

**IDEOLOGY, HEGEMONY, AND**  
**XHOSA WRITTEN POETRY : 1948-1990**

**THESIS**

**Submitted in fulfilment of the**  
**Requirements for the Degree of**  
**MASTER OF ARTS**

**of**

**Rhodes University**

**by**

**GODFREY VULINDLELA MONA**

**January 1994**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION</b>	
<b>1.1 The problem</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 Aims and objectives</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1.3 Methodology and Scope</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1.4 Theoretical Foundations</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.5 Resumé</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2 THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST PHASE: 1948-1955</b>	
<b>2.1 Introduction</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.2 The ideology of Apartheid 1948-1955</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.3 The ideology of the African National Congress 1948-1955</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>2.4 An analysis and interpretation of texts</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>2.5 Resumé</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3 THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIRST PHASE INCLUDING THE POST-SHARPEVILLE CRISIS: 1956-1963</b>	
<b>3.1 Introduction</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>3.2 The ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress 1956-1960</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>23.3 Ideological Contest 1956-1960</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>3.4 The Sharpeville Massacre</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>3.5 The Post Sharpeville Crisis</b>	<b>77</b>

3.6	An analysis and interpretation of texts 1956-1963	78
3.7	Resumé	108
<b>CHAPTER 4 THE SECOND PHASE : 1963-1973</b>		
4.1	Introduction	112
4.2	Consolidation of the Apartheid Ideology 1963-1973	112
4.3	Writers under repression	116
4.4	An analysis and interpretation of texts	117
4.5	Resumé	139
<b>CHAPTER 5 THE THIRD PHASE : 1973-1990</b>		
5.1	Introduction	142
5.2	The Contending Ideologies	143
5.2.1	Apartheid Ideology	143
5.2.2	Black Consciousness Ideology	146
5.2.3	Charterist Ideology 1980-1990	152
5.3	An analysis and interpretation of texts	155
5.4	Aesthetic Ideology of the third phase	196
5.5	Resumé	197
<b>CHAPTER 6</b>		
<b>GENERAL CONCLUSION</b>		<b>203</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>		
A.	TEXTS	209
B.	REFERENCES	210
C.	NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES	223
D.	OTHER REFERENCES	224

## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is, in conception and creation, my own original work.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my promoter, Professor Peter Tshobiso Mtuze. His ingenious guidance and constructive criticism made completion of this initially problematic study possible.

I also wish to place on record my indebtedness to the following:

Professor G.T. Sirayi, for the exposure to the resourceful Centre for Cultural Studies, and the academic world.

Dr R. Kaschula for his constructive comments during the early stage of formulation of this research problem.

Professor M.W. Makalima and Mr Nyanisile Jack for their kind assistance during the stage of conceptualisation and operationalisation.

Miss Pumza Nzuzo for her meticulous and professional typing of this thesis.

Colleagues Sta-Posh Zantsi, Push Nyawombi and Mam Danster for the unbending support during a hectic period.

Fort Hare Library staff members, particularly Mr M.L. Mavuso and Mr S.O. Khatywa of the inter-library loans section.

My brothers, sisters, other relatives and friends for their moral and financial support.

My parents, Mvuyo and Bhadikazi, and my paternal-aunt Nozipho, for their sacrifices and endurance, and for looking after my son, Sazi Somanyana.

Last but not least, my wife, Nonkululeko Nonqaba, for her resoluteness and resilience during the most testing moments.

## ABSTRACT

This interdisciplinary study locates Xhosa written poetry (1948-1990) within the framework of the socio-politico-economic scenario in South Africa. It sets out to examine the impact of the abovestated factors on literature, by supporting the hypothesis that Xhosa written poetry of the Apartheid epoch is a terrain of the struggle for hegemony between the dominant ideology and the alternative ideologies.

Chapter One presents the problem, aims and objectives, methodology and scope, and Gramsci's theory of cultural construction which constitutes the conceptual framework on which the study is based.

Chapter Two deals with literature of the first half of the first phase of the Apartheid epoch (1948-1955). It outlines the two contending Apartheid and Africanist ideologies, and then analyses and interprets selected texts of Xhosa written poetry.

Chapter Three focuses on written poetry of the second half of the first phase (1956-1960) including the post Sharpeville period (1960-1963). This literature is viewed against the backdrop of three contending ideologies: The Apartheid ideology, Charterism (ANC) and Africanism (Pan Africanist Congress).

Chapter Four examines literature of the second phase (1963-1973). It first discloses the consolidation of the apartheid ideology during this period, and secondly analyses and interprets selected texts of Xhosa written poetry.

Chapter Five studies literature of the third phase of the Apartheid era (1973-1990). The three contending ideologies: Apartheid, Charterism and Black Consciousness are described. Thereafter selected texts of Xhosa written poetry are analysed and interpreted.

Chapter Six is a general conclusion that highlights the findings of this study. It furthermore links up the basic theoretical formulations and the practice of this study, and delineates its relevance to the current historical conjuncture of cultural reconstruction.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 THE PROBLEM

As far as can be established no empirical investigation has been made into the relationship between ideology, hegemony and Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990. It is in view of this fact that I undertake to pursue this pioneering work.

Literature, per se, in my opinion, is not ideology and is therefore not hegemonic. Notwithstanding, literature can be ideology, and can therefore be hegemonic. Therbon (1980: 2) points out:

Not all ideology is or can operate as science, art, philosophy, or law, but all these emerge out of ideological configurations and may function as ideologies. Like all human activities, scientific aesthetic, philosophical and legal practices are always enmeshed in ideology...

Therbon (Ibid: 3) explicates:

...The constitution of a particular discourse called science means neither that its practice is or will remain immune from subjectivity of its practitioners, nor that it is incapable of affecting the subjectivity of the members of society; of functioning as ideology.

It is therefore beyond doubt that Xhosa written literature in general, and Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990 in particular, is ideologically laden and subsequently hegemonic. I however wish to move further and state that literature in general, and Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990 in particular, in its communication of ideology and its sustenance of hegemony, is dialectical. Failure to come to grips with this reality has resulted in a raging controversy regarding the role of indigenous literature in the socio-politico-economic struggle in South Africa.

I therefore hypothesise that Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990 is a terrain of the struggle for hegemony between the "historically organic" dominant ideology of Apartheid and the "historically organic" alternative ideologies. Profundity of the influence on Xhosa written poetry of both the dominant ideology<sup>1</sup> and the

alternative ideology<sup>2</sup> cannot be overemphasized. Through this cultural mechanism, viz Xhosa written poetry, the "historically organic" dominant ideology and by the same token the "historically organic" alternative ideologies organise the actions and consciousness of people with the aim of asserting hegemony over them. The abovestated synchronous discourses are determinants of the emergence of Xhosa written poetry which in turn becomes a determinant of the emergence of these discourses.

In this study Apartheid is perceived to be the ideology of racial capitalism in South Africa. Elaborating on this view Davies et al (1948: 2) say:

Apartheid, then, is much more than a system of intense racial discrimination. Fundamentally it, like the segregationist policies which preceded it, is a system of economic, social and political relations designed to produce a cheap and controlled Black labour, and to generate high rates of profit.

Apartheid is a discourse that is institutionalized and is intended to shape the thought processes of the South African Society. It is dominant because it is the ideology of the ruling class which is "in control of the means of mental production and consequently of intellectual life" (Ngara 1985: 21). By 'class' I shall refer to a group of individuals, irrespective of their skin pigmentation, who identify with a common 'organic ideology' or weltanschauung, i.e. worldview (Gramsci 1971: 381; Poulantzas 1975: 197). By alternative ideologies I shall mean those ideologies which were formulated with the purpose of resisting the dominant ideology of Apartheid<sup>3</sup>. I shall be concerned with examining the influence of alternative ideologies which to my view succeeded in attracting mass support. The first is the ideology of the African National Congress<sup>4</sup>, the second is the ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress whose founding members seceded from the African National Congress in 1959<sup>5</sup>, and the third is the ideology of the Black Consciousness Movement which emerged in the early 1970s<sup>6</sup>. I have prudently selected data for analysis and interpretation from Xhosa written poetry. It is my conviction that the material selected is the most appropriate. My view is in concurrence with Mphahlele's (1970: 11-12) that poetry is more deliberate

and direct in its expression of ideology. He avers:

I think it is because poetry is a state of mind and therefore the very poem becomes the attitude.

## 1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of the study is to support my hypothesis that Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990 is a terrain of the struggle between the "historically organic" dominant ideology of Apartheid and the "historically organic" alternative ideologies. This hypothesis is illuminated by Eagleton (1978: 55) who categorically states that:

Literature is an agent as well as effect of such struggles (...the struggles of imperial conqueror with subjugated state, nation-state with nation-state, region with nation, class with class...), a crucial mechanism by which the language and ideology of an imperialist class establishes its hegemony, or by which a subordinated state, class or region preserves and perpetuates at the ideological level an historical identity shattered or eroded at the political. (my emphasis)

The ideological struggle referred to above manifests itself in the form and content of the poetry of the Apartheid epoch, resulting in two varieties of ideology referred to by Cronin in Van Straaten (1987: 111) as the author's aesthetic ideology, and the author's socio-political ideology. The two variants may be succinctly referred to as authorial ideology<sup>7</sup>. These two varieties of ideology are distinct albeit often inseparable. They are often interwoven within a single text or within a single collection of poems that is studied resulting sometimes in disjunctions between the two varieties of ideology within the same text, or within the same collection.

