

Crafting a Decolonial Economic Order for Re-Afrikanisation in the Context of South Africa

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Abstract

Colonialism was anchored on the economic principles of capitalism. The driving force behind the colonial expansion of Europe was the quest for economic advantage and advancement. The destruction of the ancient African social order in South Africa, through the agency of the military and missionaries, provided economic benefits for the settler, as well as colonial powers in Europe, while stripping away Africans of their birth-right. Capitalism was the economic order that undergirded colonialism. This article poses the questions *Can decolonisation be achieved within a capitalist economic order? What can decolonial Afrikan knowledge teach us about the kind of economic order that is necessary for an effective re-Afrikanisation of contemporary Afrika?*

Keywords: capitalism; decoloniality; economic order; missionaries; re-Afrikanisation

Introduction

The African continent has, for a long time, been considered a zone of non-being that is only worth being occupied by European powers. The Berlin conference of 1884, wherein European powers carved out portions of the African continent to be their objects of colonisation, has left an indelible mark on the history of the continent. From the onset, Africans have met European colonial interests with resistance.

The student protests of 2015 and 2016 have not only brought the plight of black students in institutions of higher learning to the fore of the South African public discourse, but have also brought the concept of decolonising higher education. The call for a decolonised education system must be understood in the light of broader de-coloniality discourses in South Africa. Further, platforms such as the University of South Africa



(UNISA) de-coloniality conference serve as spaces for a critical reflection on de-coloniality and its implications for the African continent. This article is primarily a contribution within that discourse.

Thus, I seek to examine the relationship between colonisation and capitalism as an economic order that undergirded colonialism and coloniality. The starting point is to illustrate that the destruction of pre-colonial social order in South Africa, through the agency of the military and missionaries, provided economic benefits for the settler, as well as colonial powers in Europe. This happened when they stripped Africans of, not only their birth-right and their right to occupy their land, but also, any semblance of forms of African ways of knowing and knowledge production. The discussion on African colonisation is narrowed only to the confines of European colonisation of the 18th and 19th centuries. This is primarily because the history of colonisation in South Africa has mainly been shaped by the European colonisation of that period.

Having illustrated the dual nature of coloniality and capitalism, the article asks whether a capitalist economic order is the kind of framework that is suitable for decolonising Africa. The last part of the article reflects briefly on the kind of economic order that is necessary to complement the agenda of re-Afrikanisation. Cabral (1979) notes that re-Afrikanisation is a reconstruction of the mental state of the oppressed people to enable them to achieve true liberation. Primarily, the term is used in this article to denote the process through which African people deconstruct and re-interpret African culture(s), while removing the remnants of the cultural disruption embedded in colonialism, and adapting such culture(s) for contemporary challenges that confront African people. The intention is to engage with decolonial knowledge to suggest an economic order within which re-Afrikanisation can occur.

My discussion is anchored on the paradigm of Afrikology. Nabudere (2011) posits that Afrikology aims to outline the evolution of knowledge and wisdom from its source, Africa, to the current epistemologies, and attempts to situate them in their historical and cultural contexts, in order to generate and access knowledge for sustainable use. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2017) argues that the present crisis of African scholarship is that it continues to use research methods that are not fundamentally different from those that have been instrumental in the colonisation of Africa. The major paradigms within African history have mainly been rooted in a Western epistemology that was manufactured in Europe and America, only to be transposed into the African continent (Ouma 2017). It is against this background that I use the paradigm of Afrikology due to the fact that Afrikology serves as a starting point for an epistemology that is based on the lived realities of African people. Further, it seeks to build on the achievements of African people in order to emancipate themselves from the dehumanising tendency of Western civilisation (Dastile 2013).

(De)Coloniality and (De) Colonisation

It is essential to underscore the difference between concepts of colonialism and coloniality, as this enables a clearer understanding of decolonisation and decoloniality. Maldonado-Torres (2007, 247) succinctly notes that the difference is that colonialism is a political and economic relation, where the sovereignty of a nation/people rests on the power of another nation, while coloniality refers to patterns of power that came out of colonialism, but define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond colonialism. Coloniality is a power structure and epistemological design that perpetuates skewed global power relations, while claiming the universality of Euro-Northern epistemologies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). De Sousa Santos (2018, 109) contends that colonialism is based on the occupation of foreign territories, and is located within the past, and thus, refers to it as “historical colonialism.” Flowing from this understanding, decolonisation refers to the process of the removal of historical colonialism and administrative independence of former European colonies in Africa, while decoloniality can be understood as being a process of ontological restoration of enslaved, colonised and exploited peoples, and aims to recognise the epistemologies that coloniality deemed non-existent (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015; Walsh 2018).

