by military intelligence.
Barnes goes on to show that he was not the only professor at UCT who worked for the apartheid regime but that there were countless, spies and agents at the so-called open universities who did such work.

The English-speaking universities very often lay claim to producing some of the antiapartheid movement's most important liberals. Liberalism has historically been predominantly the political tradition of English speaking South Africa. It has also been rejected numerously from within the ranks of African politics. At one stage by the ANC Youth League of Anton Lembede which saw liberals as trustees that were stifling African political development and agency (Maloka, 2014: 85). The most famous critique of liberalism and its rejection however came some approximate 25 years after Lembede when a group of black students split from the liberal National Union of Students and formed the South African Students Organisation (SASO). Liberals were criticised a political hypocrites in pursuit of the enjoyment of the moral reputation of rejecting white supremacy while enjoying it fully. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) rejected the paternalism and condescension of the liberals and their long history of speaking for the indigenous conquered people. This is practice which had a long history traceable to the petitionists of the Cape Colony in the 19th century and the Native Representative Councils in the 20th century. Most significant however was the realisation by the proponents of BCM that the liberals' rejection or opposition of apartheid was not necessarily also an endorsement of historical justice. The Progressive Party (the most influential liberal political formation since the late 50s) for instance, was still advocating for a qualified franchise for blacks in the 1980s. Many self-professed liberals also approved proposed political reforms akin to Hoernlé's 1940s parallelist social theory. Never mind the restoration of sovereignty and the titles to the territory of South Africa. It is worthwhile to note that in 2015 the "decolonisation of universities" movement was initiated at the English-speaking universities by students who echoing the course of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 60s and 70s complained about silencing, paternalism and Eurocentric cultural chauvinism at the universities.
We conclude this section simply by noting the interesting development that since the end of apartheid English-speaking white South Africans (philosophers amongst them) have become especially more openly socially and politically active.

2.3.5 The contemporary practice of philosophy and the marginality of African philosophy

We have given an historical overview of the history of education in South Africa and, philosophy in particular. In the course of this, we have identified the character of philosophy and advanced reasons why the philosophy thus characterised preferred to disregard and exclude the African experience in the composition of the educational curriculum in general and, the philosophy curriculum in particular. We have shown that both the disregard and the exclusion have been and continue to be challenged by the indigenous peoples of South Africa conquered in the unjust wars of colonisation.

It goes without saying that through time the biological misnomer "Coloured" - a veritable ethical aberration and an ill-conceived political ploy to deny the humanity of the "Coloured" – together with the South African Indian also formed part of the struggle against colonial and racial injustice in South Africa. In recognition of this history, the designation, the subjugated, oppressed and exploited people of South Africa will be used whenever contextually appropriate.

We have shown also that to date the educational curriculum in general and the philosophy curriculum in particular is the terrain of contestation for epistemic and social justice. This contestation leaves no doubt that the struggle for authentic political liberation and economic freedom is yet to be won in South Africa. We have argued that in South Africa the liberation of philosophy will be realised once African philosophy is no longer simply an exotic option in the curriculum but the very grounding of philosophy itself through which other traditions are engaged. The philosophy of liberation is on the other hand increasingly coming to light especially among the youth. It finds practitioners not necessarily recognising it as their source of activity such as the #Economic Freedom Fighters party and the #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall and UPrising movements.

Self-Test Questions

1. In what sense can the practice and teaching of philosophy in South Africa be understood as colonial?
2. How and why were western philosophy and education introduced into South Africa?
3. In what ways can we speak about a "whiteness" of philosophy in South Africa?

Points to Ponder

- Is the continued dominance of Western philosophy in an African country something ethically desirable and sustainable?
- What relevance does the on-going debate and commotion regarding decolonisation have relevance in South Africa?
- Is the description of South Africa as a non-racial society logically and substantively sustainable in light of the dominance of western (white culture) including Western philosophy, English and Afrikaans and Western education?