This study adopts the dialectical conception of the form-content relationship. It acknowledges primacy of content in determining form, but underlines that form also impacts on content. Ngara (1990: 15) says about poetry:

As a unity of content and form poetry appeals to the reader or listener by the weight of what it says (content) and how it says it (form).

I shall therefore support my argument by explaining fully the form and content of this poetry, and its relationship with historical developments. In the final analysis the study will illuminate on the utilization of hegemonic ideology through

the medium of culture, in this instance Xhosa written poetry, for the organisation, maintenance and transformation of power in the South African society.

The following are objectives of the study: Poetry of the period 1948-1955 will be viewed against the backdrop of the political, social, educational and cultural changes that were brought about by the introduction of Apartheid laws, and the resistance to these changes by the African nationalist liberation movement, viz. the ANC. Poetry of the period 1956-1963 will be viewed against the backcloth of pre-Sharpeville events, the Sharpeville Massacre and the post-Sharpeville crisis. Poetry of the period 1963-1973 will be viewed against the background of a decade of an apparently successful hegemony by the Nationalist Party government, when race and class conflict appeared to be sublimated. Lodge (1983: 326) refers to this decade as the post-Sharpeville quiescence. This period, according to Davies et al (1984: 27) is the second phase of Apartheid. The Black Consciousness Movement of the seventies and eighties and the United Democratic Front of the eighties, which resisted Apartheid policy, will constitute the background to the poetry of the period 1973-1990. I shall analyse and interpret identified texts of poetry published during this period, which according to Tomaselli (1989: 46) is a stage of "reform" to Apartheid. Despite these "reforms" Apartheid ideology was incessantly contested. According to Davies et al (Ibid: 30) this is a period of crisis for Apartheid. I shall then wind up the study by making general conclusions.

The division of the period 1948-1990 into the above phases is made possible by the fact that each phase has a distinct character of "political and economic structural conditions and struggles" <sup>8</sup>.

### **1.3 METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE**

Having ascertained the aims and objectives of the study, I now focus on the vital question of methodology. There is a critical need for a rigorous methodology in the study of South African literature that is written in indigenous languages. The

current trend towards contextualisation of literature is therefore laudable. It is my view that literary criticism in South Africa cannot turn a blind eye to social realities. It is precisely because of this reason that an enquiry of this calibre cannot but take into consideration the question of history and class relationships. Eagleton (1978: 17) has pointed out that "criticism is not an innocent discipline, and never has been". He explains:

It is, ..., the product of a scientific discourse produced from within ideology, and plays its role within that ideological formation. (Ibid: 18)

The text which is the object of criticism by the literary critic is also devoid of innocence. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981: 72) exposes this fact as follows:

A writer's subject matter is history: i.e. the process of man acting on nature and changing it and in so doing acting on and changing himself. The entire changing relations of production and hence the changing power relations consequent on mutable modes of production is a whole territory of a writer's literary concern. Politics is hence part and parcel of this literary territory.

The study shall therefore go beyond what the methodology of practical criticism, would offer. Focus will be on the social, and not on the universal and the individual. The texts will be viewed against the background of their context, i.e. society. This means close examination of the struggle against social relations of domination and subordination. Some writers from the subaltern class might have been cognisant of the alienating effects of the ideology of Apartheid and might have engaged themselves in a struggle to resist it. On the other hand some writers might have been interpellated by the dominant ideology and in their writings might evince acquiescence with the same. The foregoing factors have a bearing on the ideological formation of the text.

Klopper in Trump (1990: 268) who insists that no critical practice is ideologically neutral proposes a methodology of literary criticism that addresses the question of the texts' ideological formations. This critical practice of resistance, as he calls it:

...inserts itself into the fissures and figures of ideology, fracturing the discursive formation and turning its tropes against it, opposing power with power in numerous textual engagements with the intention of ultimately reappropriating ideology for counterhegemonic purposes. This involves the exposure of the

omissions, gaps, contradictions, partial truths and self-serving value systems of the ideology inscribed in the text.

The above suggests the method to be followed in the study. Texts that bear expressions and concepts that are ideologically laden will be identified. The texts will be analysed and interpreted to evince how they serve personal interests and how they structure power relations. The texts will be contextualised by bringing them into contact with other inter-contributory disciplines that provide information about them, e.g. history, sociology and philosophy. The study will in this sense be interdisciplinary and will go beyond text based exegesis. The focus will not be on texts only, but on their contexts as well. I shall endeavour to understand the historical, social, economic and political relationships which have moulded Xhosa written poetry.

I now delimit the scope of the study: The study will be limited to analysis and interpretation of selected texts from poetry collections that were published in 1948-1990. Selection of texts is not arbitrary. As already indicated texts that will be selected are those that evince some ideological propensities. To achieve representativeness, all accessible poetry collections will be studied in search of material that is pertinent to the study. Texts that were produced under different circumstances from the mainstream texts, e.g. ISER texts, will however be excluded in order to lend fairness to the contest<sup>9</sup>.

It has become conventional that a scientific study of Xhosa written-poetry be conducted within the framework of the analytical couple: traditional-modern. In terms of this approach, traditional written-poetry is profoundly informed in its form and content by the indigenous oral forms, while modern written-poetry is profoundly informed by the Western literary canon. The traditional-modern dichotomy has a bearing on the scope of research and methodology. A researcher usually either confines himself to traditional or modern written-poetry, and analyses and interprets his data against indigenous or western poetic conventions. This analytical framework introduces the ideological problematic of modernisation or civilization. Western colonialism and capitalism in Africa are

presented as modernising and civilizing forces. On the other hand Africans are presented as people who have a problem of readjusting to civilization and modernisation. In the literary sphere and in written-poetry in particular, traditional is interpreted as meaning primitive and static while modern is interpreted as meaning progressive and dynamic. This attitude may be discerned from Vilakazi's critical assessment of works of two poets: Mqhayi and Jolobe. About Mqhayi who is recognised as a doyen of traditional poetry<sup>10</sup>, Vilakazi (1945: 502) says:

His inspiration derived from primitive poetry as evinced by most of his compositions, but these lack continuity of mood, and hence his poetry tends to be laconic. Especially is this quality found in poems where heroic and court themes are treated.

Vilakazi (Ibid: 346) continues:

There is nothing of the interpretation of nature and philosophy in Mqhayi's poetry; it tends to be simply hedonistic.

About Jolobe who is recognised as the godfather of modern poetry<sup>11</sup>, Vilakazi (1945: 348) says that Jolobe's poetry bears deep philosophy, and advises students of Nguni poetry to engross themselves in Jolobe's poetry which will impart to them the essence of great poetry. He avers:

...the greatness of Jolobe and his confreres lies in experimentation and innovation, backed by their knowledge of past history, and in the delicate culture of mind drilled in the study of European literature which generates true poetic poise ...Here lies the path to future greatness of Nguni poetry.

Being at a vantage point in terms of time we are able to take a retrospective look and see how this projection into the future of Nguni poetry has proved to be erroneous. African literature is currently struggling for its own identity. It derives its inspiration from indigenous oral forms which generate true African "poetic poise". Vaughan (1982:48) declares:

The couple traditional-modern therefore leads us away from social-critical issues, such as the nature of power relations - and consequently the nature of the conditions of social struggle - within this Southern African history. It hinders recognition of the way in which Western capitalism has intervened in the historical trajectory of Southern African societies, forcibly subjugating and restructuring these societies according to the demands of its own most powerful interests. It defuses issues of domination and subordination, oppression and exploitation, racial and class struggle.

In its treatment of written-poetry the scope of this study transcends the traditional-modern dichotomy.

#### 1.4 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The study of the relationship between ideology, hegemony and Xhosa written-poetry of 1948-1990 will be located within the framework of a theory of cultural construction that is emancipatory. Antonio Gramsci's point of view regarding cultural construction constitutes the backdrop against which this study is conceived. I say his theory is emancipatory because it takes into consideration the socio-politico-economic matrix which constitutes our real world. Over and above this, the theory is anti-reductionism. Muller et al in Tomaselli (1989: 22) say the theory is devoid of:

...economic reductionism (which reduces all social activity to movements in the economic base), and class reductionism (which reduces all social conflict between two major classes in capitalism namely, capital and labour).

Gramsci, an Italian student of philosophy who was incarcerated in a Fascist prison between 1927 and 1935, contends that ideology and culture play an indispensable role in the process of asserting hegemony over people. I shall briefly outline Gramsci's theory of cultural construction and simultaneously explain the notions of "historically organic ideology", hegemony, culture and "historically organic intellectuals", which are central in this study. To make the study more efficacious I shall also draw from the resources of students of ideology whose ideas are compatible with Gramsci's. Hence the assimilation of insights of scholars like Althusser (1971)<sup>12</sup>, Poulantzas (1975)<sup>13</sup>, Larrain (1979)<sup>14</sup> and Therbon (1980)<sup>15</sup>. I shall nevertheless confine myself to insights that illuminate on aspects that are within the ambit of my study.

