



The Sun Will Rise Again From Africa

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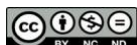
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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the role of the language Biko and Kgositsile used through their diasporic movements, Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) by Biko and Black Art Movement (BAM) by Kgositsile, to analyze the symbiosis in their language and to reveal a designed methodology and social pedagogy in their philosophy, literature and art. Moreover, the paper focuses on the interdependence in Biko's oratory movement, which might be taken into consideration as a philosophical movement, and Kgositsile's literary endeavors, which are elaborated as an artistic movement. The study proposes analogies and designed methodological and pedagogical practices for social and psychological construction through their movements which target collective consciousness bridging their traditional roots and modern world. Biko's and Kgositsile's lines are functioning as a record of the savageness they and their people experienced, and are pedagogical and methodological responses and instructions for them to survive in a modern social structure with a powerful self-conscious psychology. Through this perspective, the poem "Anguish Longer than Sorrow" by Kgositsile through Black Art Movement and Biko's philosophy through Black Consciousness Movement will be analyzed and compared in this study.

Keywords: Black Art Movement, Black Consciousness Movement, Apartheid, Kgositsile, Biko

Introduction

The source of apartheid is not political or ethnical. Human experiences and life cycle bring the apartheid into existence; as, the apartheid starts at the point where the language of knowledge and the language of experience differentiate. If one does not have the language of the knowledge/experience of an action, he/she cannot enact that behavior. Being able to enact that behavior aside, it would be impossible to define it or to react the action; or even it would be impossible to develop defense mechanism against that action, which is the lowest level of an act, and usually instinctive.

The thing that makes you powerful against any action is to have a wide acquaintance with the language/codes/experience of that action. You are weak, defeated, and succumb to any action or rather culture if you do not know its language, codes or experience. You are not defeated because of your weakness against the action, or it is not due to your inferiority; on the contrary, you fail due to the lack of the knowledge about the action and your inadequacy in defining the action. Neither your opponent's victory is for his superiority, nor is your defeat resulted from your inferiority. The thing that causes your defeat is more precisely lack of the language of the paradigm you encounter.

Apartheid starts at that point; between the one who speaks two languages (of the knowledge/experience of both opponents' actions), and the one who speaks one language (the language of the knowledge/experience of his/her own). If you know your own language and the opponent's, that means there are two different languages, namely two different nation/notion. The consciousness of the differentiation drives people to draw a line on the land, and label as 'this part' and 'that part' which can turn into 'a(part)heid' any time. In this way, there occur many lines (borders) on the land (in the world).

The people who draw these lines are always the ones who know the language of differentiation. In other words, the ones who set borders and draw lines all around the world, and ostracize the other(s), are always the people who speak the languages of oppressor. On the other hand, the people who speak one language (of their own pure human nature and pure society) are always inadequate in defining, reacting and defending against the notion of the oppressor. The people who do not have the language/knowledge of the differentiation are always imprisoned between the lines, and surrounded by borders. In short, the differentiations and borders are not due to the national/ethnic differences. The lack of the language of differentiation engenders the apartheid. It is not the war of races; superior and inferior; poor and rich; civilized and uncivilized. It is not the war of the primitives and the moderns. This is the war on the line which demarcates the border between the knowledge of the oppressed and the oppressor; and the winner would be the one who have that knowledge.

The extant scientific and ethnical studies prove that the ones who are proposed as primitives, who are deprived of their lands, properties and freedoms and imprisoned in borders, in fact, have high and advanced social structure, culture and literature on the contrary to the known (Hingley and Unwin, 2006). The lands of Celts invaded by Rome had richness and civilization long before the newcomers, who promised those namely primitive inhabitants wealth and civilization. The slaughtered Indians of America had civilized culture such that they could manage to preserve the pureness of human nature and set a warless society, until the Spanish bring 'civilization and peace' for them. Each tribe in South Africa had their own language, culture, civilization and advanced literature and moral value. They preserved such a pure human nature and such a flawless, old, long-established society and social structure that the existence of its binary opposition faded away in time and died out in their memory; or they might have never had it before.

That is to say, neither the Indians of America nor the early dwellers of Africa knew the language of war, slaughter, depriving, oppressing or being oppressed as their so called 'masters' utilized their karma of war machine embedded within the ancient teaching of Roman total war. They did not have the knowledge of apartheid as the Romans built the Hadrian Wall; the experience of setting borders around the freedom; the memory of enslaving or enslavement. They did not know the language until the arrival of the newcomers; until they are named as primitives and inferiors. They are exposed to the language when they first encountered with the promise of civilization by the superior newcomers, and dispossessed what they had in the war/violence which was the precondition of that promise; "[s]outh Africa's unique history of race and political expression includes some-thing called *nonracialism*, which had, by the 1980s, become a rejection of racial-ist ideas (and their consequences) in all forms" (Hill, 2015, xviii). The oppression and the dispossession Africans experienced engendered Black Consciousness Movement, which is a language as well and is "the belief that self- realization, a liberation of the mind, is enhanced by identification with a

particular history. Although commonly associated with skin color, this history is named black not for any identification with race; rather, black codes the profound personal agency that drove people of African descent to liberate themselves and others from enslavement. In the 420 years of what is disappointingly known as the Atlantic Slave Trade (1450– 1870)" (Hill, 2015, XV).

The victor of that war was always the one who has the knowledge/experience of that language; so it has been, and so it shall be. One of those who revealed this fact masterfully in psychological studies is Jung. If you are deprived of the consciousness of the enforced power over you, that means you are condemned to be defeated and keep on your life enslaved. Moreover, enslavement shall go on through an endless cycle unless you are conscious. To break the cycle of this enslavement, to come out victorious through the wars of powers and to change the balance between the slave and the sovereign, the only way is to decode the language of the power and enslavement. In his theory of *Depth Psychology*, Jung proposes the system to decode the power to individuate, which is a kind of psychological enhancement; and even it is the only way, he states (Grice, 2016). The knowledge of decoding is that powerful, it can transform a slave into a challenging hero and promote him/her to sovereignty. Individuation and self-consciousness is such a powerful psychological advancement.

As it is a fact and takes place in recent history, Africa is one of the absolute samples that we can observe its cycle, change, power and language. Africa is a sample in recent history we can continually and substantially observe and analyze the fact with a clear view. To observe how the destruction of a nation contemporaneously gives birth to a new nation/notion and culture, the paper will analyse Black Movement and apartheid policy in the South African recent history. The paper will depict the pain of death and dead silence; birth labor and the screams of a new being emerged concomitant with apartheid. In this study, we will portrait how the soul of a deep-rooted civilization is eradicated and become barren; and how a new evolved identity engenders in the arid land. Steve Biko will be

presented as he meant to be as the social and psychological stand; and Kgositsile as an impetus via art and literary stance of the change, and the emergence of the new being. Although it seems that they struggle in different sides, in fact, both of them experience the same individuation and consciousness process, which enable them to decode the language of power, and lead their people and society to gain the same consciousness to evolve and adapt as a new being in the new world they are forced into become the silent parts of imperial sovereignty.

