

Introduction of Political Education for the Propagation of Democracy in Africa: Elements for Consideration, South Africa in Focus

by

Dr. Nana Adu-Pipim Boaduo FRC

pipimboaduo@live.co.za; nanaadupipimboaduo@gmail.com

Senior Lecturer: Faculty of Education, Department of Continuing Professional Teacher Development, Walter Sisulu University, Mthatha Campus, Affiliated Researcher: Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences, Centre for Development Support, Free State University, Bloemfontein Campus & Managing Editor of *The Journal of Pan African Studies*

&

Ms. Saline Monicah Babitseng Boaduo

Senior Lecturer, Department of Foundations of Education
Tonota College of Education, Tonota, Botswana

Abstract

Political education is very crucial if democracy is to mature in Africa, to achieve this important aim, the authors believe that all categories of teachers at African institutions should be provided with fundamental and advanced political education to propagate its niceties to advance and make democracy successful in Africa. Second, they explore how politics influence education with a focus on the political ideological influence that shaped South African society before in end of apartheid with a concluding focus on the political ideology of Steve Biko. This discussion is part three of a previous discussion held in this journal via vol.6, no. 6, December 2013 and vol.6, no.7, February 2014.

Introduction

Africa was branded as the ‘dark continent’ by colonialists because they knew nothing about Africa – physically, politically, traditionally or culturally. However, when the sun shined over the continent and the darkness of the colonialists fears dispersed; another form of deliberate political dehumanization started; hence, the apartheid focused political ideology of South Africa based in a brutally enforced politics of racial segregation endorsed by White a minority government.

Through this deliberate act of political dehumanization the apartheid government created and nurtured social and political problems that could be comparable to the mass murder/genocide of approximately six million Jews during the World War II run by Nazi Germany and led by Adolf Hitler, known as the holocaust. And in its likeness, the apartheid political system of South Africa led its adherents to psychologically indoctrinate their people to falsely believe in white supremacy. The fight to end this obnoxious political philosophy led to protracted hatred, attacks and alienation in South African society and beyond, ripping to neighbouring countries like the Kingdom of Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Swaziland.

Nevertheless, in 1994, the New South Africa ushered in a political ideology of reconciliation, and thus there was need for a new political education that would help all South Africans that would be the core purpose of political education. Thus, when all South Africans have received a new democratic political ideological education that will open consciousness and create a change in think thinking will social justice and human rights be attained and practically put into practice for the benefit of all citizens of the 'Rainbow Nation' as coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu after the post-apartheid election in South Africa in 1994.

In retrospect, South Africa has had a problem, it has had a group of selfish White settlers seeking to have and retain everything in the country, irrespective of who is left with nothing (Motlhabi, 1987). And unlike other countries on the planet earth, South Africa has had a history of political education based on racial segregation officially endorsed and enforced by the government for over half a century (Berki, 1977). This deliberate political act of ideological dehumanisation of one racial group by another has indeed been the most inhuman act to be instituted against human beings on earth.

Apartheid can best be defined as the deliberate political and social upliftment of the political and educational consciousness of the White South African as against the deliberate down trodding of the political and educational consciousness of the majority Black South African. This act of political and educational dehumanization created and nurtured a problem in which the whole world, overtly and covertly was called upon to intervene in bring it to an end (Motlhabi, 1987; Mathonsi, 1988; Joyce, 1990; Moyana, 1989).

The official political and educational institutionalisation of the apartheid political ideological policy led its adherents to psychologically indoctrinate their kit and kin to falsely believe that White people are super-human, while Black people are simply sub-human (Marks & Trapido, 1987). The fight to end this obnoxious politico-philosophical education system led to one of the most protracted hatred, attacks on innocent people and neighbouring countries equal to the Hitler's Jewish genocide. This action by the apartheid fundamentalists generated hatred among racial groups in the entire South African politics of education which, culminated into the setting up of the "politically oriented ideological homelands" and the development of hated townships with no life-supporting activities, a political policy that contributed to nursing and nurturing the most crime-hardened individuals in the homelands who were bent on revenge at the slightest provocation.

In fact, apartheid as a political and educational philosophy, led to the development of retributive-reactive attitudes among all South African population groups (Whites, Indians, Coloureds and Blacks). The results of this political and educational dehumanization processes endangered everyone in the country, and its worst contribution was that it impeded the development and acquisition of worthwhile education for all South Africans.

Worst of all, the nurturing of retributive reactive attitudes among all South Africans lead to all sorts of confrontations at the slightest provocation, and thus there had been direct relationship between having a particular emotional response to unjust treatment and properly grasping the wrongness of the wrong as well as the perpetrators' culpability and properly condemning the wrong, which was the apartheid political ideological system.

Throughout the world, sociologically, philosophically, politically and educationally, people have defended and criticised the moral value of retributive reactive attitudes in terms of governments' political ideological policies. Defenders of human rights have thus explored their intimate connections with self-respect, resistance to injustice, accountability, agency and personhood, and call it nationalism. Hence, the criticism directly pertains to the deliberate political, educational and ideological human action of subjugating another group of humans to subservient position who may react anyway.

Furthermore, philosophers of all ages have argued that we cannot understand responsibility without human emotions in political, philosophical, educational and economic perspectives. And interestingly, philosophically and culturally, dissolving and overcoming retributive emotions is both healthy and virtuous. However, how can these be done when people who know and have power to do what is right deliberately use their position negatively to nurture retributive reactive attitudes in an environment where injustice reigns supreme and applied to a particular section of the society?