##### 1.4.1 The Historically Organic Ideology

The word "ideology" has an etymology that is interesting. Gramsci (1971: 375)

says that the original meaning of the concept "ideology" was that of "science of ideas" or "analysis of ideas" or "investigation of the origin of ideas". With the passage of time the concept came to mean "a specific system of ideas". Coinage of the concept "ideology" at the end of the eighteenth century, is the invention of French philosophers Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) and his friends (Althusser 1971: 32; Larrain 1979: 17). To these philosophers the concept meant the (genetic) theory of ideas. According to this theory, ideas could not be understood in terms of the earlier metaphysical or idealist senses, but through a science of ideas which must be a natural science, since the entirety of ideas has origins in man's experience of the world (Williams 1977: 56). According to Destutt de Tracy et al, ideas derive from sensations. Thinking implies feeling something and memory is a specific type of sensation that recreates a past sensation. The faculty of judgement is as well a type of sensation for it is the faculty of assessing the relationships between receptions. In its original sense, it is evident, that the term ideology had a positive connotation. Larrain (1979: 27) says it was perceived as:

...the rigorous science of ideas which, by overcoming religious and metaphysical prejudices, may serve as a new basis for public education.

In the Marxist philosophy the concept "ideology" is perceived as a system of pure illusory beliefs, a pure dream and false consciousness that is nothingness, a situation that can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge (Althusser 1971: 33; Williams 1977: 55). Marx and Engels perceived "ideology" to be ideas that are produced by false consciousness on the part of an individual. According to their theory, false consciousness makes individuals to produce a picture of reality that is inverted. The upside down picture serves and promotes the interests of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the proletariat. From the brief exposition above we glean that false consciousness is used in the Marxist tradition in a judgemental way to make reference to the cognition, interpretation and beliefs that individuals have of their world. The Marxist view of "ideology", according to Gramsci (1971: 376) is a negative value judgement which is not acceptable. He asserts that this view excludes the view of the founders of the concept of "ideology"; that the origins of ideas are in sensations. He emphatically states that "ideology" should be analysed historically in terms of the philosophy of praxis as a necessary

superstructure of a particular structure<sup>16</sup>. This injunction according to Hall et al (1978 : 45), is the basis for the view that "Concrete, historically specific study is of the highest importance in Gramsci's writings".

Gramsci (Ibid: 376-377) contends that a distinction should be drawn between "historically organic ideologies", i.e. those that are "...necessary to a given structure, and ideologies that are arbitrary, rationalistic, or willed". The former type of ideology is of great significance to Gramsci while the latter is insignificant. Gramsci (Ibid: 377) avers:

To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity which is "psychological"; they "organise" human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle etc. To the extent that they are arbitrary they only create individual 'movements', polemics and so on ... (emphasis mine).

Larrain (1979: 80) sums up the above as follows:

Gramsci (1871-1937) also follows the trend away from a purely negative concept of ideology. For him ideology is a superstructural expression of the "kingdom of necessity" which embraces every class in society.

Gramsci's theory of cultural construction can be interpreted as follows:

Rule over people is successful if the ruled consent to governance. The "historically organic ideology" plays a significant role in persuading people in a variety of ways to consent to governance. In order to secure the consent of the ruled, the rulers evolve an "organic ideology" or weltanschauung, i.e. worldview which outlines how people should make sense of the world. In other words the ruler evolves an organic ideology that shapes the worldview of the ruled and constitutes a common public consciousness. It is this common public consciousness that makes people to make sense of the world they live in, and to consent to the rule of the rulers. "Historically organic ideologies" are media through which consciousness and meaningfulness of the world operate. In terms of Gramsci's theory, "organic ideology" is a phenomenon that ranges from day to day human experiences to elaborate intellectual discourses. It manifests itself in thought processes that may or may not be institutionalised. Its main function is to "cement and unify" the social bloc (Gramsci, Ibid : 328).

Gramsci (Ibid: 366) advances the notion of the "historical bloc" by which he means the totality of institutions that are involved in the process of creation of hegemony. Material forces comprise the content while ideologies comprise the form of this historical bloc. The relationship between the form and the content is dialectical, one element is historically invalid without the other element. Gramsci's views are echoed by Therbon (1980: 31) who emphasises the fact that ideologies have a material determination. Muller et al in Tomaselli (1989: 18) explicitly confront this question as follows:

...ideological struggle does not just mean a battle of ideas. Ideological struggle is a material struggle in more than one respect. First it always has to do with material exploitation; for that reason, it always has to do with classes, or at least groups (or factions) that represent specific class interests and class positions, however indirectly.

Gramsci posits four distinct levels of "organic ideology". They are, in their order of importance: philosophy, religion, common sense and folklore. Gramsci (Ibid: 326) says:

Philosophy is criticism and the superseding of religion, and "common sense". In this sense it coincides with "good" as opposed to "common" sense.

At the top of this hierarchy is the level of philosophy, which is a systematic and coherent expression of the worldview of a group or class<sup>17</sup>. At the second highest level of the echelon is religion, whose organic ideology is tenable to the consciousness of the ordinary people. In religion the organic ideology is experienced as a belief instead of a philosophical reasoning. The second last level is that of "common sense", a term that is used by Gramsci to mean the inconsistent and incoherent suppositions that constitute social beliefs in a given epoch. He contrasts this term with "good sense" which to him means original, empirical and conscious way of understanding the world (Gramsci Ibid: 322-323). The second sense is equivalent to the term "common sense" that is in current use in English. In the first sense this concept comprises elements of philosophy that constitute the consciousness of ordinary people<sup>18</sup>. The lowest level in the hierarchy, popular folklore, represents beliefs from a diversity of worldviews. At this level contradictions in popular consciousness may manifest.

From the above discussion we learn that in terms of Gramsci's theory, "historically organic ideologies" are psychologically valid and are a sine qua non for the survival of a structure. They are phenomena that are comprised by systems of meanings, values, and beliefs which form the consciousness or worldview or outlook of the social group or class.

#### 1.4.2 Culture

Williams (1977: 11-20) traces the development of the concept 'culture' through the ages. He says that the original meaning of this term was 'the growth and tending of crops and animals and by extension the growth and tending of human faculties'. This meaning prevailed until the eighteenth century. The word was always used as noun of process: One would speak of a "culture of something - crops, animals, minds" (Williams Ibid: 13).

In the late eighteenth century the term "culture" started to be used synonymously with another term "civilization". Being cultured meant being civilized. However the criticism levelled against civilization, that it is "...superficial; an (sic) 'artificial' as distinct from a 'natural' state; a cultivation of 'external' properties - politeness and luxury - as against more 'human' needs and impulses", by Rousseau and other followers of the Romantic movement led to a quest for an alternative meaning for the term "culture", a meaning that would denote "a process of 'inner' or 'spiritual' as distinct from 'external' development" (Williams Ibid: 14). This alternative sense associated culture with religion, art, the family and personal life that was juxtaposed with the new alternative sense of "civilization". In the run of time the strong religious connotation diminished to be substituted by a new thinking that saw culture (art and literature) as a profound record, impulse and resource of the "human spirit". Williams (Ibid: 15) explains culture at this stage of its development as follows:

'Culture' was then at once the secularization and the liberalization of earlier metaphysical forms. Its agencies and processes were distinctively human, and were generalised as subjective, but certain quasi-metaphysical forms - 'the imagination', 'creativity', 'inspiration' 'the aesthetic', and the new positive sense of 'myth' - were in effect composed into a new pantheon.

A further development which made "culture" a social (i.e. anthropological and sociological) concept, took place. This new meaning challenged the previous sense of the "inner" process and "the arts".

Williams (Ibid: 17) in his synopsis of the development of "culture", underlines the complex nature of the concept. He says:

It became a noun of "inner" process, specialised to its presumed agencies in "intellectual life" and "the arts". It became also a noun of general process, specialised to its presumed configurations in "whole ways of life". It played a crucial role in definitions of the "arts" and "the humanities", from the first sense. It played an equally crucial role in definitions of the "human sciences" and the "social sciences", in the second sense. Each tendency is ready to deny any proper use of the concept to the other inspite of many attempts at reconciliation.

It is against this background of the development of this concept "culture" that Antonio Gramsci's intervention shall be viewed. Before his introduction of the notion of "hegemony", the two concepts, culture and ideology, were already at an advanced stage of development. Culture, as already indicated, meant "the whole social process", or the whole ways of life; and ideology, as already pointed out, meant a system of meanings and values that are the expression or projection of a particular class interest (Williams Ibid: 108).