The Black Consciousness Movement and Steve Biko

Steve Biko was born in King William's Town in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa in 18 December 1946 (and died in 1977). The conditions in his childhood time were very tough. Those conditions even made it nearly impossible to survive. His father died when he was only four-year-old. He gathered his primary and secondary education in King Williamstown locally before continuing to next level, Lovedale Institution in Alice province. (Wilson, 1991, 17-8). Nevertheless, he didn't stay there too much. Instead, he continued his education at the Roman Catholic Marianhill, in Natal. He then entered the white dominated medical school called University of Natal at Non-European section. (Wilson, 1991, 22). He became active at first in NUSAS (National Union of South African Students' Organisation). (Gerhart, 1978, 258). However, he shifted from this organization to SASO (South African Students' Organisation) (Gerhart, 1978, 267). There, he was elected as the first president in July 1969. From this time then on, his odyssey through the 'River Styx' as a 'Black Apollo' to bring 'the light' and 'the life' back to the 'black man' embarked.

Shaping only the 4-5% of the total population in South Africa, the white man was in charge of the country by hook or by crook. Constitution of the South African State –and of course laws– were on behalf of the white man. Apartheid was the rift between the 'coloreds' and 'supreme' white settlers. Actually, it was a disguised way of segregation, or namely racism; [w]hatever apartheid meant, and this was not yet clear, it certainly entailed the recognition and separation of specific groups of people. The criteria by which these were demarcated were not racist, at least in the formal sense of the word. There was, of course, an undertone of intense racism within apartheid (Ross 116).

White apartheid in South Africa convinced the rest of the world that internal conflicts like African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress to the regime has been quieted by either imprisoning or sending to exile their leaders (Gerhart, 1978, 252-3). Notwithstanding with the high expectations of the white aparthoids, their brutal and amorphous acts caused a new vanguard to be appeared. Black schoolteachers, artists, and poets recognized that music and poetry could be effective resources for thwarting white racism. These grassroots institutions gave birth to a broad, dynamic cultural and political movement by the mid-1970s called "Black Consciousness." Through his powerful use of language and his cultural philosophy of black pride and resistance, Steve Biko became the best-known voice for Black Consciousness, and consequently, apartheid's greatest foe (Gerhart, 1978, 130-146).

Intellectuals like Malcolm X, Franz Fanon, Senghor Leopold, James Cone and Paulo Friere influenced Biko (see Macqueen, 2014, 512, 514 and Cloete, 2019, 28). He did not agree the models, which existed in Soviet Union, the USA and China. He debated the re-distribution of lands based on black communalism. Even though Biko was contrary to fierceness unlike Fanon, Biko's approach to the black community and the self-consciousness of the black identity was the same as once Fanon stated, "[t]he consciousness of self is not the closing of a door to communication... National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension" (Hoppe and Nicholls, 2010, 216).

This self-consciousness settled itself not only by inspiring from the intellectuals that are mentioned above, but also it was contingent on his experiences and analysis rather than reading:

Those who were in the so-called leadership, whatever their different aptitudes for reading – personally, I do very little reading. I rarely finish a book, I always go to find something from a book. Otherwise I read a book over a long period, when I am going to sleep and so on. I'm talking about books that relate to people's philosophies, people's strategies and so on. I've been having Stokely's book now for I don't know how many years, since '68, '69. I haven't finished it. Or others, like [James] Cone's book; I've read parts of it, on black theology. But others of course are much more avid readers than I am. They do a lot of reading, they do a lot of writing, interpretation, and so on. So that element has that kind of effect upon a basic attitude formed primarily from experience, from an analysis of the situation as one sees it. And it helps to sharpen one's focus, it helps to make the guy much more confident about whatever he's actually articulating. The common experience of the Third World people. (Biko, 2008, 24)

Therefore, this 'common experience of the Third World People' became the unifying notion to collect everyone whether he is Indian or colored or African under the same roof for the same resistance of the oppressed. From this perspective, it was not a limited resistance with the African people but a substantial amalgamation of the oppressed people. Urban and rural areas were very important to be filled with the new notions. Though injecting fresh ideas in the rural area is a little bit easier, rural areas were widely open to the effects of the urban area due to the labor migration.

From the standpoint of the white men, they anticipated no danger in black communities unless 'the other whites' supported these people. The reason was that, South African Government considered the black man as having no intelligent capacity. However, especially for the people like President Jimmy Kruger, 'black lover deviant whites', namely activists, could breakdown the apartheid system. Therefore, it was a 'precondition not to give any opportunity' to those activists. Nevertheless, they were wrong with their pre-assumptions since Biko's movement was not local or limited, unlike; it was non-racist and unarmed. He just wanted to equalize the opportunities in South Africa for all races. For Biko, the government failed to the fact that:

They relied very heavily on the existence of a very powerful security. And none of us would doubt that it's a very powerful security in terms of so many things. But it's also a stupid security. They depend a hell of a lot on gadgets for detecting information. But they are limited in the extent to which they can analyze whatever information they get: limited by their own prejudices against blacks. (Biko, 2008, 40)

In other words, instead of edifying themselves through the negotiations with the black community for parity, they chose to be the arbiters by an inexorable annihilating vehemently. Not only did they want to understand black community but also they didn't evaluate the situation meticulously. Instead of appeasing the communities by giving their natural born rights like freedom, equal treatments and justified verdicts; the government wanted to vindicate their massacres by formulating detentions and fake suicides. Thereby, they struggled for silencing the oppressed people's mourning yet words are always remained 'death proof.' The date 16 June 1976 marks another conflict in which blacks were defeated by firearms. The impending collapse of the short-lived apartheid era found its symbol in the leadership of Steve Biko, a suffering hero who was murdered while in police custody in 1977. Although Gillian Slovo invokes the Soweto students as 'the first wave in what would eventually become the storm that annihilated apartheid', an unbroken line leads back to the Fort Hare University circle and the inspiration they found in the work of Sol Plaatje, Krune Mqhayi, and others over the centuries. Whites' surrender of leadership appeared underground when Prime Minister B. J. Vorster declared in 1977 at a meeting of the National Party's caucus, but never in public, that South Africa could have a black president by the end of the century. Another important point was that, the word he used, *kleurling* ('Coloured'), lacked verifiable meaning, since the common ideology had by then classified that community as black. All these events, gradually uprooted from an unconscious situation to a highly conscious status were resulted by the efforts like Biko and the other unknown heroes and heroines. Therefore, Biko's legacy to the emerging African renaissance is always noticeable. His ephemeral life was strong enough to cut down the 'Xeno Phobia' against the black community:

In 1974, there had been the pro-Frelimo rally at Currie's Fountain, Durban, planned by the BPC and SASO to celebrate the acknowledgment of Frelimo as the de facto government of Mozambique. Despite the fact that the South African Government had itself acknowledged Frelimo, when this rally was publicized and a white businessman openly declared that if it took place he and others would go and breakdown it, instead of dealing with the white businessman, the Minister of Justice prohibited the rally. At the same time a meeting prearranged by Portuguese in Johannesburg to protest against Frelimo was allowed without any official interruption. (Biko, 1978, 99)

Below as a part of the extract of the trial after those events from Steve Biko's evidence in the SASO/BPC Trial given in the first week of May 1976:

Biko: ...you are challenging the very deep roots of the Black man's belief about himself. When you say 'black is beautiful' what in fact you are saying to him is: man, you are okay as you are, begin to look upon yourself as a human being; now in African life especially

it also has certain connotations; it is the connotations on the way women prepare themselves for viewing by society, in other words the way they dress, the way they make up and so on, which tends to be a negation of their true state and in a sense a running away from their colour; they use lightening creams, they use straightening devices for their hair and so on. They sort of believe I think that their natural state which is a black state is not synonymous with beauty and beauty can only be approximated by them if the skin is made as light as possible and the lips are made as red as possible, and their nails are made as pink as possible and so on. So in a sense the term 'black is beautiful' challenges exactly that belief which makes someone negate himself.

Judge Boshoff: Mr Biko, why do you people pick on the word black? I mean black is really an innocent reference which has been arrived at over the years the same as white; snow is regarded as white, and snow is regarded as the purest form of water and so it symbolizes purity, so white there has got nothing to do with the white man? Biko: Right.

Judge Boshoff: But now why do you refer to you people as blacks? Why not brown people? I mean you people are more brown than Black.

Biko: In the same way as I think white people are more pink and yellow and pale than white.

Judge Boshoff: Quite... but now why do you not use the word brown then?

Biko: No, I think really, historically, we have been defined as black people, and when we reject the term non-white and take upon ourselves the right to call ourselves what we think we are, we have got available in front of us a

whole number of alternatives, starting from natives to Africans to kaffirs to bantu to non-whites and so on, and we choose this one precisely because we feel it is most accommodating.

Judge Boshoff: Yes but then you put your foot into it, you use black which really connotes dark forces over the centuries?

Biko: This is correct, precisely because it has been used in that context our aim is to choose it for reference to us and elevate it to a position where we can look upon ourselves positively; because no matter whether we choose to be called brown, you're still going to get reference to blacks in an inferior sense in literature and in speeches by white racists or white persons in our society. (Biko, 1978, 99)

Although Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger was not glad and was not sorry about Mr. Biko, he 'left cold' about his death, a delegate applauded Jimmy Kruger for allowing the black leader his 'democratic right' to 'starve himself to death' as if Biko wanted to commit a suicide (Gerhart, 1978, 20-24). One way or another, they made up stories about the 'unexpected sudden deaths under detentions', in other words South African White Leaders tried to 'vindicate' their inexorable massacres by setting up stories like; [h]e committed a suicide by hanging himself; he felt down the stairs; he suddenly died due to neurotic trauma etc. etc. (Woods, 1978, 213; reported in *Cape Times*, September 16, 1977). The rest of the world wasn't inactive about these crimes thanks to people like Donald Woods. If it weren't for activists like Donald Woods, most probably mankind wouldn't have been informed about the real criminals behind the detentions.

Eventually Biko's death reconciles in mankind's man as if it is today, as if all of the mankind were there in that journey through the night with him. Maybe in this journey he was totally naked, manacled, tortured, and lonely physically. His body was driven from Port Elizabeth to prison hospital in Pretoria in the back of a military Land Rover. The destination was about 700 miles. They said to his family that Steve starved to death lonely on the stone floor though they tried to 'feed' him by injecting a serum. However, they couldn't kill Biko, they only sent him to the realm of freedom martyrs. They made him reach such a position that he became the fury blizzard upon the apartheid since 'the ideas' are death proof.

Black Arts Movement and Keorapetse Kgositsile

In 1960s and 1970s, the intellectuals from South Africa, who were mostly exiled, were cornerstones for both American and African art, literature and philosophy (Redmond cited in Phalafala, 2017, 308). Kgositsile was one of them who pioneered black modernity for black people both in South Africa and America. The black modernity here was not a replica of white culture or civilization; on the contrary, it was from their own roots which they grew in and the new culture: "Kgositsile's work conflates roots and routes, the written and the oral, as well as literature and music. I propose and deploy the dynamic *roots en route*, which holds together both locally specific cultural inheritances and their mobility in the context of black transnationalism" (Phalafala, 2017, 308); "[i]n Kgositsile's writing it is used to figure solidarity between African-American and South African liberation struggles" (Jaji quoted in Phalafala, 2017, 309). Kgositsile was born and grew in South Africa in 1938, struggled for black identity and existentialism which led to his exile to America in 1962. When he arrived there, nothing was different from South Africa. The black people in the US were slaves and in alienation. He went on his struggle this time for Afro-Americans through literature, music, art, cultural studies, and lectures at universities. It is not surprising to see the best words depicting his condition in his own lines, "from nowhere to nowhere between nothing and nothing" (Keorapetse Kgositsile). For someone who has been taken away from his nation and deprived of his nationality, it makes no difference where he comes from or where he is driven into. He is a "refugee" even in his homeland and in a far continent.

Kgositsile "had become one of the central poets of the Black Arts Movement" (Crawford quoted in Phalafala, 2017, 309) in America and "shared its commitment to music as a generative source of politicized aesthetics"; they were "rehearsed, learned, and performed for specific political ends" (Jaji quoted in Phalafala, 2017, 309). Phalafala mentions, "Kgositsile's southern African expressive forms as roots, en route transatlantic, its interweaving with Afro-American vernacular and literary traditions, and its subsequent impact on diasporic musical practices" (2017, 309). Kgositsile's art was "a resource base in their articulation of radical social-conscious politics" for his contemporaries and future generation. His struggle to produce in America is "the black cultural continuum," which was the reconstruction of black identity "on both sides of the Atlantic" (Phalafala, 2017, 310).