Definitely, people must liberate themselves if such social, political, ideological and educational injustices are culminating towards the welfare of only a section of society at the detriment of the majority. All these, in terms the philosophy of justice, justify a political liberation struggle for the people to liberate and free themselves from such an unjust system of government as the apartheid regime. And now, we are clearly aware of how the political and ideological liberation struggles started and intensified and forced the apartheid leadership to the negotiation table in the early 1990s which climaxed on the 27th of April in 1994 leading to the birth of the New South Africa, dubbed the "Rainbow Nation" by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a an astonishing shift that was hailed by the world Commonwealth of Nations as the most significant development in the twentieth century.

But despite this august world view, most of the apartheid beneficiaries saw the political and ideological change as the sale of their White superiority birth right conducted by their leaders to the African majority in the country, and action they felt they must resist. Thus, retributive emotions immediately after 1994 was judgemental and surfaced in politically motivated assassinations as well as racial and ethnic conflicts throughout South Africa, for example the events in the KwaZulu district municipality/province that resulted in several insurgent activities organised by White extremists with the help of their surrogate Africans collaborators that caused the loss of lives and properties, which consequently impacted negatively on social and economic developments, especially foreign investment into the South African economy (Ball & Peters, 2000; Haywood, 1997; Calvert & Calvert, 2001).

Towards New Political Ideological Education

With the birth of the “Rainbow Nation”, there also was a need to change the mind set of all South Africans which necessitated the call for a new political and ideological education in the institutions of learning designed to alter negative retributive reactive attitudes and therefore enhance social justice, provide ways to defend the rights of the people and their property, and to understand a new insight into “Rainbow Nation” citizenship .

The time to politically, philosophically and ideologically humanize the dehumanized South African is going to be another protracted war. This political and ideological education is even going to be bigger than the liberation struggle itself (Smertin, 1990). This change in the political education will require a re-education founded on the principles of the humanist philosophies of ‘Ubuntu’ (an ethic on the unity of humanity and emphasizing the importance of constantly in empathy, sharing and cooperation in efforts to resolve our common problems) and ‘Botho’ (an ethic of respect, hence ‘I am because you are’, that promotes harmony and respect amongst people living together; a deep sense of another person’s humanity via good attributes associated with a good human being which qualify one to be called a human being, hence kindness, compassion, and living up to the expectations of society and one’s particular role, good manners, helpfulness, politeness, humility and consideration of others, a respect for older people, etc.) that is, humanness, love, brotherhood and respect (Ozman & Craver, 1986; Morgenthau, 1993, Murithi 2006).

Generally, the political and ideological dehumanization of South Africans should cover all the racial groups in the country. The White South African, as already alluded to, they indoctrinated their kit and kin negatively, and in the process, dehumanized their own race. The political and ideological indoctrination of apartheid narrowed their perceptual conception of reality and interconnectedness. They were deliberately made to refute the reality that peace and survival are interrelated, multilateral and negotiable; and to adhere to this truism was tantamount to ignoring the existence of a people who will, in all probability, resist domination and subjugation. It is therefore philosophically true that all White South Africans in the new South Africa will need to be politically and ideologically re-educated and humanized like their other counter parts in South Africa (Du Toit, 1995; Chazan et al, 1999; Calvert & Calvert, 2001).

In the same vein, Black people and other groups who have been deliberately excluded from any worthwhile participation in the apartheid government - Indians and coloured - also need to be re-educated politically, philosophically and ideologically. And indeed, a new political and ideological education must help to humanize the dehumanized South Africans and bring about economic development and a positive social integration to enhance social justice, enhanced leadership and good governance.

New Political and Ideological Education for South Africans

What should be the goal of this new political and ideological education proposed in this discussion? Generally, the goal of all types of education, to be it formal or informal, traditional or cultural would be to cause or bring about creditable change for every citizen in the society (Sivananda, 1990; Rupert, 1979; Boaduo, 2005). Hence, the implicit theory of political and ideological education is to bring about creditable change and manage change constrictively for the benefit of the entire society. The indication is that when people receive constructive political and ideological education, they are able to deal with its various manifestations in a manner which is generally acceptable by most members of the society in a peacefully and amicable manner. South Africans must get to that stage, and negotiate their future positively in order to lead toward productive developments in all sectors of the society.

Accordingly, it is an acceptable view that, it is only when all South Africans have received the new political and ideological education and have changed their mind sets and become politically and ideologically humanized and no longer see themselves as Whites, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds but as citizens of the Rainbow Nation can there be an integrated economic development, conscience adjudication, self-adjudication, social justice and the respect for human rights (Deegan, 2001).

And even though reactive attitudes are affective ways of viewing agents of construction or destruction in response to the good or bad will demonstrated in their actions; retributive attitudes such as resentment, indignation, guilt and contempt are subsets that involve seeing the agent to whom they are directed as having done wrong or right. The correction of past atrocities can be based on the new political and ideological education where the world view of South Africans in the Rainbow Nation can be directed positively to enhance human worth which in turn will turn into productive niceties contributing to social and economic development, and consequently, a new political and ideological education is a necessity, and must be achieved at all costs.

Framework for Political and Ideological Education for South Africa

The first most important ingredient that comes to mind when we talk of cultural unity and peace is political and ideological education because of their influences on human actions wherein political education is the means through which people can be brought together to deliberate on issues that affect their general welfare and well-being.

And second, political education forms the base of every development, be it ideological, social, educational, political, economic or industrial. Third, politico-philosophical education aid successful governance of nations and enhances social justice, and in turn, a positive political education system eliminates ignorance and dictatorship (Boaduo, Milondzo & Adjei, 2009).