Culture and ideology, according to Gramsci, play a decisive role in the process of governance of a people. Consent of the people to governance is realised through creation of a "historically organic ideology" which becomes the public consciousness of the people. This public consciousness is created by means of a cultural struggle which implies the production of a vibrant and coherent meaning across the entirety of culture, a process that redefines the cultural terrain. Sense-giving institutions like religion, education and art play the indispensable role of reconstituting people into a new field of meaning. According to Poulantzas (1975: 208) Gramsci observed that "...ideology encompasses not merely scattered elements of knowledge, notions etc., but also the whole process of symbolization, of mythical transposition, of 'taste', 'style', 'fashion', i.e. of the 'way of life' in general". Culture and ideology also play a decisive role in the process of resistance to governance of a people. Tomaselli (1989: 40) says:

...culture provides the mechanism through which encounter, resistance and counter-meanings are articulated.

Xhosa written-poetry, as a mechanism of culture, has been used in the articulation of ideologies, and, by the same token, of counter-ideologies. It has worked for the dominant hegemony and in the same token for the alternative hegemony. My argument is supported by Williams (1977: 114) who contends as follows:

It would be wrong to overlook the importance of works and ideas which, while clearly affected by hegemonic limits and pressures are at least in part significant breaks beyond them, which may again in part be neutralized, reduced, or incorporated, but which in their most active elements nevertheless come through as independent and original.

### 1.4.3 Hegemony

Hegemony not only subsumes culture and ideology, but also moves further beyond these concepts. It supercedes culture in the sense that it lays emphasis on the significance of relating "the whole social process" (culture) to the reality of social classes which evoke relations of domination and subordination. It also moves further beyond ideology in the sense that it emphasises the significance of relating "the formal and articulated system of meanings, values and beliefs or worldview or class outlook" (ideology) to the reality of social classes which evoke dominant/subordinate meanings and values. According to Gramsci, what is decisive is the wholeness of the lived social process as organised by class dominance and subordination.

According to Williams (1977: 108) the notion of hegemony traditionally meant political rule or domination, particularly the relations between two states. Gramsci gave impetus to the development of the concept and gave it a further significant sense. He expressly acknowledges Ilich [Lenin] for his formulation of the concept of hegemony (Gramsci Ibid: 365-381). However according to Poulantzas (1975: 137) the concept is Gramsci's own original formulation. Gramsci drew a line of demarcation between the concepts "rule" (domino) and "hegemony". According to him rule is sustained through direct political form, and

when crisis erupts "rule" is maintained through use of force. On the other hand "hegemony" involves implementation of the interrelated political, social and cultural forces in the dissemination of power and influence. This struggle for political power results in a particular form of relationship between the dominant classes and the subordinate classes of a class society.

Gramsci's construct of hegemony can be briefly explained as follows: In order to achieve consent of the ruled the rulers implement a hegemonic apparatus which disseminates an ideology that has been evolved by the rulers, an ideology through which people make sense of the world. The ideology becomes their public consciousness and makes them consent to governance. Consent means a reformation of one's consciousness, i.e. acceptance of new meanings as one's consciousness, a situation that leads to submission to hegemony. Hegemony is therefore the totality of operations which seek to win consent, the key to governance. A working definition of hegemony is provided by Gwyn Williams as quoted by Sasoon (1982:94) :

By 'hegemony' Gramsci seems to mean a sociological situation in his terminology a 'moment', in which the philosophy and practice of a society fuse or are in equilibrium; an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations. An element of direction and control, not necessarily conscious, is implied.

There is a second sense of this notion which is as follows: The ruling/dominant class may be subdivided into a number of politically dominant classes or fractions or sub-classes, one of them is more dominant than the others and consequently exercises hegemony over others. But because of the fact that the fractions of the dominant class are engaged in an alliance, they together constitute what may be termed the 'hegemonic bloc' (Tomaselli 1981: 6) or 'power bloc' (Poulantzas 1975: 137). This 'bloc' comprises a totality of inequivalent, contradictory and complex elements that are only united by their political dominance. It is the interests of this bloc that determine the composition of hegemony.

Gramsci also makes reference to the notion of "ethico-political hegemony" which is explained by Hall et al (Ibid:49) as follows:

The hegemony of the ruling bloc is seen not simply at the political level, but as affecting every aspect of social life and thought.

As already stated, hegemony cannot be realised through force or coercion only. Hence the application of the most subtle seduction of meaning with the aim of winning consent. Gramsci declares:

The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterised by a combination of force and consent which balance each other reciprocally without force predominating excessively over consent. (emphasis mine).

We must also take note of the fact that even in times of apparently successful political hegemony by the dominant class, the subordinate classes never cease engaging themselves in counter-hegemonic activities with the aim of asserting their own hegemony. This occurs precisely because though they might be politically subordinate, they might be ideologically dominant. Gramsci (1971: 207) confirms this view:

A social group can, and indeed must, already exercise "leadership" (i.e. be hegemonic) before winning governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power).

Poulantzas (1975: 204) aptly interprets Gramsci's words as follows:

In this context the concept of hegemony effectively indicates the fact that a class imposes its own worldview on a formation and so (in this sense) gains ideological domination before the conquest of political power.

The above scholars both validate my hypothesis that Xhosa written-poetry of 1948-1990 is a terrain of the struggle for hegemony between the apartheid ideology and other alternative ideologies. Williams (1977: 114) illuminates this hypothesis as follows:

Thus the cultural process must not be assumed to be merely adaptive, extensive and incorporative. Authentic breaks within and beyond it, in specific social conditions which can vary from extreme isolation to pre-revolutionary breakdowns and actual revolutionary activity, have often in fact occurred. And we are better able to see this, alongside more general recognition of the insistent pressures and limits of the hegemonic, if we develop modes of analysis which instead of reducing works to finished products, and activities to fixed positions, are capable of discerning in good faith, the finite but significant openness of many actual initiatives and contributions.

#### 1.4.4 The notion of interpellation

Gramsci's notion of hegemony is in my view compatible with Althusser's notion of interpellation. According to Althusser (1971: 47), hence Therbon (1980: 15), ideology operates like a discourse that interpellates (addresses) human beings and thereby transforms them into subjects. When individuals have become subjects of an ideology they do not realize that they are subjects. Althusser (1971: 49) says:

That is why those who are in ideology believe themselves by definition outside ideology: one of the effects of ideology is the practical denegation of the ideological character of ideology by ideology: ideology never says, "I am ideological".

Ideology, according to Althusser, is specular - a characteristic that causes its duplication and consequently ensures its perpetual functioning. The infinity of individuals who are interpellated by ideology are transformed into subjects. They in turn through the process of interpellation transform others into subjects of the dominant ideology. Althusser (Ibid: 55) explains the process as follows:

...the subjects "work", they "work by themselves" in the vast majority of cases with the exception of the "bad subjects" who on occasion provoke the intervention of one of the detachments of the (repressive) state apparatus. But the vast majority of (good) subjects work all right "all by themselves", i.e. by ideology.

The process of interpellation, culminates in the process of hegemony<sup>19</sup>.

#### 1.4.5 Organic Intellectuals

Gramsci (Ibid: 3) makes a distinction between "organic" intellectuals and "traditional" professional intellectuals. Traditional professional intellectuals according to him, are distinguished by their profession, e.g. literary, scientific and so on, which is characteristic of their class. This category of intellectuals is not the concern of this study. A distinctive feature of "organic" intellectuals is their function of facilitating development of ideas of their class and enhancing realisation of its aspirations. Gramsci (Ibid: 3) points out:

Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields.

If not all entrepreneurs, at least an elite amongst them must have the capacity to be an organiser of society in general, including all its complex organism of services, right up to the state organism, because of the need to create the conditions most favourable to the expansion of their own class...(emphasis mine).

The "organic" intellectuals are the people who form the leadership in a class (social group or organic group). They are the think tanks and organisers of the class. They disseminate the ideology of the class with the aim of securing the consent of the people and their submission to the hegemony of the class. Gramsci (1971: 10) declares:

School is the instrument through which intellectuals of various levels are elaborated.

This view is elaborated on by Althusser (1971: 7) who says:

...the school...teaches "know-how", but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its "practice". All the agents of production, exploitation and repression not to speak of the "professionals of ideology" (Marx) must in one way or another be "steeped" in this ideology in order to perform their tasks "conscientiously" - the tasks of the exploited (the proletarians), of the exploiters (the capitalists), of the exploiters, auxiliaries (the managers), or the high priests of the ruling ideology (its "functionaries"), etc.

Muller in Tomaselli (ed) (1989: 25) is however cautionary:

These institutions (i.e. intellectual) can of course work either for the dominant hegemony, or less commonly, for an alternative hegemony... (emphasis mine).

## 1.5 RESUMÉ

The foregoing introductory chapter was aimed at: a concise presentation of the problem; a clear demarcation of the aim and objectives of this study; an exposition of the methodology that will be employed and a delimitation of the scope of the study; and delineation of the theoretical framework within which the study will be located. I have attempted to present a fairly detailed exposition of Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural construction<sup>20</sup>, which constitutes the foundations of the edifice I endeavour to construct. My primary concern in doing this is to ground the study firmly into the theory and its central notions of ideology, culture and hegemony. I have also attempted to illuminate the notions of interpellation and "organic" intellectuals which are indispensable in this study.