Kgositsile's art and literature was reincarnation of African oral traditions and literature, in which he reconstructed the past in the present, and for the future to reestablish African identity and build a 'home' for the children. As the art of his African pioneers in America, who created jazz and art "to invoke the collective's cultural values and self-image for purposes of spiritual cohesion and pan-African solidarity" (Phalafala, 2017, 310), Kgositsile's poetry was to ensoul his nation who were deprived of cultural values, self-image, and self. Kgositsile's art was pumping blood to for the birth of future generation. The roots of African oral traditions and literature in Kgositsile's poems were to reconstruct memories for "the premature" (Keorapetse Kgositsile). The "typographic representations of Black speech" (Phalafala, 2017, 310) in Kgositsile's poetry were to reconstruct black identity and

'home' for future nations. His poems were a record of black history which would be transmitted to the future and future generations:

Kgositsile's work links the griot tradition and rap through his poetry, in a *roots en route* dynamic. In that sense Kgositsile is a modern griot—an artist who, as is the definition of a griot, 'was, and still is, observer, commentator or councilor on the past and passing scenes. He happily still survives in some parts of Africa, not only rehandling traditional material ... keeping the heroic feats of historical figures alive, but also commenting in traditional style on contemporary matters.' (Phalafala, 2017, 313)

The school of Biko and Kgositsile; their mission as an activist, orator and teacher

Biko and Kgositsile both had designed methodological and pedagogical missions for social and psychological construction through their movements which targets collective

consciousness bridging their traditional roots and modern world. Biko's and Kgositsile's lines are functioning as a record of the savageness they and their people experienced, and are pedagogical and methodological responses and instructions for them to survive in a modern social structure with a powerful self-conscious psychology. Biko and Kgositsile both are capable of hearing the dead silence of their society and unconscious walking-dead bodies. They both struggle and challenge to reificate their people; to reach the elixir of life, and inspirit them. One's struggle is sociological and psychological, and the other's is literary and artistic; "the focus was more of 'a way of being'" for both of them (Macqueen, 2013, 523) According to them, their long-established civilization was destructed, and there is no way back. Under this destruction, either zombies will arise, or they are to evolve into new identities blended with old and new language/knowledge. On one hand, Biko and Kgositsile mourn for the death of their civilization and souls, on the other hand they strive for creating a new civilization, society, culture and nation blending the knowledge/experience of their long-established, deep-rooted society and of the new world to enable their new generation keep their life as independent individuals adapted in the new enforced world without being enslaved. To define the mission of Black Consciousness Movement and Biko, Magaziner adds:

The politics of the personal- and the challenges of the intellectual- had long resonated in black South African history. Although student thinkers appropriated symbols and language from their global moment- afros, clenched fists, concerns with 'authenticity' and 'beingness'-they were also engaged in a deep-rooted local struggle. From Nxele to Soga, through Seme, Dube, Dhlomo, Lembede and Sobukwe, black thinkers had struggled to maintain the tension between distinctiveness and belonging under the colonial, segregationist and, finally, apartheid regimes. In their thought the categories of 'African' and 'adult,' 'modern' and 'civilized' had been configured and reconfigured time and again and in their words, political, social and economic history found its psychological and intellectual complement. (2009, 226)

The intellectuals of both movements were conscious of that the power uses a systematic code and algorithm. The only way to escape the wrath of the power and to free from its grip is to reveal the language of the algorithm and to decode. Only the ones who manages to decode can be conscious, individuate, and challenge against it. If they cannot, they transform into a zombie-like notion in which they enforce the same violence upon their own people in a walking-dead mode who take orders as robots and war weapons. That is why the people who engage in violence are mostly from their own nation. Mostly, the slaughterers were not whites, but blacks. This fact is the same even today in the Middle-East as well; and was the same in Hitler's Germany. However, in the condition that people manage to be conscious, no one could enslave them to enforce violence to others; there would be no need for war or weapons. No one could enslave someone who is conscious of him/herself and the opponents. The Black Consciousness movement "insisted there could be no true end to racial oppression in their country without 'an inward-looking process' – 'a self-examination and a rediscovery of ourselves' – on the part of the oppressed groups. This claim was based on their analysis of the unjust status quo and the methods by which it was maintained, expressed in the slogan 'the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed'" (Hull, 2017, 573).

Biko and Kgositsile both had education of whites. The education of white created awareness. The awareness and the enlightenment drove them into endeavor to transmit the knowledge to their nation. Biko and Kgositsile were aware of that the only way to defeat the power is to learn and speak its codes. The education and knowledge transformed Biko and

Kgositsile into active social constructors. They devoted themselves for the reconstruction of their society and nation. The education they had did not transmit the message to them that they are primitives, inferiors or slaves; on the contrary, it advanced them such a degree that they started to acquire/decode the behaviors and politics of whites. They could unveil the promised civilization which masked slavery and deprivation. Black consciousness movement "seeks to show the black people the value of their own standards and outlook. It urges black people to judge themselves according to these standards and not be fooled by white society who have white-washed themselves and made white standards the yardstick by which even black people judge each other" (Biko quoted in Hull, 2017, 575).

Some writers or academics propose the “question of whether the African ‘mind’ is indeed capable of ‘doing’ philosophy”; some define Black Movement as “problematic presence,” and Biko as “a defiant legacy” (Cloete, 2019, 105). The proposed claims sound inconceivable and racist enough; yet, regardless the intended ill message of this assertion, if the education, life standards accessibility of opportunities and the history of whites and blacks are taken into consideration, it may be clear to see that despite the lack of such conditions or being new and a foreigner in that social structure which they had deficient and inexact knowledge and abortive language, they had an enviable advancement and success in such a short time. When we take the long history of education whites had in philosophy since Plato or Aristotle into consideration, Black Movement, Black Art Movement, Biko and Kgositsile’s philosophy would be accounted preeminent.

The differentiations and borders were “within highly hierarchical and unequal societies, not all actors are equally positioned to bring about meaningful political transformation,” while whites had “resources, education, and privilege” which help them “assume the role of leading movements for social change,” black “population is often poorly positioned for such work” (Biko, 2002 cited in Kamola 2015, 64). The inequality in societies, resources, education, and privilege lead Biko and Kgositsile to found their own cultural centers to educate their people and secure the justice as much as they can. While Biko transformed Durban into a social, cultural and education complex in South Africa, Kgositsile made Harlem the homeland of African American culture and social existence in the USA. Biko and his contemporary Intellectual Richard (Rick) Turner transformed Durban into a “de facto headquarters of the black student organisation, the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO)”;¹ it became the center of black intellectuals who became activist to struggle for black identity (Macqueen 2013, 512). One of the prominent advancement was SASO which “held ‘formation schools’ in which it reviewed the past and sought innovative responses to the present; activists published thought pieces of lesser and greater, sophistication; and, above all, they engaged South Africa’s fraught identity politics in search of a new approach to the obvious problems of black life in South Africa” (Magaziner, 2009, 227).