In short, an all-encompassing political education system opens up whole new vistas of understanding to enable people to learn to tolerate others, forgive and forget past atrocities committed, question beliefs, and allow them to focus on what they can achieve collectively. It is both theoretically and practically impossible to talk about a culture of peace if people lack the basic understanding that very culture can bring about a peaceful integration of people.

In juxtaposition, positive political education system liberates people from their narrow thinking perspectives to a broader human discovery in terms of mutual co-existence. And the basic significant aims of this form of positive political and ideological education system, formal or informal is for social change. Hence, a transformation to a responsible, progressive, dynamic, constructive and reasonable individual who can play a role in the advancement of South African society, through the transfer of positive, political, ideological, societal, traditional and cultural norms and values.

And in the same way, this new political and ideological education system for a new South Africa, should serve as the most important weapon that can change and liberate society and direct its activities in a positive direction. If South Africans receive this relevant, applicable and responsible new political and ideological education, it is expected that people will exhibit advanced levels of change in their reactive attitudes, values, knowledge and skills; and generally, they will display advanced behavioural attitudes and values.

Furthermore, because of the level of the new political and ideological education that people will receive, they would be expected to think and reason better, know and argue better, and be able to contribute positively to bringing about meaningful change in society. This will benefit the immediate and distant communities which should reflect their understanding of events both past and present, issues, people, places and things. Thus, their level of interaction, tolerance, judgement and above all co-operation and sacrifice should be at a stage pertinent to the level of the new political and ideological education, therefore establishing the main ingredients for self-adjudication, social justice, human rights and peace. These are worthwhile undeniable ingredients critically important for survival, advancement and development (Binn, 1993; Boaduo, Milondzo & Adjei, 2009).

The main contention worth notification and consideration at this juncture is that whoever receives positive and constructive political education from the perspective of cultural unity, peaceful political and ideological education should be able to:

- Use the acquired knowledge, skills and the expertise to live better.
- Contribute better to human advancement.
- Interact better with other cultural groups and races (thereby eliminating xenophobia and terrorism from society).
- Must tolerate still better and help to bring about the ever-awaiting positive societal changes thereby leading South Africans closer to the allegorical Biblical heaven or the Promised Land.

When the above ideals are achieved through a cultural unity of peaceful political and ideological education provision, as cultures and races are fused, peace, social justice, human rights and respect of other people and their property can be ushered into South Africa for a peaceful co-existence. In this way, we can overcome retributive emotions and develop a new culture that aims at forgiveness for past atrocities.

Historical, Geographical and Political Ideological Education

Politically and ideologically, South Africa is historically, morally, socially, economically industrially and educationally mapping its way through the tumultuous sea of transition and transformation which is progressively transforming all facets of the society (Marks & Trapido, 1987). However, the immediate change that needs to be made is in the creation and the bringing of a focus on an informed political and ideological conscience (Nkrumah, 1965). And thus, this will require a new skill-set of learning, knowing and changing of beliefs and thinking for every South African (Deegan, 2001). Hence, to realize change through the provision of a new political and ideological education system, various forms - formal, informal and non-formal need to be enhanced taking into account the local concepts of 'Ubuntu' and 'Botho' as the government provides compulsory civic education to all citizens through various media. This civic education can be wholly based on the politico-philosophical value systems of the country which can go a long way to reconcile to all that they are part of the nation despite their unique and different languages, cultures, beliefs and differences (Chazan et al, 1999; Dunn, 1978; Turner & Hulme, 1997; Taylor & Williams, 2004).

And notwithstanding, to talk about economic development, the enhancement of social justice, governance, learning societies and the organization of ethical leadership in a society like South Africa in which the majority of the people have been deliberately denied living political, ideological and skills education, have never known, experienced and enjoyed the fruits of respect, recognition and peace is tantamount to standing in the middle of the Sahara Desert and craving for a swim in the sea or a bottle of iced-cold water from a fridge (Ball & Peters, 2000; Hansen, 1987; Visser, 2001; Smith, 1999; Visser, 2002; Smith, 1992).

In a new politically and ideologically informed South Africa, there is also an urgent need for a new education system that will advocate for politico-philosophical and ideological enlightenment education (Sivananda, 1990). And without question, enlighten political and ideological education is the only means to bring about economic development, positive social integration and regeneration, and the reasons for this claim are numerous, and interestingly, a few have been articulated for introspection (Morgenthau, 1993; du Toit, 1995; Taylor & Williams, 2004; Davidson, 1997; Coetzee et al, 2001; Todaro & Smith, 2006). Thus,

- The basic aim of enlightenment political and ideological education system is to transform people into enlightened, informed and sociable independent individuals (socialization is therefore inherent in enlightenment education).
- Through enlightenment education, socialization, integration can be achieved for a divided society where the thinking of many has been previously based on race, colour, origin, language, and ethnicity.
- After enlightenment education, people should realize the essence of unity in diversity; meaning that we are different but we share the same space and have common goal, which is to develop economically, socially, politically and live and work together in peace and harmony. Thus, the essence of the meaning of the concepts of Rainbow Nation – many colours fuse to give a distinct picture of harmony, peace and beauty (Davidson, 1999; Morgenthau, 1993).