## Notes

1. Literary critics have exposed the impact of the ideology of Apartheid on African Literature in English and in indigenous languages: See Gerard (1971:88-100), Egudu (1978: 45), Cornwell (1979: 16), Chaphole (1985:6-7) and Sirayi in Kaschula (ed) (1991: 53-61).
2. Contrary to the view of Muller et al in Tomaselli (1988: 21) that "A history or a theory of change is impossible without accounting for this counter-movement 'from below'", literary critics have overlooked the impact of the alternative ideologies on Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990.
3. The ideology of Apartheid is discussed in Chapter 2 of this study.
4. The ideology of the African National Congress is discussed in Chapter 2.
5. The ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress is discussed in Chapter 3.
6. The ideology of the Black Consciousness Movement is discussed in Chapter 5.
7. See Eagleton (1976: 44-63) and Ngara (1985: 20-25 and 1990: 10-14).
8. See Wolpe (1988 : 60-74).
9. These texts did not go through the strict censorship of the apartheid system as Opland, J and Fivaz, D. intimate in the dedication of each copy:

The Institute of Social and Economic Research, in collaboration with the Department of African Languages at Rhodes University, has launched the ISER Xhosa Texts series in an effort to serve the interests of Xhosa culture in general and Xhosa literature in particular. We are concerned about the present state of publishing in the Xhosa language, which tends to stifle and inhibit creative writing. Commercial publishers are understandably reluctant to commit themselves to producing any book unless they are assured of reasonable sales, and this usually requires the book to be prescribed in the schools. The ISER Xhosa Texts, on the other hand, will be published solely because we believe them to be of intrinsic merit or value. The Institute of Social and economic Research and the Department of African Languages respect the integrity of the authors, and have no inclination to expurgate texts or suppress comment.
10. See Jordan (1973: 105), and Kuse (1977: 1).
11. See Mahlasela (1973: 14), and Sirayi (1985: IX).
12. Althusser (1971: 6) explicitly confirms that his theory of ideology is a systematic development of Gramsci's theory. He says:

To my knowledge, Gramsci is the only one who went any distance in the road I am taking. He had the "remarkable" idea that the State could not

be reduced to the (Repressive) State Apparatus, but included, as he put it, a certain number of institutions from "civil society": the Church, the Schools, the trade unions, etc. Unfortunately, Gramsci did not systematize his institutions, which remained in the state of acute but fragmentary notes...

13. Poulantzas (1975: 195) demonstrates high esteem for Gramsci:  
...Gramsci's analyses of class hegemony are very enlightening...,  
...Gramsci, with amazing acuteness, perceived the problems posed by the political functioning of bourgeoisie ideology in a capitalist formation...
14. Larrain (1979: 82) considers Gramsci's treatment of the relationship between ideology and the state to be his "most important contribution".
15. Therbon (1980: 105) perceives Gramsci to be a man of "...sharp revolutionary mind..." Therbon also admits that his schema of ideological domination may also be seen as a specification of Gramsci's concept of hegemony. The said schema is, however, outside the ambit of this study.
16. By 'philosophy of praxis' Gramsci means the philosophy of Marxism. In the introduction to Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, the editors Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey N. Smith (p.xxi) say:  
The term "philosophy of praxis" best known today in connection with Gramsci's Prison Notebooks, in which it is used partly for its own sake and partly as a euphemism to deceive the censor, was introduced into Italy by Antonio Labriola, the only Italian theoretical Marxist of any consequence before the First World War.
17. Muller et al in Tomaselli (1989: 24) say: "Apartheid is in a much more restricted sense the philosophy of racial capitalism in South Africa."
18. Muller et al in Tomaselli (Ibid: 25) attribute racial prejudice which is an unsystematic set of beliefs, to this level.
19. See also Laclau (1977: 141-142).
20. Ngara (1990: 4-5) acknowledges the contribution of the discipline of philosophy on literary criticism. He attributes this to the fact that "literature and philosophy have much in common with each other".

## CHAPTER 2

### THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST PHASE : 1948 - 1955

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this, the second chapter of this study, I shall focus on two contending ideologies and their impact on written poetry that was published during the period 1948-1955. This is the first half of the period which is dubbed "the first phase"<sup>1</sup> of the apartheid epoch. It begins in the year of the introduction of the ideology of Apartheid by the Nationalist Party government and ends on the year of the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the ANC in 1955. First, I shall provide a concise exposition of the ideology of Apartheid, and the variety of laws in which it manifested itself. Secondly, I shall briefly explain the alternative ideology that contested this dominant ideology. This is the ideology of the African National Congress. Major focus will be on the fundamental tenets on which the ideologies are based. Thirdly, I shall analyse and interpret selected poetry that was published against this backdrop of contending ideologies. Lastly, I shall summarise the findings of this chapter.

#### 2.2 THE IDEOLOGY OF APARTHEID

##### 2.2.1 The emergence of the ideology

In May 1948, the Nationalist Party, a South African political party that comprised an alliance of fragments of South African white classes, predominantly Afrikaner, won the elections. This victory, with a narrow parliamentary majority on a minority of cast votes, transferred political power from the ruling United Party to the Afrikaner nationalist alliance which consolidated under an Afrikaner nationalist ideology (Davies et al 1984: 17). A crucial question is what was the driving force behind this mobilisation? This Afrikaner nationalist ideology or Afrikaner nationalism, according to Leatt et al (1986: 66):

...mobilised the resources of "Afrikanerdom" to fight against the perceived challenges of British imperialism and a black majority in South Africa. (emphasis mine)

The rise into power of the Nationalist Party ushered in the doctrine of Apartheid, a product of their philosophy of racial segregation which by 1948 had developed into a fully fledged political ideology. Davies et al (Ibid: 20-21) say:

The other critical component of Nationalist Party ideology was the doctrine of apartheid. This held that the solution to the "racial problems" of South Africa lay in the complete separation of the races in all spheres of life - economic, political and social - and the maintenance of white supremacy. (emphasis mine)

From its inception Apartheid has been hallmarked by institutionalised ethnicity and racism, which was engineered through direct state intervention in the politico-socio-economic scenario in South Africa. The outcome has been a restructuring of political and economic power relations to the benefit of the dominant class (comprising fragments of classes that are united by the Apartheid ideology), and the intensification of the exploitation of the subordinate class (comprising fragments of classes united by their common fate)<sup>2</sup>. Subsequent to this was a tremendous growth of the racist industrial capitalism and an unprecedented improvement of the Afrikaner economic status<sup>3</sup>. Davies et al (Ibid: 21) attribute this improvement to:

...an assault, organised through the state, on the organisations and living standards of the masses.

## 2.2.2 The fundamental tenets of the ideology

A myriad of oppressive laws characterised the Apartheid epoch. For convenience and clarity these laws will be briefly discussed under the following sub-headings: political, economic, social, intellectual, religious and cultural spheres.

### 2.2.2.1 Political

From the very outset the ideology of Apartheid had no place for Blacks in representative political institutions of the state. This naturally intensified

resistance by Blacks which was spearheaded by the Black Nationalist Political organisation. Resistance resulted in a snowball effect in the sense that oppression was intensified. To ensure that its ideology of racial segregation is implemented the National Party inscribed into its statute books the Group Areas Act, and the Population Registration Act in 1950. To guarantee implementation of passed legislation and repression of dissent, security laws were extended and rendered more draconian. In 1950 the Suppression of Communism Act was passed which outlawed communism. This law was not used on Communists only but on all national liberation movements and other progressive movements.

The National Party consolidated and extended its pass laws. The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act of 1952 introduced a reference book that was issued by the Department of Native Affairs. Prior to 1952 passes were issued by employers and headmen. The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952, and later the Natives (Urban Areas Amendment) Act of 1955 were introduced to control influx into the urban areas. In terms of the 1953 Criminal Law Amendment Act it became a crime punishable by imprisonment, corporal punishment or fine, any form of protest or campaign that challenged any law of the land. To further ensure separation of races, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was passed in 1953.

#### 2.2.2.2 Economical

Apartheid has always barred Blacks from engagement in the mainstream economy of the state. This has led scholars who explain the ideology from the Marxist perspective to view Apartheid as quintessentially an economic system, which can only be defined in class terms. While this study eschews this radical position which may lead to economic reductionism,<sup>4</sup> it nevertheless places the economic factor as one of the primary driving forces behind Apartheid hegemony. The Nationalist government, in 1948, passed the Natives Land and Trust Act. This law was actually inherited from previous governments. In 1953 the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act was passed which excluded Blacks from dispute

resolution mechanisms. This law prohibited blacks from engaging in industrial action and representation by trade unions. The pass laws that were consolidated after 1948 limited freedom of movement of Blacks and forced them to accept employment contracts and confining surplus labour to the rural areas. Black labour was channelled to farms which were threatened by industrialisation and mining which also sought their cheap labour. Industry continued to preserve skilled jobs for whites only. The government granted state funds to improve agriculture. Public and parastatal corporations were established to boost Afrikaner economic advance. Leatt et al (1986: 74-75) sum up Apartheid of economy as follows:

Afrikaner economic advance has been achieved by a combination of ethnic mobilisation, accession to political power, and the use of the state to intervene on behalf of White and, particularly, Afrikaner interest.