Machine Guns and Missionaries

The colonisation of the African continent was an inherently violent process; and central to the violence that took place when Britain colonised Africa were the institutions of the Christian missionaries and the military. A vital component to the violent nature of colonialism was the objectification of African people, because it freed the coloniser from the crime of colonialism by altering human beings into “half devil, half child” (Mpfungu 2013, 107). From a Eurocentric view, immediately the African was in need of being made human through European forms of domination. Thus, colonialism was presented as a way of civilising the colonised. The introduction of Western religion was laden with the idea of the African as being devoid of religion (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012). The missionary thus, became a central figure within the civilising project of Eurocentric views. Serequeberhan (1994) correctly points out that in colonising the African, the Christian missionary did not perceive his act as a violation of non-European cultures, but rather that it was a fulfilment of the divine mandate placed upon the Christian missionary by Jesus Christ to spread the faith into the four corners of the globe. According to Cesaire (1972), this is the principal lie upon which all other lies of Eurocentricity are anchored.

The globalisation of European civilisation, which was anchored on the destruction of non-European civilisations was, in the African context, met with violent resistance (Serequeberhan 1994). The Cape colonial wars of resistance, known more as the Frontier Wars between amaXhosa and the British military of the 18th and 19th century

in modern-day Eastern Cape in South Africa are but an example of the violence instigated by colonialism. These wars of resistance lasted for 100 years, from 1779 to 1879, and served as the destructive forces of ancient African social order among the natives of the Eastern Cape. The war that best typifies the coalescence of missionary agents and the British military with the intention of the destruction of ancient Xhosa society is the war of 1834–36.

The war of 1834–36 began because of the British expansionist ideology in the Cape. The war preceding it, 12 or so years earlier, between 1818 and 1819, had been ended by a truce that recognised the Fish River as the colonial boundary, and enforced the infamous Spoor law (Robson and Oranje 2012). The territory between Keiskamma River and the Fish River was to be ceded territory, and neither the colonialists nor amaXhosa could settle in it (Stapleton 2016). The principle of Spoor law was that colonialists who alleged that their cattle had been stolen by amaXhosa and taken out of the colony could gather a commando and follow the spoor of those cattle to wherever they led. The chief in whose jurisdiction the cattle were found was to surrender the culprit or face the might of the British troops. Needless to say, the system was exploited by colonialist farmers and used for wanton looting of Xhosa livestock. It inevitably became a game of cattle ping-pong of colonialists, claiming their cattle were stolen by amaXhosa and rounding up herds of amaXhosa back to the colony (Blackbeard 2015). AmaXhosa would retaliate by going back into the colony to take back their herds. When the Commissioner-General Andries Stockenstrom was called by the Select Committee on Aborigines in British Settlement of the House of Commons to account for the situation in the Cape Colony in 1835, he said the following:

Yes, decidedly; it leads to this, that when cattle are taken, those from whom they are taken have nothing else to live on, they consequently try to keep possession and defend themselves, this is ‘resistance’; we then use violence, they are shot, and at last comes war, and war without end. (Stockenstrom, as quoted in Blackbeard 2015, 107)

The conflicts between amaXhosa and the colonialists fuelled tensions and led to the 1834–36 war. The British troops justified the 1834–36 war by alluding that amaXhosa were stealing cattle in the colony and moving them east of the Kei River into Hintsa’s Gcaleka territory. Thus, it was necessary to go east of the Kei into amaGcaleka territory and reclaim the cattle in order to maintain order within the colony.

Christian missionaries became the first group of colonial society to settle within amaXhosa and set up missionary stations beyond the colonial borders. Johannes Van Der Kemp of the London Missionary Society was the first to establish a mission station among Ngqika’s territory of amaRharhabe (Du Plessis 1911). In 1824, William Shaw of the Wesleyan Missionary Society established a mission station among amaGqunukhwebe and called it Wesleyville (Sadler 1967). Wesleyan missionaries would soon establish some mission stations in the area of the Eastern Cape in a relatively

short space of time. Of particular interest for this article is the mission station east of the Kei River, which was named Butterworth.