Furthermore, when people have received an enlightened political and ideological education as opposed to divisive political and ideological education system propagated during the apartheid era which sought to divide people, with this new insight:

- People will use the acquired knowledge and skills to exhibit changes in everything that they do – reactive attitudes, values and morals.
- People would be expected to reason and argue better, tolerate better, know better and integrate better.
- People should be able to analyse retributive attitudes and act accordingly to the benefit of all the citizens.
- People should be able to identify retributive emotions and moral judgement and act accordingly to stamp them out before they surface to disintegrate the peaceful atmosphere of society.
- People should be able to avoid retributive emotions that have negative consequences, and know the link between retributive emotions and forgiveness.

All of the above are very important to the survival, coexistence, economic and social development and advancement, and also for the protection of the safety, dignity, and property of people (Binn, 1993; Eze, 1997; Shore, 1983). And indeed, those that receive this enlightenment political and ideological education will be expected to use the acquired skills, knowledge and expertise to: live better, contribute better to human advancement, interact better with other racial groups, and understand events and issues from a broad perspective in order to be able to contribute better to the solutions of local and national socio-economic and political problems.

These, cumulatively, will lead to respect for human beings, their property and rights. In South Africa, where a series of generations have been deliberately denied enlightenment political and ideological education, so one should not expect the rights of some to be respected by many in the country instantly. This is a task that must be tackled by the provision of a new enlightenment political and ideological education, a task that must be accomplished at all costs. And unfortunately, in this context, there have been the greedy few South Africans who would always want to take everything and cling to them irrespective of the consequences which gives force to the idea that until people are completely provided with the new political and ideological education will they able to discard their anger and stand against such greed, be united, respect fellow members of society and contribute to economic development to the benefit everyone, without this, there cannot be human rights and social justice.

Furthermore, geographical education for conscious awakening also plays a potential role in every aspect of social change. What happens to a person's consciousness determines whether the person has been politically and ideologically humanized or dehumanized (Akinpelu, 1981; Nkrumah, 1965). There is no neutrality in this respect because nobody ever rises beyond the level of consciousness awakening. Every social act results in an individual's consciousness being deformed, dehumanized, destroyed (as has been the case during the apartheid era) transformed, recreated or humanized through protracted political education. And indeed, the essence of consciousness in true political and ideological humanization involves the raising of people's consciousness in moving towards nation building. Nkrumah (1965) has mentioned this in that people are made conscious of their consciousness in order to be human through positive political and ideological education, and particularly, 'consciencism' is a as a philosophy and ideology for de-colonization and development with particular reference to change in Africa drawn chiefly from the roots of African culture with socialism as the most valid expression of African conscience.

Thus, a politically and ideologically dehumanized person has no conscience and does not know the rights of a humanized person. This has been the situation of the apartheid era South Africa experiential fallacy, even after the liberation struggle in 1994, again why there is need for enlightenment in the political and ideological education of people in South Africa through its institutions of learning.

Hence in this discussion we concisely suggest that: political ideology cannot be separated from the education provision of a nation; enlightenment education can help South Africa to cultivate a positive, energetic via a broad constructive consciousness and developed in 'consciencism', and that people must learn to develop a new ego, attitudes and perceptions so a new and progressive mind can be born. And in this, it must be emphasised that in every revolution, the conquest of the mind - in this case, the conscience and consciousness of the people is very essential wherein the magical, naive and creative critical consciousness of the people must be identified and changed as indoctrination is cast aside and replaced with positive consciousness.

Challenges of a Dawning Political Ideological Education System

A new era has dawned, and the new South African should come out with a liberated mind, and although it is a daunting task, a task especially resting with our youth. The militant South African youth of yesteryears who were made to be politically and ideologically resistant to the apartheid area political and ideological system should be transformed into constructive, productive partners as they realize like all society that the objective social reality does not exist by chance. but as a product of human action (consider the liberation struggle), not by chance, and therefore they have a stake its transformation, like all society, but especially them because they will soon have to take the reins of our leaders and shape the future of the nation.

This tide of events that has started in the new South Africa cannot be halted (just as the liberation struggle, with its impediments could not be halted) until it has come to its natural peak where reality and the people will have been completely transformed and merged as one. These are the only times that we would be able to talk about positive political ideological conscience adjudication, self-adjudication, learning society, ethical leadership and human rights and actually practice them.

Furthermore the South African revolution is a qualitative change. It has been both physical and mental. In this context, the physical revolution or liberation came to a close in April 1994. It is left with the mental revolution or liberation. This started with Steve Biko (1946-1977), one of South Africa's most significant political activists and a leading founder of South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement who unofficially in the 1970s launched the Black Consciousness Movement, and in 1972 he help found the Black Peoples Convention (BPC), an organization that organized approximately 70 Black consciousness organizations in and around Durban (South Africa), that was officially recognized only after April 1994. This has been the beginning of an era which altered the peoples' whole outlook to life, development, society, politics, and culture and made them aware of themselves as subjects of the negative historical process. Thus, the details of Steve Biko's Black consciousness philosophy have been used as a conclusion of this discussion.

In philosophical, ideological, sociological and anthropological perspectives, physical enslavement is easy to fight against because it is tangible, it can be seen and easily attacked and defeated. However, mental enslavement is intangible and cannot be seen and easily defeated as expressed by Steve Bantu Biko in the following quote.

“...the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. Once the latter has been so effectively manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the white man, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do that will really scare the powerful masters”, (Biko, 1978: 74).