Kgositsile’s afford was such valuable and meaningful, and such an effective language and school that it spirited up the black people even in a far continent, in America; it reconstructed his nation and engendered a new generation. One of the examples was The Last Poets; “[t]he African American revolutionary poetry outfit and purported grandfathers of rap The Last Poets coined their name from Keorapetse Kgositsile’s poem. ... Kgositsile’s poem in question harvested the rich oral, aural, and literary practices of his native Setswana, which in turn enabled The Last Poets to not only draw a name from Kgositsile’s poetry, but also a language and poetic” (Phalafala, 2017, 307).

The ‘Memory’ of Biko and Kgositsile; their mission bridging the past, present and future

Biko, Kgositsile and their contemporaries are the last bridges between their children and ancestors. They are the only connection between their past and future. They are the last generation who have the knowledge of both old and new. That is why they are valuable for their nations; they still have the memory of the old days, their roots before they become extinct totally through whites’ unprecedented suppression. The next generation will not possess that memory; as they will be the children of either illiterate enslaved zombies or modernized evolved generations, like Biko’s and Kgositsile’s philosophical descendants.

Due to the last bridges between their successors and ancestors, the struggle of Biko and Kgositsile’s generation was precious. They were the only living link between the pure African human nature, culture, identity and social structure, and the new reconstructed identity, society and culture. They are some of the utmost crucial messengers to transmit the memory to the future generations. Both of Biko and Kgositsile had the same mission; they were active social constructors. They were to convey the knowledge to the future generation that they once had an advanced civilized society with cultivated culture and literature; “[the Black Movement intellectuals] used ideas and moved them across boundaries; in the process, the ideas’ meanings changed- just as Biko had moved Kaunda’s African humanism into a historically bounded modern black culture” (Magaziner, 2009, 234-235) and “envisioned ‘Africa’ as moving from the particular to the universal, through the historical present into the envisioned future” (Magaziner, 2009, 231).

Kgositsile was/is notable for being “the original Last Poet” (quoted in Phalafala, 2017, 313), which is clear that he and his contemporaries, such as Biko, are the last bridges whose one leg steps on their ancestors’ homeland and the other steps on the new world they are condemned into; “Kgositsile’s poetry actively harvests the fruit of his people’s memory— their customs, cultures, and sense of community—as evident in the above praise poetry form. He is their dream-keeper” and “bridging the mission of past and future generations” (Phalafala, 2017, 323-324).

Kgositsile spent his life in Harlem, producing art and poetry in the harmony of Harlem, which became his homeland in America and Setswana which was his home in Africa. He combined the harmony of “the oral/aural and musical traditions” (Phalafala, 2017, 313) in both side of Atlantic. His created harmony was not just an art but a new language, an announcement for gathering around their cultural existence, a call for challenge, and mourning in the awareness of deprivation, which is the precondition of being alive and existence as a human. His art was

inspiration of hope for his people who are in hopelessness, as his art was a school for the future generations, which was functioning in the means of a book of his ancestors' history, and which was a link between the past, present and future. His art and language were a metamorphose of the past, present and future, which inspire, ensoul and lead his black people to metamorphose in the same notion to gain the black modernity to be able to exist in the new world as strong as their ancestors; "[t]he mapped evolution of black expressive cultures attest to the complex, nonlinear, and bi-directional nature of the makings of black modernity" (Phalafala, 2017, 313).

The 'language' of Biko and Kgositsile; their mission as revolutionary

Some scholars claim that Biko developed a racist language referring to some of Biko's writings. That might be accurate; however, the reason beneath it is that black people's pure self is destructed because they could not defend themselves due to lack of knowledge of daemonic nature and violence. It is because the ability to defend or react to win a war requires the knowledge/language of evil and war as well. The Africans were defeated and captured. The harshness and anger in both Biko's and Kgositsile's language is on account of the fact that they have to teach their people what the war and savage is, who the opponents are, and how the oppression and dispossession is; "for the moment he [white person] holds us back,

offering a formula too gentle, too inadequate for our struggle" (Biko cited in Woods, 1978, 55).

James Lawson portrays how African Americans driven into a desperate and hopeless notion "in the peaceful message of assimilation of Martin Luther King Jr." (quoted in Phalafala, 2017 315), which confronted African Americans with the dilemma between "violence and non-violence"; at that point, Kgositsile was the one who was "clearly and readily for violence" and became the revolutionary to call his nation to participate in showing their feelings and agonies without hesitation to show they are human beings and alive, as the whites. It is because "[h]istory had taught him [Kgositsile] that power concedes nothing without a fight," and that is why you see in his poems "how he was growing angrier and angrier and angrier"; and in the same manner "it was this anger that became chief feature of their [The Last Poets'] music" (Phalafala, 2017 315). The violence he addressed was not a physical force or through weapons; on the contrary, it was a violence in his language to agitate black people who were right before the state of falling into the coma, unconsciousness and nothingness, a fall in despair, and a death. Biko's and Kgositsile's anger and violence in their language and art was a cardio pulmonary resuscitation to recover and restore his people from apparent death.

The harshness, the anger and the claimed racism in their lines do not belong to Biko or Kgositsile; but to the whites. Everything is known with its binary opposition. It might be interpreted that Biko and Kgositsile taught the savage of daemonic power and its discrimination; nevertheless, actually whites were unwittingly teaching blacks how to defend themselves in that enforced new world. Biko's and Kgositsile's war was not with weapon because they were aware that the thing that killed blacks was the imposed notion of inferiority. That was the reason why they rejected the superiority of whites and their any support or participation in their struggle; as Biko explains "I don't reject liberalism as such or white liberals as such. I reject only the concept that black liberation can be achieved through the leadership of white liberals" (Biko cited in Woods 1978, 54). Their weapon was psychological existence, strong and superior as whites. Biko and Kgositsile created a language, an objection to white's superiority who condemned blacks into a savage world in black's own land. That is to say it was a reaction against any superiority over another. They both used such a harsh and terrifying language that it led to their exile, and Biko's death. The language they used was terrifying for the white power as well. However, the horror in their language was for blacks who were about to fall into the silence of the death; the harshness and terror of the language was to shake blacks to bring back to life, to the consciousness. Biko and Kgositsile depicted the violent and brutal supremacy of whites and the nonresistance of blacks in the similar line with whites' violence and savagery in their language. Biko and Kgositsile first recalled the value and beauty of their ancestors harshly to blacks; later they depicted the oppression, torture and savagery of whites in all its nakedness; and then, they blame blacks for being hypnotized by the lies of whites.