Wesleyan missionary, William Shrewsbury, with the assistance of William Shaw, established Butterworth mission in 1826. The station would become a central feature of the 1834-36 war. The station was established in the territory of amaGcaleka where Hintsá served as king. On several occasions, the mission station served as a base camp for British troops. One such occasion was in 1828, when majors Dundas and Henry Somerset led British troops and warriors of amaGcaleka, abaThembu and amaMpondo on an offensive attack against amaNgwane at Mbolompo, close to the Mthatha River. This is where 2 5000 cattle from amaNgwane were taken as booty and prisoners taken to work in the colony (Cobbing 1988). Again in 1835, British troops, led by Benjamin D'Urban, attacked amaGcaleka at the recommendation of William Shrewsbury. Butterworth mission station was used as their base of operation. As was the case previously, the spoils of war, namely cattle and labour, in the form of amaMfengu, were taken to the colony. When William Shrewsbury was moved from Butterworth to Mount Coke, another Wesleyan mission station, John Ayliff replaced him.

John Ayliff was a missionary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society and had struck the match that set alight the 1834-36 war east of the Kei River. Owing to the contestable idea of iMfecane, refugees that were fleeing the wrath of Shaka in modern-day KwaZulu-Natal, fled in a southerly direction and found refuge in amaGcaleka territory in the 1820s. The refugees would be known as amaMfengu, and would begin assimilating into amaGcaleka society, where they had found refuge. As is the custom and hospitality of amaXhosa, amaMfengu were given cattle to tend to, and their "payment" was that they could milk the cattle for their sustenance (Crais 1992). It is from this custom that the Xhosa proverb *Inkomo yenqoma yintsengw' ibheka* emanates from¹. Consequent to their destitution, amaMfengu were far more receptive to the Christian gospel than amaGcaleka, and saw the mission station as another avenue for survival. With the allaying of their material conditions, amaMfengu began to resent their position within Gcaleka social order slowly. Ayliff had recognised a potential congregation in amaMfengu and regarded their clientship within Gcaleka as tantamount to slavery (Mostert 1992). The difference in opinion between Hintsá and Ayliff regarding amaMfengu would ultimately lead to Hintsá ordering that amaMfengu leave Butterworth. Following their expulsion from Gcaleka territory, Ayliff offered them refuge at Butterworth, on the condition that they would not enter into war with the colony, and would defend missionaries and other colonial traders. Mostert (1992) argues that it was Ayliff that prepared amaMfengu to pledge their allegiance to British troops as he was aware that the troops led by Harry Smith and Benjamin D'Urban were well

1 The proverb can be loosely translated to mean "when you milk a borrowed cow, you constantly look around because the owner may want it back at any time." A more detailed explanation is offered later in the discussion.

on their way to make an offensive attack on Hintsa and amaGcaleka, who at the time, had not yet been involved in the war. It is worth noting that Ayliff gathered intelligence for the British troops and also conspired with amaMfengu for an anticipated attack on Hintsa and amGcaleka. The critical instigator of tensions between amaGcaleka and amaMfengu was Ayliff.

As Ayliff had anticipated, British troops eventually attacked Hintsa in April 1835, thus, drawing them into war. The official reasons that D'Urban advanced for the attack were that Hintsa had been colluding with the Xhosa Chiefs west of the Kei to steal colonial cattle. Another reason was that a British trader and another settler had been killed in Gcaleka territory six months earlier, and two days earlier respectively. The punishment was that Hintsa was to pay a fine of 50 000 cattle and 100 horses to the colony. This did not happen; and Hintsa was taken prisoner and ultimately killed, with his head cut off as a trophy. The net effect of the war was that D'Urban returned to the colony with 10 000 Gcaleka cattle, and the colonial boundary became the Kei River. A force upwards of 17 000 amaMfengu was settled in the Ceded territory near Fort Peddie between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers (Stapleton 2010).