Steve Biko’s Black Consciousness Ideological Education

During the struggle for Black emancipation, many prominent South Africans made contributions towards a peaceful settlement of the impasse perpetrated by the apartheid government. For example, the significant contribution made by Steve Bantu Biko still lies unveiled. His untimely death – which we consider as a deliberate murder – has never been theoretically and epistemologically explained to reveal why he was brutally murdered in his prison cell. This summary is a first brave attempt to reveal the theoretical epistemology behind his untimely murder and thus an alert to Black people worldwide who want to emancipate their compatriots should their political ideological postulations run counter to their colonial masters, like Biko’s Black Consciousness Movement, which posed a visibly threat to the survival of a capitalist hegemonious society (apartheid South Africa).

Even though Steve Bantu Biko came into prominence in the South African political struggle scene in the 1970s, apart from the massive contribution by the late President of South Africa, Rholihlahla Nelson Madiba Mandela imprisoned for a very long time, Biko was the most feared by the apartheid government because of his creative politico-philosophical ideological model, especially his political theory of Black Consciousness. Hence, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said, “Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was surely of God. I describe Apartheid as almost the ultimate blasphemy”, an observation supported by many Black South African religious communities.

Furthermore, the Black consciousness political ideology (political philosophy), in all its fullness sought to awaken in Black people in South Africa and worldwide in reference to their innate infinite value and worth independent of a pure biological relevance, and therefore, Black Consciousness, according to Biko is about a political thought which “...sought to help to exorcize the horrible demons of self-hatred and self-contempt that made all black South Africans suck up to whites while treating their fellow blacks as scum they thought themselves to be” (Biko, 1978: ix). And what the apartheid leaders feared about the BCM was its political ideology and knowledge sharing that helped to aroused Black people in South Africa to understand a shared knowledge and understanding of their responsibility to free themselves from apartheid bondage to exercise liberation education in its fineness.

An in this context, Biko in his book *I Write What I Like* (1978) states, “In order to achieve real action you must yourself be a living part of Africa and of her thought; you must be an element of that popular energy which is entirely called forth for the freeing, the progress and the happiness of Africa. There is no place outside that fight for the artist or for the intellectual who is not himself concerned with, and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity” (Biko, 1978:35). Second, in one of his articles titled “Some African Cultural Concepts” he quotes Kenneth Kaunda to illustrate that:

“The Westerner has an aggressive mentality. When he sees a problem he will not rest until he has formulated some solution to it. He cannot live with contradictory ideas in his mind; he must settle for one or the other or else evolve a third idea in his mind which harmonises or reconciles the other two. And he is vigorously scientific in rejecting solutions for which there is no basis in logic. He draws a sharp line between the natural and the supernatural, the rational and non-rational, and more often than not, he dismisses the supernatural and non-rational as superstitions.....and Africans being a pre-scientific people do not recognise any conceptual cleavage between the natural and supernatural. They experience a situation rather than face a problem. By this I mean they allow both the rational and non-rational elements to make an impact upon them, and any action they may take could be described more as a response of the total personality to the situation than the result of some mental exercise”.

And in reference to the above, Biko concludes that: “This I find a most apt analysis of the essential difference in the approach to life of these two groups (that is the Westerner and the African). We as a community are prepared to accept that nature will have its enigmas which are beyond our powers to solve. Many people have interpreted this attitude as lack of initiative and drive yet in spite of my belief in the strong need for scientific experimentation I cannot help feeling that more time also should be spent in teaching man and man to live together and that perhaps the African personality with its attitude of laying less stress on power and more stress on man as well on the way to solving our confrontation problems” (Biko, 1978: 48).

In detail, what scared the apartheid government most was the infinite explanation that Biko attached to the Black Consciousness Movement wherein he says in his article “The Definition of Black consciousness” that “Being black is not a matter of pigmentation – being black is a reflection of a mental attitude. Merely by describing yourself as black you have started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being” (Biko, 1978: 52). Then he succinctly outlined his meaning of Black Consciousness, hence: “Black Consciousness is in essence the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the ‘normal’ which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realisation that by seeking to run away from them and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black Consciousness therefore, takes cognisance of the deliberateness of God’s plan in creating black people black. It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life”, (Biko, 1978: 53).

And although Biko had defined Black Consciousness, its power came from its ability to link the interrelationships between the consciousness of the self and the emancipator programs he proposed. He succinctly indicated that Black people no longer sought to reform the apartheid system because by so doing would imply acceptance of the major points around which the system revolved and for this reason, he affirmed that Black people should completely transform the apartheid system and to make of it what they wish. And that such major undertaking could only be realised in an atmosphere where people are concerned with the truth of their situation, and therefore, liberation was of paramount importance in the philosophical niceties of Black Consciousness and "...for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. We want to attain the envisioned self, which is a free self" (Biko, 1978: 53).

This powerful rhetoric made Black Consciousness Movement come alive, hence a philosophy that recognised the existence of white racism as a major force wherein "...a solid black unity to counterbalance the scale" was the only solution and indicated that "...what Black Consciousness seeks to do is to produce at the output end of the process real black people who do not regard themselves as appendages to white society" (Biko, 1978: 55). Clear in his philosophy Biko also warned of the enemy's plan and suspicion, stating that:

"...We are all oppressed to varying degrees is a deliberate design to stratify us not only socially but also in terms of aspirations. Therefore, it is to be expected that in terms of the enemy's plan there must be this suspicion and that if we are committed to the problem of emancipation to the same degree it is part of our duty to bring to the attention of the black people the deliberateness of the enemy's subjugation scheme. That we should go on with our programme, attracting to it only committed people and not just those eager to see an equitable distribution of groups amongst our ranks. This is a game common amongst liberals. The one criterion that must govern all our action is commitment", (Biko, 1978: 57).