Phalafala's lines might be elucidator to understand the anger and violence in the language of Kgositsile's poems, and his aim to use the harshness in his language:

[Kgositsile] bemoans the apathy, passivity, and inactivity of black people in America who still proclaim having rhythm and a glorious past in the face of dehumanization by 'fatbellied master'—a perpetual state of slavery and nigger-dom. Kgositsile yearns to slit the villains' throats with spears and colour the wave of the soaring tide with their blood. This would be the ultimate sacrifice to the gods who would ensure their rites of passage from slavery to self-determination. However he cannot do this alone, lest he end up a misguided soloist in blind rebellion. The collective consciousness is being appealed to. He mourns that the men of his time have been converted to the ways of the white man, brainwashed into slaves and therefore brain-drained of power for decisive action. They are deluded by the

'beauty' of an otherwise progressing America, unaware that the beauty is coloured with the pus and blood from their ancestors' backs and callouses. That is the past they should remember, 'hunger unsatisfied' and 'sweating in the sun' of America's plantations. (Phalafala, 2017, 316)

Biko and Kgositsile articulated harsh terms and violence in their language through their life time as they were aware of that their black people had not had the knowledge, the memory or experience of these terms; that is why they insisted on articulating the terms many and many times. First, they defined the terms, the language of oppression and violence; later, they insisted on articulating and calling them out to teach them blacks; then, they decoded the policy of oppression and taught how to defeat it. Their language was a school for blacks to learn how to reconstruct their lost consciousness and self; a bridge between the past, present and future; and a call for challenge and revolution. Wet reveals the philosophy of Black Consciousness Movement and Biko, which is clear to understand its language:

The recurring theme of oppression cannot be separated from black experience. Black existential philosophy gives voice to black writers, allowing them to express their views and critique white domination. It provides a platform for black people's articulations, both on the continent and in the diaspora, on philosophical and social issues such as colonialism, slavery and racism, and finding the means to liberate black people from such afflictions (cf. Oruka 2002). Black existential philosophy is largely emancipatory, geared at empowering black persons, giving them greater control over their lives or their situations despite the resistance of those in power, while allowing them to assess their situation from a black perspective. Once empowered, black persons are able to shape their own existence, without being restricted to the type of existence imposed by slavery and colonialism. Black existential writers raise questions of identity, existence and liberation (see More 2008, 47): in this respect black people need to realise who they are, in order that they may realise that they are oppressed and thus take steps towards liberating themselves from the forces oppressing them. This ties in with the idea of identity as being partly what someone is born with (black skin); partly what someone has become (oppressed, colonised); but chiefly what an individual chooses to believe and acknowledge about him/herself. (2013, 295)

Biko illustrates how black existentialism eroded through the white policy of oppression and inferiority:

He is first of all oppressed by an external world through institutionalized machinery and through laws that restrict him from doing certain things, through heavy work conditions, through poor pay, through difficult living conditions, through poor education, these are all external to him. Secondly, and this we regard as the most important, the black man in himself has developed a certain state of *alienation* [emphasis in the original], he rejects himself precisely because he attaches the meaning white to all that is good, in other words he equates good with white. This arises out of his living and it arises out of his development from childhood ... We try to get blacks to grapple realistically with their problems, to attempt to find solutions to their problems, to develop what one might call an awareness of their situation, to be able to analyze and to provide answers for themselves. (Biko in Woods 1987 quoted in Wet, 2013, 296)

They wanted to teach the language of oppression, oppressed and oppressor to the future generation; as they did not have those terms in their culture and society before because of no need prior to the imperial suppression. They were now enslaved and defeated because they did not have the language and experience of slavery and such a war; so that, they did not have the language of resistance. Each thing is known with its binary opposition. Black cannot be dark without the existence of white as light. They did not have the opposition of what they had before, such as evil, savage, enslavement, oppressed or oppressor. Biko and Kgositsile

strived to enlighten their nations depicting them the newly enforced power and the sudden change. Biko clarifies how to reconstruct their deconstructed existence which he define as "shell":

It becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be mis-used and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the land of his birth. That is what we mean by an inward-looking process. This is the definition of Black Consciousness. (Biko, 1978, 29)

Otherwise, Kgositsile portrays, the black man will always be "kneeling to catch the crumbs from [their] master's table," "knees of [their] soul numbed by endless kneeling" (quoted in Phalafala, 2017, 316-317). The language they created was awareness of the death of their pure self, and the awareness of a condition in which either they will be an empty 'shell,' in other word 'a zombie', or will create a new identity unifying their roots and memory and the teachings of old and contemporary philosophers they learned at schools and universities, such as Plato, Sartre, Fanon (see Macqueen 2013 p. 512, 514, Cloete 2019, p.28). Biko and Kgositsile were the constructors of black identity, existentialism, perception of self, and modern black society; and their language was so. Through Black Consciousness Movement, "[b]lackness was entirely of that particularly historical and political moment. Those called black- and those who called themselves black- were adults without ancestors. Family and pigmentation did not matter; a historically constructed ontology- which was also a subjectively developed and vehemently asserted identity- vis-à-vis the extant state of oppression did" (Magaziner, 2009. 228). As the new unified identity will be the one who is conscious of both the violative actions and policies of whites and the memories of their nation's cultivated society. Magaziner's explanation on Black Movement and the wording they used reveals how masterfully Biko used the language and wording to reconstruct modern black identity unifying the past, present and future:

The new constitution of the self in late sixties and early seventies South Africa was about the public projections of selves, about first imagining and then, through reading and writing, constituting a consciousness of 'being' black selves, responsible, on their own. Reading and writing were thus good for something beyond cultivating individual identity; activists projected inward thought outward, made identities public and suggested that their efforts to 'carve' and 'shape' new ways of being would, in time, do away with the old. (Magaziner, 2009, 226)

Biko and Kgositsile's struggle was not to praise racism when they announced "Black man, you are on your own" (Biko quoted in Hull, 2017, 574), but to activate blacks to get back their free will and regain the control of their own destiny:

Black Consciousness sought to challenge the system of white racism and the crippling inferiority complex among black people it created. In his definition of Black Consciousness, Biko prioritised 'mental attitude' over 'pigmentation' (Biko, 2004: 52). Black Consciousness was 'an attitude of mind, a way of life', an assertion of black dignity and humanity, which demanded active involvement in the struggle for liberation ('SASO Policy Manifesto,' SASO Newsletter, 1, 3, August 1971, 10). (Macqueen 2013, 512)

Biko and Kgositsile were aware of that the new world they were driven into was the fight of existence or nonexistence. And they chose to exist. Their struggle was a call for existence. Their struggle was to activate black consciousness and free will. Kgositsile managed that in the field of music, art and literature. As Biko rejected whites' any support through their struggle of existence, Kgositsile rejected appertaining to whites' music, literature or art; instead, he created new black music, poetry, literature and art, which were in

fact the existence of blacks. It was a call for all blacks as well to create a new black identity in the new world they were forced into.