Colonial Economics

Colonial wars of expansion, such as the 1834–36 war, ought to be understood in light of the economic interests that underpinned these wars. British industrial production of the 18th century was characterised by a surplus, which had to be disposed of through foreign trade and colonies were a necessary vent for industrial production of the time (Semmel 2004). Williams (1944, 51) neatly sums it up when he states that England and Colonial America equally supplied the exports and the ships. Africa provided the human merchandise and the colonial plantations provided the raw material. The scramble for Africa was a capitalist search for higher profits from colonial conquests (Mudimbe 1988). It was the quest for the expansion of markets and the acquisition of raw materials that was the driving motive behind colonisation (Garfolo and L'Huillier 2014). All that happened in the Cape Colony in the 19th century must always be viewed with this understanding in mind. The establishment of the 1820 settlement project in Makhanda was mainly in response to the unemployment crisis that Britain faced because of greater mechanisation of the industrial revolution (Vila-Vicencio and Grassow 2009). The fundamental concept relating to the colonial expansion of European powers was the quest for economic advantage and areas of trade.

The arrival of the 1820 settlers in Makhanda ushered in a new era of relations between colonial Britain and the native amaXhosa, with trade and labour being among the interactions between the settler and the native. Prior to 1824, colonial trade between colonists and amaXhosa was highly restricted. Yet, illegal trade in animal skins, guns and ammunition and ivory continued (Crais 1992). The year 1824 marked the establishment of a trade fair at Fort Wilshire, where natives and colonists traded for

various items. amaXhosa were mainly the suppliers of cattle, ivory and animal skins, and in return received beads, copper and other commodities. Crais (1992) estimates that between 1824 and 1828, over 100 000 pounds of ivory and 100 000 hides were traded at Fort Wilshere. Missionaries were also an integral part of these trade relations between colonists and amaXhosa (Sadler 1967; Cobbing 1988). The hides and ivory were destined for European markets and generated a significant income for the settler community as well as colonial Britain.

The 1820 settlers that were allotted farms in the Albany district, as it was known, had no previous experience in agriculture, and were not familiar with the Southern African context. As such, labour was necessary if the settlement was to sustain itself. The Khoi supplied much of the labour needs of the Colony, but due to their extermination by Dutch colonists, they were not an abundant enough source of labour as the colony demanded (Vila-Vicencio and Grassow 2009). The cattle raids of the 1820s and the capture of Xhosa livestock during the 1834–36 war were aimed at maintaining the colonial settlement. The commercial value of the Eastern frontier of the Cape was that it produced the beef and leather that the rest of the colony needed to maintain itself. The shortage of labour force was quickly mitigated by the creation of the Mfengu settlement near Fort Peddie after the 1834–36 war. The settlement served the labour needs of the colony, as well as being a buffer zone between amaXhosa and the colony.

The 1834–36 war illustrated the coalescence of the military and missionary machinery of Britain for the destruction of ancient African social order and ways of being and knowing. The dispossession of cattle of amaXhosa during the period of the Frontier wars was the destruction of, not only food supply, but also the dress code and spiritual ways of life for amaXhosa. Cattle were the providers of a staple part of the Xhosa diet, *amasi* (fermented milk). The ancient Xhosa dress code was mainly leather clothing known as *isikhakha/ingubo*, which was made from specific tanning techniques. Lastly, the bellowing of an ox is of spiritual significance within Xhosa society and rituals, even today. Thus, cattle also represented a spiritual connection between the living and the dead. The loss of cattle that was witnessed throughout the 19th century had far more detrimental effects than one may perceive, and was complexly nuanced.

Cattle were a central part of ancient Xhosa economy and the dispossession that resulted from the many colonial wars of resistance destroyed the economic order that had predated colonialism among amaXhosa. The missionary station became a vital way of introducing amaXhosa into the British colonial economy. Missionary converts of the 19th century were expected to reject their traditional Xhosa leather clothing for British styled cotton clothing. Given that at the turn of the 19th-century cotton accounted for 40 per cent of the British exports, the introduction of converts into cotton clothing was also the integration of amaXhosa into the British economy (Chapman 1972). The acculturation of British textiles into Xhosa society, inclusive of amaMfengu, created a new and exclusive market for British textiles, and was premised on cattle dispossession.