#### 2.2.2.3 Social

Interracial intimate relations were forbidden. Marriages across the colour line were prevented by the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. In terms of the 1950 Immorality Amendment Act, sexual intercourse between Whites and Blacks became liable to a prison sentence. Mixing in gatherings was prohibited by the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953.

#### 2.2.2.4 Intellectual

Apartheid introduced absolute segregation in education. In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed. In terms of this act, Blacks were to be prepared for inferior occupations in the state. Dr H.F. Verwoerd, a Minister of Native Affairs in the first Nationalist cabinet who was destined to become the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, as quoted by Behardien (1981: 15), explicitly stated the socio-politico-economic aims of Bantu Education:

The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.

Bantu Education was first introduced at Primary and Secondary schools. It was logical that it would be extended to University level. Bantu Education was not only confined to structural changes, its goal was manipulation of the content of education. Verwoerd as quoted by Behardien (Ibid: 14), said:

The curriculum (to a certain extent) and education practice, by ignoring the segregation or "apartheid" policy was unable to prepare for service within the Bantu community.

Evidently the Apartheid government recognised the significant role of the school in the dissemination of its ideology and in the maintenance of its hegemony. Over and above it recognised the role of universities in the reproduction of "organic intellectuals", who would reproduce the socio-politico-economic relations of Apartheid.

#### 2.2.2.5 Religious

The church played a significant role in the development of Afrikaner nationalism and the ideology of Apartheid. Afrikaner churches, particularly the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Gereformeerde Kerk and Hervormde Kerk evolved a neo-Calvinist theology that legitimates Afrikaner nationalism and subsequently Apartheid ideology. Afrikaners perceive themselves as the chosen people. They see themselves as having a God-given identity that will be contaminated if they mix with indigenous people. Their rejection of alien policies such as equalisation indicates their anti-communism stance. De Wet as quoted by Leatt et al (Ibid: 77) said:

Providence had drawn the line between black and white and we must make that clear to the Natives, and not instil into their minds false ideas of equality.

The aforesaid churches quoted copiously but selectively from the Bible to buttress their philosophy.

### 2.2.2.6 Cultural

The impact of Apartheid on cultural production was disastrous. According to Davies et al (Ibid: 414):

Prior to 1948 state control over publications was principally exercised through the common law (which forbade the publication of "libellous" or "obscene" material) and the 1930 Riotous Assemblies Act which prohibited the publication of "material likely to have the effect of undermining the security of the state or engendering feelings of hostility between Black and White persons".

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 empowered the state to intervene and control publications. It allowed the Minister of Justice to ban any material that was seen to be "furthering the aims of communism". During the first phase of Nationalist government it was under this piece of legislation that any material that levelled criticism against the government was banned.

## 2.3 THE IDEOLOGY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

### 2.3.1 The emergence of the ideology

The South African Native National Congress was founded on 8 January 1912. In 1923 the name was changed to African National Congress (ANC). Just like the Nationalist Party, the ANC is an alliance of a variety of classes of the oppressed people (Davies et al Ibid: 283). However, it is diametrically opposed to the Nationalist Party in the sense that it is a non-ethnic, non-racial and democratic movement. In 1948 when the Nationalist Party won the elections, the ANC had been in existence for thirty-six years. Throughout this period, it pursued a non-violent policy of resistance to colour bar, and fighting for the wellbeing of Blacks. It confined itself to constitutional methods of struggle, e.g. petitions and deputations. However events in the forties gradually made it necessary for the ANC to transform to a mass national liberation movement. A contributing factor to this evolution was the development of a mass militant working class movement during the war. In 1943 a new democratic constitution was adopted, and a comprehensive political programme was formulated. A clarion call was made for

land redistribution, full political rights and a universal non-racial franchise. In the same year the Congress Youth League which became the strategist and ideologue of the organisation was founded. Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, the first president of the Youth League demanded that the ANC should espouse an unabashed nationalism (Gerhart 1978: 54-64). He advanced that racially assertive nationalism be inculcated amongst the proletariat which was increasing day by day due to industrialisation. This nationalism would fight the inferiority complex produced by racial oppression. The Africanism ideology of the Youth League pervaded the policies of the ANC in the 40s until the advent of Apartheid in 1948.

In response to the Apartheid onslaught during its first phase, i.e. 1948-1960, the African National Congress consolidated its ideology. In 1949 the Congress Youth League which had become the driving force behind the ANC took over leadership. The ideology of Africanism which the Youth Leaguers had formulated was popularised. Gerhart (1978: 79) captures the spirit of the Youth League as follows:

A clearly articulated ideology, appealing to the higher instincts of all Africans would be the binding force linking leaders in an invincible alliance with the masses.

Africanism or African nationalism underlined the fact that the masses have a potential to play an indispensable role in the struggle for liberation from White domination. The notion of African nationalism or Africanism was defined as meaning that Africans have a fundamental and natural right to Africa which they have derived from their progenitors. Africans have a duty of setting Africa free from imperialism. In terms of the Youth League policy document that is quoted by Meli (1988: 114) the aim of African Nationalism is as follows:

- I. The creation of a united nation out of heterogenous tribes;
- II. The freeing of Africans from foreign domination and foreign leadership;
- III. The creation of conditions which can enable Africa to make her own contribution to human progress and happiness.

In the same year, 1949, the Youth League emerged with a Programme of Action. At a meeting held in Bloemfontein the programme was adopted by the entire

organisation. According to Gerhart (Ibid: 83):

The Programme of Action called for civil disobedience, strikes, boycotts and stay-at-homes, and thus unequivocally committed the ANC to a new strategy based on extra-legal tactics, mass action and the principle of non-collaboration. ...The Programme pledged the ANC to the goals of "national freedom", "political independence", and "self-determination".

In 1952 the implementation of the programme began. The defiance campaign was launched with the aim of undermining all discriminatory legislation. Amongst others the laws that triggered resentment were the Pass Laws, the Stock Limitation Act, Group Areas Act, Bantu Authorities Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. This passive resistance which defied apartheid laws in a non-violent manner was met with violent repressive state apparatuses. A large number of people were fatally shot at and scores were wounded. In 1954 the African National Congress exploited its mass capacity to resist the Bantu Education that had been introduced during the previous year. An attempt was made to provide the people with an alternative to the inferior government education. All these attempts were in vain, they could not withstand the heavy repression of the state apparatus.

Throughout the political campaigns of the fifties, especially in the implementation of the programme of action, a section of the white community worked closely with the ANC. Lodge (1983: 78), says:

...both liberal and marxist orthodoxy held to the view that economic expansion and apartheid were essentially in contradiction with one another.

This cooperation whose aim was obviously to weaken the hegemony of Apartheid, culminated in the Congress of the People. In June 1955 the Congress of the People was convened by the Congress Alliance in Kliptown. It comprised the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats. This Congress adopted the Freedom Charter as a document that expresses the aspirations of the people of South Africa. The Freedom Charter was a revolutionary document. Nonetheless Lodge (1983: 73) refutes the view that the document had subversive intentions, as the authorities later claimed. The Freedom Charter moved away from the position of the 40s of the ANCYL:

that of excluding foreigners, namely, Whites, Indians and the so-called Coloureds, in the attempts towards one/single nation. The Charter adopted a multi-racial approach to the national question. Luthuli in his presidential message in 1955 said :

It is also fair to infer that the African National Congress, having accepted the fact of the multiracial nature of the country, envisaged an ALL INCLUSIVE AFRICAN NATIONALISM which, resting on the principle of "FREEDOM FOR ALL" in a country, UNITY OF ALL in a country embraced all people under African Nationalism regardless of their racial and geographical origin, who resided in Africa and paid their undivided loyalty and allegiance. (Karis and Carter, 1977 a : 213-214)

Note that the ANC never moved away from African nationalism as its basic ideology

Throughout the years that followed, the ANC held fast to its ideology as articulated by the Freedom Charter of 1955. From this date onwards those who remained loyal to the ANC were dubbed Charterists. A comparison between the Charter's basic guidelines and the policies of Apartheid evinces how the two ideologies are diametrically opposed to one another, and subsequently irreconcilable.

### **2.3.2 The fundamental tenets of the ideology**

The ANC as an organisation ratified the Freedom Charter in 1956. The Charter was accepted as a lucid and concise formulation of the democratic programme of the ANC. It clearly articulated the ideology of the organisation. It covered the political, economic, social, intellectual, religious and cultural spheres of life. The basic tenets espoused by the ideology shall be briefly summarised as follows:

#### **2.3.2.1 Political**

Apartheid in all its manifestations shall be abolished. All people, irrespective of gender and skin pigmentation, shall be eligible for election to a provincial and central democratic government. Law courts shall be independent, just and

representative of all. State apparatuses like police and army, will serve the people. Workers' rights and privileges will be respected, and their exploitation will cease. The sovereignty and independence of South Africa shall be maintained. She will strive for peace, independence and self-government internally and externally.