As Biko did, Kgositsile created his own philosophy in his art, music and literature. That is why their "focus was a positive affirmation of persons and the creation of a new culture that affirmed their dignity, rather than a negative rejection of white liberalism. [The intellectual of Black Consciousness Movement] saw the significance of radical thought in its embodiment of a rejection of capitalism and apartheid, which was congruent with the demands of full citizenship and equality of black South Africans" (Turner cited in Macqueen 2013, 522). They emerged such a language, literature, art and music growing the seeds of their roots by the means of the new imposed world, through the education they had that the black soul regenerated. The emerged new soul was not a vile or banal replica of whites or whites'. It was the birth of blacks in the new 'modern' world. It was a philosophy to teach how to be civilized to the civilization promising whites. Biko created new black identity in South Africa; Kgositsile created it in America. Despite the high difference in the quantity of blacks in the percentage of the population in America and in South Africa, there was no difference between their actions and aims; as blacks were minority in both distant continents (Black population was %10 in the USA in 1960s; white population was %10 in South Africa in 1960s) (The UN Refugee Agency). Despite the quantitative minority of whites in South Africa, they were the blacks who were treated as minority, dispossessed their independence and inhabitancy; they became the slaves in their homeland. In the same manner, blacks were minority and slaves in a far land as well. Biko and his peers like Kgositsile "thought and contended that by thinking their way to new senses of black selfhood, something new would be created: no longer bodies submit and be controlled, but subjects conscious of themselves, and people who would rebel" (Magaziner, 2009, 226-227).

Biko and his peers aim was to reconstruct the black identity which is revealed in his speech to "'African' ministers about 'African' culture, but he transitioned to discuss the 'modern black culture'" which Biko "exemplified by 'soul [music] ... with its all engulfing rhythm.' His imagination set out across the diaspora: the music 'immediately caught on and set hundreds of millions of black bodies in gyration throughout the world.' Critically, this culture moved in a particular direction; it had a 'defiant message, 'say it loud! I'm black and I'm proud'" (Magaziner, 2009, 232-233). "Our modern culture" the language Biko used "shared humanism's concern with human relationships, and desire to contribute to a universal human future. ... this is a culture that emanates from a situation of oppression ... [it] is responsible for the restoration of faith in" black people and "offers a hope. ... [T]he diaspora's 'black music ... contributed ... [a] 'sense of racial self,' so too did black South Africans use soul music to define a defiant racial solidarity in their unique circumstances" (Magaziner, 2009, 232-233). In this notion, Biko constructed a particular language, culture and "a particular voice, which moved from African to black, and staked a claim to the wider world. 'Modern black culture' emerged from the particular tension of defiance amidst oppression. 'Black culture' was thus of a moment, not eternal, but existential. Cast in this way, 'black culture'- and blackness in general- had to do more than merely invert non-whiteness: it had to liberate" (Magaziner, 2009, 232-233).

Biko's Black Consciousness Movement philosophy was an attempt to create a new psychological identity, which is revealed in his terms "black personality," "sense of security and belonging," the power of "self-respect and self-confidence" "black consciousness" "mind power," "being black" as a "mental attitude" "African existentialism" "being cannot be non-Being. Black cannot be non- White" (Magaziner, 2009, 237). According to their philosophy,

"'black identity is not a political movement. It is an attitude towards life.' Blackness was about an individual's identity in a political situation; consciousness was self-realization and self-awareness" (Magaziner, 2009, 238).

'Fear,' which is another term used in the Black Consciousness Movement language, is "an important determinant" "within the psychological structure of the victims of white supremacy" which "erodes the soul of black people in South Africa" (Biko quoted in Cloete, 2019, 110). "Fear" diminishes black people to an "empty shell [...] a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression"; "Anger", "sheepish", "obedience" and "empty shell" (Biko quoted in Cloete, 2019, 110) are other dominant stressed terms to create black consciousness.

Biko and Kgositsile both first recalls their nations the savagery, oppression and slavery of whites which deprive of black people's possessions, freedom, roots, history and self. They unveils the master's promise of civilization, wealth and freedom, and reveals the hypocrisy they encountered. The depiction of hypocrisy and savagery of whites was so sharp and without remorse that it engulfs the black people who are hypnotized and wandering around the fake dreams of whites' promises, in the realities of slavery and barbarity. To reveal the similarities, common motive and harshness in Biko and Kgositsile's language, Phalafala quotes from both of them. Biko depicts the black man as the one who "has lost his manhood, reduced to an obliging shell"; who is in "sheepish obedience as he comes out hurrying in response to his master's impatient call"; who has "inevitable envy of the position of white luxuries and comforts" and "sheepish timidity"; and who is "a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression" (Biko quoted in Phalafala, 2017, 316-317). In the same manner and much more harshly in his lines, Kgositsile blames his own people to be inebriated by the lies of white people; "swallowed your balls," "creep lower than a snake's belly," "swallowed your conscience," "sold your sister," "bleached the womb of your daughter's mind," "bleached your son's genitals," "slobber in the slime of missionary-eyed faggotry," "hide behind the shadow of your master's institutionalized hypocrisy," "deballled grin" and most profane: running to poison your own mother" (Kgositsile quoted in Phalafala, 2017, 316-317).

The main reconstruction of black culture was to challenge to "hopelessness, helplessness, oppression and empowerment" (Gordon 2008; Rabaka 2009 cited in Wet 2013, 293), which were articulated many times in Biko's and Kgositsile's wording, and which were to create a new language they had been unfamiliar till that time. "SASO's primary engagement was to address the inferiority complex and hence passiveness within the ranks of black students" (Wet, 2013, 293); their engagement was to depict the world blacks driven into, and inform them about the new condition and psychology they are forced into; their primary engagement was an educative and orientation study for the blacks who had been unfamiliar to such inferiority or passiveness before. "*Helplessness* and *hopelessness* refer to black people's psychological states of mind, resulting from their experiences of slavery and colonialism" (Wet, 2013, 295), and the psychological states were new and strange for them, which was impossible to define or decode them with the language, culture or the social structure of their old days and roots; they had to learn the new. Their primary engagement was to teach the language of that new world they are in. Their struggle to orientate the blacks required a collective consciousness that Wet defines as *group consciousness*; "*Group consciousness* refers to the collective consciousness that has resulted from the black person's experience of oppression and dehumanization. Black people share common feelings and attitudes due to their experience of suffering" (2013, 295) which was a new and unidentifiable force for them.