Capitalism and Colonial Order

It is out of capitalist endeavour that colonial powers of Europe set out to “civilise” the world. In the South African context the dispossession of Africans and the destruction of African life has been associated with the need for capitalist development (Masondo 2007). The industrial capital culture is one that has its roots within Victorian values that were brought into the African context through missionary agency (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011). MacKenzie (2008) notes that the policies of Scottish missionaries in South Africa were primarily designed to produce native agents who would be agricultural demonstrators that would create a market-orientated farming mentality among natives. Missionary institutions such as Lovedale were orientated towards a direction of entrenching colonial capitalist values among natives. In addition, missionary industrial schools taught amaXhosa British techniques of crop production, thus ensuring natives would become useful, not only in animal husbandry, but also in crop production. An example of such industrial schools was the Salem Institution that was established by Wesleyan missionary, William Shaw. Weber (2005), in his book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, argues that there is a substantial nexus between capitalist thinking and protestant ideals and views of work. The socio-political and economic foundations of imperial powers were laid through colonisation with the development and dominance of capitalism at the centre (Makgetlaneng 2016).

It is through colonialism that African countries have been flung into capitalist systems. Capitalist relations in Africa have been installed through colonial-era imperialism and being treated as sources of raw materials for European metropolitan cities (Mafeje 1998; Masondo 2007). Inherent in Western economics is the imperialist agenda that is grounded on capitalist values which, through the colonial education system, Africa’s educated elite continue to subscribe to imperialist and capitalist ideology (Biney 2013). Cesaire (1972) laments the destruction of economies for the mere production of cash crops that only serve the needs of European markets while not being of any value for consumption within African markets. The global model of capitalist power has, as one of its constitutive features, coloniality (Quijano 2000). Thus, coloniality is capitalist in orientation.

Economic Order for Re-Afrikanisation

Any economic order aims to ensure that a given society produces and distributes among its members all the needs and wants of that particular society. The fundamental principle is that society is to ensure the production and distribution of the needs of that society. Fundamentally, Re-Afrikanisation can only occur within an economic order wherein the needs of African people take precedence. Essentially, Africa must consume that which Africa produces.

Colonial matrices of power have ensured that African economies remain inextricably tied to those of colonial powers. Mafeje (1998) posits that following the gaining of independence by African countries, the colonial economic ties between Africa and European powers were not severed, and thus, continue to ensure Africa's dependency on Western economies. Many African economies are dependent on materials that are dug out of the ground and shipped to all parts of the world. These materials are mainly shipped to Europe and China, without any local value-added processing. This then, ties the prospects of many African economies to the fluctuations of commodity prices (Maoulidi 2015). The fall of crude oil prices in 1999 dropped the value of the Nigerian Naira by 80 per cent in that year as crude oil accounted for a significant part of Nigerian economic activity (Maoulidi 2015). With the advent of global market integration, African economies continue to be unfavourably connected to the colonial financial capitals of Paris, London, Brussels and New York.

Furthermore, much of what is consumed within Africa is produced in other parts of the world, and this is neatly disguised under the concept globalisation. In the case of South Africa, the import costs are more than the export revenues, leading to a dependency on foreign capital to pay for imports (Turok 2017). In 2016, 80 per cent of South Africa's bone-in-leg chicken quarters were imported from the European Union (EU), even though the South African chicken industry can produce chickens for 25 per cent cheaper, on average, than the EU (Coleman 2017). Such consumption patterns are indicative of a society that is at the mercy of forces of coloniality and cannot produce for its own needs and underscores the urgent need to delink from colonial matrices of power.

Inkomo yonqoma yintsengw' ibheka

The language of amaXhosa is embedded with the knowledge that gives insight to decolonial ways of being. *Inkomo yonqoma* is a cow that is given to a person who does not have cattle of their own to tend to the cattle of wealthier people in society. Those cows or cattle continue to be owned by the owner of the cattle, but a person who tends the cattle consumes its productive use. It was a practice among ancient Xhosa communities to give a man who had no cattle of his own the responsibility of tending the cattle of wealthier members of that community, and be able to sustain his household with the milk from *Inkomo yonqoma*, as well as receive payment in cattle. Effectively, the growth of the wealthier man's cattle bore direct fruits to the poor man without cattle. In addition, the prospects of both the poor and the rich were tied together by the understanding that the expansion of the cattle benefits all. The proverb is thus, an indication that ancient Xhosa society was one that ensured that no one went hungry.