Conclusion

In the new South Africa, the restoring of people to their true humanity involves a progressive political education so that the warnings and teachings of Steve Biko and other leaders in consciousness development can be fully implemented as democracy, an affirmation of diversity, a respect for human dignity, self-determination and cultural integrity can be successfully realized.

List of Sources Consulted: Print

- Ajayi, J.F. (1990). Nigerian National Merit Award: Award Winners Lecture, Lagos, NIIA, p. 19.
- Akinpelu, J.A. (1981) An introduction to philosophy of Education. Oxford: Macmillan.
- Almond, G.A. (1974). (Ed). Comparative Politics Today, Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Almond, G., Powell, B. (1966). Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach, Boston, Mass.
- Almond, G., Verba, S. (1963). The civic culture. Democracy in five nations. Princeton University Press.
- Angvik, M., von Borries, B. (1997). A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes among Adolescents. Hamburg: Korber – Stiftung.
- Anise, L. (1979). Confrontation Politics and Crises Management Nigerian University Students and Public Policy. In Issue. 9:1.
- Bachtiar, H.W. (1968). Indonesia in Emmerson D.K. (Ed.) Students and Politics in Developing Nations, Pall Mall, London.
- Ball, S. (1987). The micro-politics of the school: Towards a theory of school organization. New York: Methuen.
- Ball, A.R. & Peters, B.G. (2000). Modern politics and governments. (6th Ed.). London: Palgrave.
- Barber, B.R. (1992). From classroom to community service: A bridge to citizenship. Los Angeles: National Youth Service Network, Constitutional Rights Foundation
- Berki, R.N. (1977). The History of political thought: A short introduction. London: Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa. N.J.

Bhola, H.S. (1990). Evaluation Literacy for development” projects, programs and campaigns: Evaluation Planning, design and implementation, and utilisation of results. Hamsury Germany UNESCO Institute for Education; DSE (German Foundation for International Development).

Binn, T. (1993). Geography and education. UK Perspective. In *Progress in Human Geography*, 1791: 101-110

Blase, J, & Blase, J. (2002). The micro-politics of instructional supervision: A call for research. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 38, 6-44.

Boaduo, N.A.P. (2005). Vision 2016 and Self-reliance: How can an innovative and vibrant education system contribute to its realization? In Lonaka: Bulletin of the Centre for Academic Development: Instructions in Higher Education within the context of a technological, globalised knowledge-based society. Gaborone. University of Botswana, October 2005 pp. 1-5.

Boaduo, N.A.P., Milondzo, K.S. & Adjei, A. (2009). Genesis of Peace Education in an era of Xenophobia and Terrorism: The Case of Africa. In *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol. 2, no. 9, March 2009.

Boaduo, N.A.P. (2004). Political Awareness Education: How significant is it to national building, self-reliance and the elimination of voter apathy? Paper presented at University of Botswana, Faculty of education, Department of Languages and Social Sciences Education seminar, 28th October 2004. Faculty of Education Conference Room. Gaborone, Botswana

Boisot, M. (1995). Preparing for turbulence: The changing relationship between strategy and management development in the learning organisation. In B. Garrant (Ed), *Developing strategic thought: Rediscovering the art of direction-giving* (pp. 29-46). London: McGraw-Hill.

Brownhill, R. & Smart, P. (1989). *Political Education*. New York: Routledge

Bryce, T. & McCall, J. (1990). Assessment of Practical Skills. In *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*. Edited by N. Entwistle. London: Routledge, pp. 887-895.

Budiardjo, M. (1997). *Dasar Hmu Politik (The Base of Political knowledge)*, Gramedia, Jakarta.

Calvert, P & Calvert, S. (2001). *Politics and society in the third world* (2nd Ed.). London: Pearson Longman.

- Chazan, N., Lewis, P., Mortimer, R., Rothchild. & Stedman, S.J. (1999). *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa* (3rd Ed.). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Coetzee, J.K. (Ed.) (1986). *Development is for people*. Johannesburg: Macmillan Publishers South Africa Pty Ltd.
- Coetzee, J.K., Graaf, J., Hendricks, F. & Wood, G. (eds.) (2001). *Development: Theory, Policy and Practice*. Oxford:: Oxford University Press.
- Coleman, J.S. (1965). *Education and Political Development*, Evanston, Illinois, Princeton University Press.
- Davidson, B. (1997). *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History* (3rd Ed.). London: Longman.
- Deegan, H. (2001). *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and after*. London: Pearson Longman.
- Dunn, J. (editor.) (1978). *West African States: Failure and Promise – A study in comparative politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Du Toit, P. (1995). *State building and democracy in Southern Africa: Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa*. Washington DC: United State Institute of Peace Press.
- Dye, T.R. (1975). *Understanding Public*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Princeton Hall.
- Entwistle, H. (1971). *Political Education in a Democracy*. Cttlenlery, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eze, E.C. (Editor) (1977) *Postcolonial African philosophy: A critical reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Fafunwa, A.B. (1974). *History of Education in Nigeria*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Haines, N. (1967) *Person to Person*. London: Macmillan.
- Hamad, Q. H. Z. (2001). *Political Education Through The Mass Media? A Survey of Indonesian University Students*. Asia.
- Hansen, E. (Ed.) (1987). *Africa: Perspectives on peace and development*. United Nations University studies on peace and regional security. London: Zed Books Ltd.