In this manner, Kgositsile's poem "Anguish Longer than Sorrow" (Keorapetse

Kgositsile) has clear depiction to refer its symbiosis in Biko's language, the structures of methodology and social pedagogy:

If destroying all the maps known
would erase all the boundaries
from the face of this earth

The word "destroying" is depiction of the apartheid policy of whites who destroyed social, cultural and family structure in South Africa. The destruction of "maps", the structure in Africa, was imprisonment of Africans, who were enslaved under the veil of freedom and unity with the civilization of white people. Yet, the destruction of borders did not bring the African freedom or independence; did not erase the borders. On the contrary, it surrounded Africa with more boundaries and chained African into narrower spaces in a brutal way that Africans needed passports to commute even between their homes and jobs: I would say let us

make a bonfire
to reclaim and sing
the human person

Apartheid changes the "boundaries" in Africans' world, erases their nations and roots.

The destruction of "the maps" will not erase the boundaries in the world to set human free;
yet, it will set boundaries new and more:
Refugee is an ominous load

even for a child to carry

"Refugee" in his line would recall the definition: "A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence" (The UN Refugee Agency, 2018). However, not only the Afro-Americans but the Africans in their own homeland, in Africa, might be considered as refugees because, despite the outnumber of their population in Africa, they were whites who possessed them and took the control all over their continent. Black people in Africa was outcasts, and white people, who were the ten percent of the population in South Africa in this period, were the masters. The black natives of Africa

did not flee their country but were subjected to torture, persecution, war and violence in their homeland by foreigners. They did not flee to anywhere. They were living at the same place at their home; nevertheless, when whites changed the maps and borders on their land,

the black people one day woke up as foreigners at their own home, which was now a foreign land for them; they were refugees and foreigners at their home now. While some of the Africans were "refugees" in America, some were in Africa as well; they were condemned into imprisonment anywhere they stepped on the earth. They fled "from nowhere to nowhere between nothing to nothing". In the coming lines, Kgositsile explains how "displaced borders" makes them refugees:

for some children
words like home
could not carry any possible meaning
but
displaced
border

The displaced borders does not only "erase" their home but their memory and past as well:

refugee
must carry dimensions of brutality and terror
past the most hideous nightmare
anyone could experience or imagine

Their children, who were deprived of their home, lost their memory, the link between their ancestors and roots. Kgositsile, Biko and their contemporaries still have the memory of the past, and know what a home is and what it means but home does not have any correspondence in their children's memory; it does not mean anything. Their children are homeless, stateless, rootless and in emptiness. They were born as foreigners into a world with

savagery, violence, horror and torture. All such feelings they were born into would give them nothing for future, which means they have no past memory or "future memory":

Empty their young eyes
deprived of a vision of any future

Without a past, there can be no future. A tree without roots cannot branch out in to the sky. The future of a child with the memory of only torture, persecution, war and violence would drift in emptiness as nothing. Kgositsile's and Biko's mission was to reconstruct a bridge and a language, "the union of past and future" (Kgositsile, 1971, 83). The Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel states the common perspective on the notion of memory and future as Kgositsile; "[w]ithout memory, there is no culture. Without memory, there would be no civilization, no society, no future" (Wiesel, 2008). Kgositsile explains his point of view on memory, "I would say memory sometimes in my usage might be misunderstood. In English, memory is something static. It is something you remember in terms of looking back at another

period. In my usage, memory is more an assimilated aspect of your everyday living and thinking. In that sense, memory can be, or it is, all time—i.e., it is past, it is present, it is future, too" (quoted in Phalafala, 2016, 181).

they should have been entitled to
since they did not choose to be born
where and when they were
Empty their young bellies
extended and rounded by malnutrition
and growling like the well-fed dogs of some
with pretensions to concerns about human rights
violations
Can you see them now
stumble from nowhere
to no
where

between
nothing
and
nothing

The condition of their children was different from them. Their children do not have the memory of the past, home. They are rootless. They were born into nothingness, and nothingness would be their future. They are from "nowhere"; and will be from nowhere in the future. They will not have the citizenship of anywhere, but are the refugees. Consider

the premature daily death of their young dreams
what staggering memories frighten and abort
the hope that should have been
an indelible inscription in their young eyes

The savagery and the violence they were born into would not allow any good or hope to flourish in their hearts; it is because they did not taste any good or hope; as in Hustvedt's lines, "[t]here is no future without a past, because what is to be cannot be imagined except as a form of repetition" (Hustvedt, 2011, 94).

Perhaps
I should just borrow
the rememberer's voice again
while I can and say:
to have a home is not a favour

The only way for the children to have a home now and in the future is a bridge to the past which can be constructed by intellectuals like Biko and Kgositsile who still have the memory of home, and who are still in consciousness of how they were deprived of it. They can reconstruct a home for the children by the means of "the form" they have in their memory and teach the children how to reconstruct a future, which is not a favour but an obligation of rememberers, like Biko and Kgositsile. One of them, the Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel, who was a Jewish Romanian captive in Nazi death camps at the age of 15 and who lost his entire family in the Holocaust wrote about his experiences in the camps and became an activist, orator and teacher, speaking out against persecution and injustice across the globe including South Africa, Bosnia, Cambodia and Rwanda; shared the feelings and experiences of Africans, and performed his obligation, "can we therefore speak, unless we believe that our words have meaning, that our words will help others to prevent my past from becoming another person's — another peoples' — future. Yes, our stories are essential — essential to memory. I believe that the witnesses, especially the survivors, have the most important role. They can simply say, in the words of the prophet, 'I was there.'" (Wiesel, 2008).

Conclusion

Biko and Kgositsile were both milestones throughout South African history since the early twentieth century; they both had a striking social and psychological paradigm-shift emerged in South Africa, and resounded and spread out all around the continents. They became legends; their heroic sagas became known; they inspired not only their nations but others as well. Their intellectual essence was so almighty that no apartheid policy, no tyranny could frustrate or surround its eruption. The more the tyranny endeavored to bury its eruption, the more it bushed out all around the world.

Neither any banishment, nor any detention was capable to surmount 'words.' Steve Biko, being one of the 'tidal wave of colors', had known that his struggle was a subversive struggle against the white hegemony. Though the success of the struggle was contingent on justification of the oppressed people, Biko and his comrades never aimed violence to obtain it. The very fact of this non-violence had been embodied within the 'words' to a pervasive solidarity. People had been killed, however words are always remained 'death proof.' Therefore, this short essay purports to commemorate Steve Biko and his words. Notwithstanding the white man's expectations, Steve Biko always denied being disempowered. Biko and Kgositsile managed what whites did; they killed whites' identity of invincibility; "[t]he recognition of the death of white invincibility forces blacks to ask the question: 'Who am I? Who are we?' And the fundamental answer we give is this: 'People are people!'" (Biko cited in Wet 2013, 297)

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