Inherent in the concept of *Inkomo yonqoma* is an economic principle of the distribution of the produce of society. Given the centrality of cattle to the ancient Xhosa economy, the principle of *Inkomo yonqoma* ensured that all of society was included in participating in the economy, as well as affording all of the society opportunities of working and

contributing to the wealth of Ancient Xhosa society. Such lessons can prove to be very important to a South African economy, wherein 32 per cent of the population is unemployed, and thus, marginalised, if not excluded, from the economy (Statistics South Africa, 2018). An employment-intensive inclusive growth of the economy cannot be possible where the economy is reliant on the export of raw materials. Thus, diversification of the economy becomes the only way to inclusive growth (Habiyaemye 2013). The Mining-Energy Complex (MEC), argues Terreblanche (2015), has been a defining feature of the South African economy since the 1870s and the primary hindrance to the diversification, without which there can be no inclusive growth, and the creation of viable industrial sector outside the core base of the MEC. South Africa's economic structure has resulted in the systemic exclusion of a significant number of its population and the economic growth has not yielded the kind of employment opportunities that can include those marginalised by the system.

It is imperative to understand that the 21st-century economy is globally integrated, highly financialised, and different from the community-based economic order of the ancient Xhosa society. Nonetheless, even in such a global economy there is space for a community-driven economic order. Through community-driven development, the interests of economically marginalised people are quickly addressed, and this is a move away from the large-scale infrastructure development projects that have been heralded as the cure to all of Africa's economic woes. However, the benefits from such projects have not translated into the improvement of the lifestyles of much of Africa's citizens (Salgado 2014, 23). There is value in considering how the green economy can be utilised to harness the use of local resources to drive job creation at community-level, thereby diversifying African economies in an environmentally sustainable manner (Khan and Mohamed 2014).

Mostly, a decolonial economic order that is based on the principle of *Inkomo yeqoma* has two distinguishing features; it is inclusive of all of society and community-based and driven. All of society's human capital is utilised in order to maximise the production of the needs and wants of society. Furthermore, the production of goods and services is based within the community and driven by the local needs of that particular community. Such an economic order stands in stark contrast to the capitalist economic order of coloniality that has resulted in Africa producing raw materials and cash crops for the consumption of colonial markets, and has seen foreign products being dumped on African markets. It is also the capitalist economic order of coloniality that has perpetuated inequality that has resulted in 10 per cent of South Africa's affluent population earning 90 per cent of South Africa's income (Wilson 2011, 2).

Conclusion

An analysis of the history of colonialism in South Africa illustrates that the destruction of ancient Xhosa society, and consequently its economic order, through the

dispossession of land and cattle, was the basis upon which British colonial interests rested. Furthermore, it introduced amaXhosa to the colonial economic order of capitalism, as well as the British socio-cultural values, mainly through the agency of missionaries. To this day, British tweed jackets are a central feature of Xhosa manhood; and *amakrwala*² adorn such clothing as emblematic of their newly-found manhood. Colonialism may have ended with the advent of African states gaining their independence; however, coloniality is still persistent and is operationalised through neocolonial dependence of African economies on European-American markets within the global economy.

In the expression of African ways of living, it is nearly impossible for an African to express their way of life without being at the mercy of external economic powers that are located in colonial matrices of power. The blankets that carry symbolism within the Xhosa ritual of *ulwaluko* are not produced by the consumers of those blankets. In brewing *umqombothi* for a ceremonial and spiritual expression of being, Africans are at the mercy of corporations that produce sorghum and malt for the South African markets. Therefore, a decolonial economic order is one wherein consumers must also be the producers of all cultural products, and be active participants within the larger economic order of society.

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2 *AmaKrwala* is a plural form of *iKrwala*. *iKrwala* is young man that has recently returned from the Xhosa rite of passage into manhood known as *ulwaluko*. *Ulwaluko* is a practice among amaXhosa that signifies the process of entering into manhood and encompasses ritual circumcision and cultural teachings of what it is to be a man. During this process initiates are set apart from the rest of the community for a period of a month, placed under the custody of "traditional surgeons" (*Iingcibi*), "traditional nurses" (*amaKhankatha*), and men of the community for tutelage. During the initiation process initiates paint their entire bodies with white clay and carry white blankets to symbolise the purity of the transformation process from boyhood to manhood. Upon the return to the community, initiates are known as *amaKrwala*, and their dress code is regulated for a period of up to six months.

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