- Harber, C. (1987). Political Education 14-16. In Harber, C., (Ed.) (1987) Political Education in Britain. London: Falmer Press.
- Harber, C. (1981). Politics in African Education. London: MacMillan.
- Harber, C. (1997). Education, Democracy and Political Development in Africa. Brighton: Sussex
- Harper, C. (1989). Politics in African Education. Basingstoke: London, Macmillan Publishers.
- Heater, D. (1969). The Teaching of Politics. London: Methuen.
- Hess, R., Torney, J. (1967). The Development of Political Attitude, Chicago, Aldine Press.
- Heywood, P. (editor). (1997). Political corruption, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hopper, E. (1972). Educational Systems and Selected Consequences of patterns of mobility and non-mobility in industrial societies: A Theoretical Discussion. In Readings in the Theory of Educational Systems: Hutchinson. Pp. 12 & 293.
- Hoyle, E. (1986). The politics of school management London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Hyman, H. (1959). Political Socialisation. New York. The free press.
- Iannaccone, L. (1991). Micro-politics of education: What and why. *Education and Urban Society*, 23, 465-471.
- IEC Report (2002). Botswana Voter Apathy Report. Gaborone, IEC government Printer.
- IEC Report (2002). Botswana Voter Apathy Report: An Abridged Version. Gaborone: Government Printing and Publishing.
- Jacobsen, D.I. (2006). Public Sector Growth: Company Politicians; and Administrator's Spending Preferences. *Public Administration* 84(1): 185-204.
- Jacobsen, D.I. (2001). Higher Education as an Arena for political socialisation. Myth or Reality? *Scandinavian Political Studies* 24(4): 351-368. doi: 10,1111/1467-9477.00059

- Joyce, P. (Compiler) (1990). *The rise and fall of apartheid: The chronicle of a divided society as told through South Africa's newspapers*. Johannesburg: Struik Publishers.
- Julian, J., Kozma, T. (1995). Hungary: building civil society and living in it. In Meyer Bisch, P. (Ed.) (1995) *Culture of Democracy*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Kautsky, J.H. (1981). *Political change in underdeveloped countries. Nationalism and communism* John Wiley and sons. New York.
- Kershaw, I. (1981). A Critical View of the Conference. In Morrissett, I., Williams, A. (1981) *Social/Political Education in Three Countries*. Boulder: SSEC.
- Kraus, S., Dennis, D. (1978). *The Effect of Mass Communication on Political Behaviour*. The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Lasswell, H.D. (1933). *Politics: Who Gets What, When and How*. New York.
- Lawton, D. (1992). *Education and Politics in the 1990s: Conflict or Consensus?* London: Falmer Books.
- Lewis, L.J. (1962). *Education and Political Independence in Africa*. Edinburgh. T. Nelson and Sons. Indeed College students have a great potential to be politically engaged, but there needs to be better civic education and higher education must do a better job offering opportunities for public engagement.
- Longo, N.V., Meyer, R.P., Ross, P. (2006). Circle Working Paper 46. Downloaded on internet on 5/6/2012.
- Marks, S. & Trapido, S. (editors) (1987). *The politics of race, class & nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*. London: Longman Group UK Limited.
- Mathonsi, E.M. (1988). *Black matriculation results: A mechanism of social control*. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, Educational Division
- Mcclintock, C.G., Henry, A.T. (1962). The Impact of College upon Political knowledge participation and values. *Human Relations*, 15: 163-175.
- Mercer, G. (1973). *Political Education and Socialization to Democratic Norms*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde.
- Mezey, S. (1975) *Political Socialisation and Participation Among University Students in Thailand*. *Asian Survey* 15(6): 499.

- Milbraith, L.W. (1971). *Political Participation*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company
- Milner, J. (2001). *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years- His Life and Letters*. London: Panaf Books.
- Mitchell, D. (1990). *Integrated Education*. In *Handbook of Educational Ideas and Practices*. Edited by N. Entwistle. London: Routledge. P. 1050.
- Morgenthau, H.J. (1993). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*, brief edition revised by Kenneth W. Thompson. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Motlhabi, M. (1987). *The theory and practice of black resistance to apartheid: A social-ethical analysis*.
- Murithi, T. (2006). "Practical Peacemaking Wisdom from Africa: Reflections on Ubuntu" in *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol. 1, no.4, June 2006, pp.25-34.
- Nkrumah, K. (1966). *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution*. London: Panaf Books.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). *Neo-colonialism: The last state of imperialism*. London: Panaf Books.
- Nkrumah, K. (2006). *The Struggle Continues*. London: Panaf Pamphlets.
- Nkrumah, K. (2001). *I Speak of Freedom*. London: Panaf Books.
- Nkrumah, K. (2007). *Africa Must Unite*. London: Panaf Books.
- Nkrumah, K. (2001). *Revolutionary Path*. London: Panaf Books.
- Ojo, J.D. (1995). *Students' Unrest in Nigerian University*. Ibadan Spectrum.
- Olugbade, K. (1990). *Nigerian Students and Political Mobilisation*. *Journal of Social Development Africa* 5(1): 139-157.
- Osler, A. (2000). *Citizenship and democracy in schools*. Staffordshire, Britain: British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data.
- Ozman, H.A. & Craver, S.M. (1986). *Philosophical Foundations of Education* (3rd Ed.). London: Merill Publishing Company, A Bell and Howell Company.

Pacific Media Educator, No 11, July-Dec. 2001. Rucker, Philip (2005) "Student-Driven Sadan I Campaign Grows". New York.

Pereira, C. (2007). *Gender in the Making of the Nigerian University System*. James Currey Oxford. Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc. Ibadan.

Porter, A. (Ed.) (1983). *Teaching Political Literacy: Implications for Teacher Training*, Bedford Papers 16. London: Curriculum Review.