#### 2.3.2.2 Economic

The national wealth, i.e. natural resources, industry and capital, is a heritage of all South Africans. Intervention in industry shall aim at wellbeing of people. All people shall be free to trade and manufacture wherever they wish. Land shall be accessible to all who need it. Peasants shall be assisted with implements and capital. Security of people's property shall be guaranteed.

#### 2.3.2.3 Social

There shall be houses, family comfort and security. State health services including hospitals will care for young and old. Properly planned houses, residential infrastructure and recreational amenities shall be built by the state. Migrant labour shall be abolished. Improper housing shall be demolished. Family breakups and degeneration of mores and moral standards of communities shall be prevented.

#### 2.3.2.4 Intellectual

The state shall provide free, compulsory, universal and equal education for all. Preprimary, primary, secondary and tertiary education shall be provided. Financial assistance to the needy will be given. Teachers' rights will be respected.

#### 2.3.2.5 Religious

All people shall be free to worship, pray and preach at any convenient place at

any convenient time. There shall be religious tolerance.

### 2.3.2.6 Cultural

All races and creeds are free to develop their own language, customs and all other forms of culture. Marginalisation of people's heritage resources will be ended. Discrimination in sport and other cultural events shall be abolished. Government shall discover and develop national talent. All cultural heritage resources shall be accessible to all. The youth shall be taught love for their people and culture, and to respect human dignity, brotherhood, liberty and peace.

## 2.4 AN ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF TEXTS

It is against this backcloth of contending ideologies that literature of 1948-1955 will be viewed by the ensuing analysis and interpretation.

### 2.4.1 Mama and Mbebe (1950): AMAQUNUBE (Brambles)

In 1950 a collection of poems entitled Amaqunube, and co-authored by Mama and Mbebe, saw the light. In the poem "Ndingumntwana wase Afrika", Mama disseminates the Africanist ideology of the African National Congress. Mama presents the first, second and third stanzas as follows:

Ndingumntwana wase Afrika,  
Andilulo undwendwe;  
Ndizalelwe eAfrika.  
Ndiya zidla ngayo  
Kuba lilizwe loobawo.

I am an African child,  
I am not a sojourner;  
I was born in Africa.  
And am proud of Africa,  
For it is the land of my forbears.

Ndingumntwana wase Afrika,  
Andazi limb'ilizwe.  
Ngaphandle kwelaseAfrika.  
Ndiya lithand'eli lizwe  
Kuba lilizwe lakowethu.

I am an African child,  
I know no other land.  
It is Africa only that I know.  
I love this land  
For it is my homeland.

Ndingumntwana wase Afrika,  
Ndikhulele kweli lizwe  
Nokuba ndiya gxothwa,  
Andinakumka kweli lizwe:  
Ndiya kufela eAfrika.

I am an African child,  
I was brought up in this land.  
Even if I am expelled,  
I cannot leave this land:  
I shall die in Africa.

In the first stanza the poet claims that Africa is his home. By implication the poet claims that he is in a biological parent-child relationship with Africa. This may be contrasted with foster-parent child relationship of naturalised citizens or settlers. He says that his stay is perpetual, as he is not a sojourner who pays a visit to depart in due course. His sentimental attachment derives from the fact that Africa is his birth place. Africans have a high regard for their place of birth, where their umbilical cord is buried. This attachment is not only confined to a particular region of the country but to the country and continent as well. The author states that Africa is the land of his forebears. By making reference to his forebears, by implication, he says that God placed him in Africa. Ancestors, in African philosophy are a link between man and Qamata or God. This last line of the first stanza therefore enhances validity of the poet's claim.

The third stanza repeats the claim of being an African child, who is not only born but also bred in this continent. Expulsion will not force the poet to leave the land. The expulsion alluded to in this third line is probably proscriptions or bannings by the powers that be. Placed in the context of time and space this might be reference to the repression that was prevalent in the whole of Africa in the fifties, an arrogant response to the demand by indigenous inhabitants for liberation from colonialism. The ensuing diaspora of outlawed Africans reached all the corners of the world. But Mama swears that he will die in his fatherland, no matter how much pressure is brought to bear on him. The last stanza, which I have not included, is identical with the first. The author's aim is to underpin the important issues that he raised in the opening stanza namely, the claim for his birth rights, his sentimental attachment to Africa and the fact that his Africanness is the will of God or Qamata. Mama's poem reverberates the ideology of African Nationalism that is enshrined in the Manifesto that was issued by the National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League in 1948. The document states categorically that:

The African has a primary, inherent and inalienable right to Africa which is his continent and motherland, and the Africans as a whole have a divine destiny which is to make Africa free among the peoples and nations of the earth. (Meli, 1988: 114, and Karis and Carter, 1973: 324)

Mama's poem "Ndlela-ntle Nozizwe" reflects the principle of the ANC of non-racialism and non-sexism. The inclusion of this elegiac poem in his collection, which lauds praises at a white lady, also dispels the myth that Xhosa written poetry is patriarchal and racist. This lady, who was affectionately addressed as Nozizwe, is the late Edith Rheinallt Jones (M.Sc). Mama, in the fashion of the indigenous bard eulogises:

Lal'uphumle, Nozizwe!  
 Usibonisi' uthand' olunzulu  
 Obunalo kwizizw' ezintsundu.  
 Ude wancam' ubomi bakho  
 Ukhonz' isizw' esingesiso sakho  
 Kubu' ubungenal' ucalulo ebantwini.

Ubumthand' omnyama ngokufanayo  
 nomhlophe.  
 Wazenz' idini lesizw' esiphaleleyo,

Uzam' ukuphakamis' isizw' esidelekileyo.  
 Umbulelo wethu kuwe, Nozizwe,  
 Ngosuka kwiintliziy' ezophayo  
 Eziqonday' uba zilahlekelwe yinkokelikazi  
 Ebiza kubumb' isizw' esichithakeleyo.

Wang' ungaphumla ngoxolo.  
 Siya kubulis' isizwe sakowethu,  
 Sithi "Ndlela-ntle, Nozizwe!"

Sleep and rest, Nozizwe!  
 You have shown us unfathomable love  
 That you had for Black Nations.  
 You have sacrificed your life  
 Serving a nation to which you do not belong  
 Because you did not discriminate against  
 people.  
 You loved a black person as you loved a white  
 person.  
 You sacrificed yourself for a denationalized  
 people.  
 Attempting to uplift an undermined nation.  
 Our gratitude to you, Nozizwe,  
 Emanates from bleeding hearts  
 That recognise the loss of a leader  
 Who would reunite a scattered nation.

May you rest in peace.  
 Our nation salutes you,  
 It says "Go Well, Nozizwe!"

Mama's Africanism is not exclusive, it is non-racial. His poem which is artistically presented demonstrates to the reader instead of telling him. Gould in *The Writer's Manual* (1979: 501) advises:

We respond to a poem because it shows us something valid and accurate about life. As in any kind of writing, the less the author tells and the more he or she shows the reader, the more effective the work will be.

Mama bids farewell to a wonderful lady who devoted her life to the service of Blacks in Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. The lady is saluted for her humanity. The poet, in the body of this poem, illustrates that not all Whites are inhumane. He demonstrates that there are whites who treat blacks as their equal fellow beings and who would sacrifice their own lives for the upliftment of blacks. Therefore racism and the concomitant racial prejudices from whichever quarter are unacceptable. This is one of the fundamental tenets of the Africanist ideology of the ANC. This principle was incorporated in the 1949 Programme

of Action of the ANC. According to Meli (1988: 116) this was a fundamental aspect of the philosophy of the Youth League and was clearly stated as follows:

We of the Youth League take account of the concrete situation in South Africa, and realise that the different racial groups have to stay. But we insist that a condition for interracial peace and progress is the abandonment of white domination, and such a change in the basic structure of South African Society that those relations which breed exploitation and human misery will disappear.

The pen of Mama transcends ethnic and racial boundaries. His figures of praise are not Xhosas only but people who belong to other ethnic and racial groups. The preceding elegy is dedicated to a White lady, Ms Jones. "Akukho ngoma emoyeni", another elegiac poem from his pen, is dedicated to Mr Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, M.A., LLB and Dr Benedict Wallet Vilakazi M.A., DLitt. Both gentlemen belong to the Zulu ethnic group. By so doing Mama violates a cardinal principle of the Apartheid ideology of complete separation of races and ethnic groups. On the other hand he promotes the ideals of the alternative nationalist ideology of complete integration of races and ethnic groups as equals. I shall only reproduce line 9 to line 29 of "Akukho ngoma emoyeni":

Litshonil' ilanga kwaZulu  
Kuba kutshabe iintsizw' ezithandwayo  
Sisizw' esinamatshamba sakwaMageba.