Ridley, F. (1985). *What Adults? What Politics?* In *Political Education for Adults*. Leicester: Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education.

Romano, A. (1996). "Dinamika Aktivitas Kaum Intelektual di Indonesia (The Dynamics of the Intellectual Community's Activity in Indonesia), Kritis, (trans). Bambang Suteng Salasmono, 10: 1.

Ross, A. (1987). *Political Education in the Primary School*. In Harber, C. (Ed.) (1987) *Political Education in Britain*. London: Falmer Press.

Rush, M. (1992). *Politics and Society. An Introduction to Political Sociology*. Longman U.K.

Salter, B. & Tapper, T. (1978). *Education and the Political Order*. Basingstoke, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Scribner, J., Aleman, E., & Maxcy, B. (2003). *Emergence of the politics of education field: Making sense of a messy centre*. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 39, 10-40.

Scruton, R., Ellis-Jones, A., O'Keefe, D. (1985) *Education and Indoctrination*. Harrow: Education Research Centre.

Shills, E. (1959). "The Intellectuals in the political development of the New States" in *world politics*. Vol. xii October.

Shore, H. (1983). *The Struggle for Mozambique: Eduardo Mondlane*. London: Zed Press.

Smertin, Y. (1990) *Kwame Nkrumah*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Smith, D.M. (1992) *Redistribution after apartheid: Who gets what where in the New South Africa*. In *Area*, Vol. 24, No. 4. December 1992, pp. 350-358.

- Smith, D.M. (1999). Social Justice and the Ethics of Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa. In *Ethics, Peace and Environment: Vo. 2. No. 2.* Pp.157-177.
- Stradling, R. (1976). Political Education in the 11 to 16 Curriculum. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Vol. 8, No. 283, Michaelmas term, p. 106.
- Stradling, R. (1977). *The Political Awareness of the School Leaver*. London: The Hansard Society.
- Taylor, I. & Williams, P. (editors) (2004). *Africa in international politics: External involvement on the continent*. London: Routledge.
- Todaro, M.P. & Smith, S.C. (2006). *Economic Development (9th Ed.)*. London: Pearson Addison Wesley.
- Turner, M. & Hulme, D. (1988). *Governance, administration & development: Making the State work*. London: Palgrave.
- Vision 2016 (2004). *Towards prosperity for all*. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Press.
- Visser, G. (2001). Social Justice, Integrated Development Planning and Post-Apartheid Urban Reconstruction. In *Urban Studies: Vol. 38. No.10.* Pp. 1673-1699.
- Visser, G. (2002). Social Justice and Geography: Towards a South African Geographical Research Agenda. In *Acta Academica: 2002, Vol. 34. No. 1.* Pp. 68-87.
- Wronski, S. (1981) Social Studies around the World. In Mehlinger, H. (Ed.) (1981) *Handbook for the Teaching of Social Studies*. London: UNESCO.

List of Sources Consulted: Electronic/Internet

http://www.swisscooperation.admin.ch/india/en/Home/News/News_Detail?itemID=181934
http://www.himalayanstudies.com/publication_report46.html
<http://www.idfresearch.org/pdf/governance-and-the-poor.pdf>
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FNja4WqOUJM>
<http://74.125.153.132/search?q=cache%3AVr45BtFLeCUJ%3Awww.intrac.org%2Fdocs.php%2F2100%2FMonitoring%2520and%2520Evaluation%2520of%2520Advocacy%2520Campaigns.pdf+preelection+voter+awareness+campaign&hl=en&gl=in>
http://www.votesmart.org/npat_about.php
http://www.odi.org.uk/events/2008/latin_america_series/080911/manoj-rai.ppt#256
<http://infochangeindia.org/200511035470/Governance/Features/CSOs-make-a-difference-in-UP-panchayat-elections.html>
<http://www.ugood.org/reports/Pakistan%20Pre-Election%202008%20Report%20by%20UGOOD.pdf>
<http://adrindia.org/files/release%20on%20helpline%20&%20sms.pdf>
<http://www.livemint.com/2009/04/12212411/Campaigns-urge-youth-to-wake-u.html>
http://www.usaid.gov/stories/kosovo/cs_kosovo_voteturnout.html
<http://aceproject.org/today/feature-articles/assisting-elections-in-georgia-2013-undp-project>
<http://www.empowerpoor.org/print.asp?report=147>
http://www.planotes.org/documents/plan_03912.pdf
<http://jaibihar.com/voter-awareness-will-push-politicians-to-act-experts-say/6106/>
http://www.caii.com/CAIStaff/Dashboard_GIROAdminCAIStaff/Dashboard_CAIAdminDatabase/CAIAdminSupplemental.aspx?SurveyID=2511&SectionID=530
<http://www.belize-elections.org/booklaunch.html>
<http://www.dawn.thot.net/election2004/>
<http://www.dawn.thot.net/election/issues19.htm>
<http://www.democracy.org.na/objective.phb>
<http://www.eck.or.ke/voter%27seducation.htm>
<http://www.eck.or.ke/electoralcodeofconduct.htm>
<http://www.iedafrica.org/elections2002audit.asp>
<http://www.ndi.org/globalp/citpart/programsqo/voteredu.asp>
<http://www.socialjustice.org/subsites/peaceandjustice/>
<http://www.adcouncil.org/issues/voting/>
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathem/07648a.htm>
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ignorance>
<http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=ignorance>
<http://www.accesstoinsight.org/ptf/avijja.html>
http://www.wisdomquotes.com/cat_ignorance.html