Sivakel' isikhalo seentombi zakwaDukuza

Zisithi, "Manje uNkulunkulu ngempela  
Usilimazile isizwe sakithi".  
Bekufanelekile ukuba kube njalo  
Xa kumk' into kaLembede nekaVilakazi  
Iimbilasane zomzi wakwaMafukuzela,  
Iintsizw' ezibamb' ingonyam' ihleli  
Kuba kaloku akukho gwala kwaZulu.  
Yiyo le nto zithe zabalasel' emfundweni.  
Zitsho zandikhumbuza ngoLangalibalele,  
Ndithetha umfo kaDube wase Ohlange,  
Umfo owaba nguVulindlela kwelakowabo;  
Wasenza saphakam' isizwe samaZulu.  
Zithe zalandel' ekhondweni lakhe  
Nazo iinto zooLembede noVilakazi  
Namhla se zilele kwelo lokuzola.  
Zimke zishiy' imisebenz' emihle  
Esimana sithetha ngayo mihla le.

(Mama and Mbebe Ibid.:)

The sun has set in Zululand  
Because idols have passed away  
That are revered by the proud nation of  
Mageba.

The wailing of the girls of Dukuza has been  
heard  
Saying "God has hurt our nation".

It ought to be like that  
When Lembede and Vilakazi have gone  
The heroes of the house of Mafukuzela,  
Men who arrest a live lion  
Because there is no coward in Zululand.  
Hence they excelled academically.  
They remind me of Langalibalele,  
I speak of the son of Dube from Ohlange,  
A man who became a pioneer in his country;  
And uplifted the Zulu nation.  
There followed in his footsteps  
Men of Lembede and Vilakazi' calibre.  
Today they sleep in peace.  
Leaving behind good works  
At which we marvel each day.

I shall provide a brief profile of each of Mama's figures of praise, and then

address the ideological underpinnings of the poem.

**Anton Muziwakhe Lembede** was born in 1914. He obtained a bursary that made it possible for him to attend Adam's College in 1933 where he obtained a teacher's certificate. Through correspondence he pursued a BA and LLB degrees with the University of South Africa (UNISA). In 1943 he joined Dr Pixley kaIsaka Seme's legal office as an articled clerk and later a full legal partner resulting in the firm being renamed "Seme and Lembede" in 1946. He pursued an MA degree in philosophy with UNISA which he obtained. He was a militant nationalistic political activist, and played a pivotal role in the formulation of the ideology of "Africanism" which spearheaded the formation of the Youth League of the ANC in 1944. Lembede died of natural causes at an early age of 33 in 1947. (Lodge, 1983: 21; Meli, 1988: 109 and Marx, 1992: 34).

**Benedict Wallet Vilakazi** was born on 6 January 1906. In 1935 Vilakazi attained through correspondence a BA degree from UNISA. In 1936 he joined Witwatersrand University as an assistant in the African Languages department. In that year he passed BA Hons degree and the following year, 1937, an MA degree. In 1946 a DLitt degree was conferred on him by the University of the Witwatersrand. Vilakazi was a renowned academic and a prolific writer. He published two volumes of poetry and three novels. Vilakazi also co-authored the Zulu-English dictionary which was published posthumously in 1948. In the sphere of politics Vilakazi did not play a high profile role. Nevertheless his nationalistic ideological formation was confirmed by his open support for the ANC stalwarts AWG Champion and Chief Albert Luthuli. In October 1947 Vilakazi died of natural causes (Gérard, 1971 and Ntuli 1984: 2-10).

Mama, in this poem mourns the death of the above two gentlemen who belonged to the emerging South Africa Black intelligentsia. A political activist and an academic are brought together by their love for their nation. Both are beacons that signal an emerging ideology which pervaded the political and the academic spheres. Mama in his poem also makes reference to **John Langalibalele Dube**,

the first president of the South African Native Congress (later ANC). He studied at Oberlin College and Rochester, New York, USA, and returned home to found Ohlange Christian Industrial School in Natal in 1899 (Karis and Carter, 1972: 8). I therefore argue that Mama's selection of his figures of praise is ideologically laden.

To support my assertion I now focus on Mama's poem "Isikhumbuzo" which he dedicates to Rev. Walter Benson Rubusana, PhD. I have selected only four stanzas of the poem:

Namhla liwil' igor' elikhulu; Litshonil' ilanga kokaRubusana. Usishiye nelifa, incwad' enkulu, UZemk' iinkomo, ethandwayo ludodana	Today the great warrior has fallen; The sun has set for the son of Rubusana. He has left us with a heritage of a greatbook, Zemk' iinkomo, which is appreciated by the youth.
---	--

Umsebenzi wakho uwugqibile Wena thole lentombi yamaGqwashu. Isizwe sakho usiphakamisile: Wawel' iNciba noMbashe.	Your work you have finished You calf of the daughter of the Gqwashu clan. Your nation you have uplifted: You crossed the Kei and the Bashe rivers.
---	---

AbaThembu baya kubulela Ngokubamel' ePalamente. Imidaka yonk' iya kubulela Ngokuyithethelela kuRulumente.	The Thembus thank you For representing them in Parliament. Blacks all and sundry thank you For pleading for them in the government.
--	--

Xolani zizwe ezimnyama Ugodukile okaRubusana. Taruni mathol' omThonyama Uphumle okaRubusana Zola lulwandle... cwaka!	Be consoled in your grief Black nations The son of Rubusana has gone home. Peace be with you sons of the soil The son of Rubusana rests in peace. Sea be calm... serene!
--	--

A brief profile of the author's figure of praise will illuminate this poem.

**Rev. Walter Benson Rubusana**, born in 1858, was educated at Lovedale Institution in Alice. In 1884 he was ordained as a fully fledged minister of the London Missionary Society. Rubusana pursued further studies in the United States of America. He produced a book entitled "History of South Africa from the Native standpoint". In recognition of his contribution to knowledge through this monumental work, McKinley University, in the US conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy on him. Rubusana was the founder of "Izwi laBantu" (The Voice of the People) a Xhosa and English newspaper. He also

collected a miscellany of articles which were authored by himself and by his contemporaries and compiled an anthology which is entitled Zemk' iinkomo Magwalandini (1906). This voluminous book is an aggressive attempt at preservation and conservation of Xhosa cultural heritage. Rubusana was also active in the political sphere. In 1910 he was elected as the first and the only Black member of Parliament of the Cape Province. He was also the first president of the South Africa Native Convention, from which emerged the South African Native National Congress, which was later named the African National Congress. When in 1912, the ANC was founded Rubusana was voted as one of its four vice-presidents. He died in 1936. (Meli, 1988: 19-20; Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1988: 289).

Mama's selection of his themes and his figures of praise is not arbitrary, but informed by his ideological orientation. His consciousness about the significance of the role played by leaders of the liberation movement and the community heeds the advice of his very figure of praise, Lembede, which appeared in Inyaniso of February 1945 (Karis and Carter, 1973: 315).

It was Paul Kruger who in the gloomy days of the Transvaal Republic said, "Wie zich een toekomst scheppen wil, mag het verleden niet uit het oor verliezen". One who wants to create the future must not forget the past. Those are words of deep human wisdom..... "Lives of great men all remind us".

The texts that Mama produces not only manifest the underlying ideology, but also serve to disseminate this ideology thereby asserting its hegemony. Mama uses poetry (i.e. culture) to articulate the values, the beliefs and the worldview of the African National Congress (i.e. ideology). He relates these with the reality of class dominance and subordination (i.e. hegemony) in South Africa. He employs a mechanism of culture as vehicle for resistance to the dominant Apartheid hegemony of the White ruling class, and for winning hegemony of the Nationalist Movement of the Black subordinate class.

Mdledle as quoted by Gérard (1971: 93) points out that the poems in Amaqunube are "modelled on the style of the English verse as distinct from the

ordinary Xhosa 'zibongo', which are symbolic and metaphorical". Firstly I wish to correct Mdledle's misconception of confining imagery to 'zibongo' only, as this device is a prominent feature of contemporary written poetry as well. Secondly, I wish to support his observations regarding the majority of Mama's poetry, that they are modelled on the 19th century English romantic style. However, I wish to state that in some of his nationalistic poems, examples of which have already been provided, Mama departs from the aesthetics of the mission school.

In the poems "Ndingumntwana wase-Afrika" and "Isikhumbuzo" Mama has experimented with rhyme. He has however avoided the danger of achieving rhyme at the expense of sense. His refusal to be strangled by this element of the Victorian poetry has resulted in his limited success with this technique in the above cited poems. Mama's failure to emerge with a revolutionary aesthetics in these revolutionary poems has compromised his nationalistic intervention. The author's socio-political ideology, entailed in these poems, does not correspond with his aesthetic ideology. The outcome of this status quo is mediation of the authorial socio-political ideology.

In the other two poems "Ndlela-ntle Nozizwe" and "Akukho ngoma emoyeni" Mama matches a revolutionary content with a revolutionary form. The two poems resemble the oral style of the indigenous bards. Imagery which according to Mtuze (1985: 21) is a 'key technical device in Xhosa poetry', is exploited to the maximum e.g.

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| I.  | Iintsizw' ezibamb' ingonyama<br>ihleli.<br>Namhla sezilele kwelo lokuzola. | Men who arrest a live lion.<br><br>Today they sleep in peace                     |
| II. | Lal' uphumle Nozizwe!<br><br>(Umbulelo) ngosuka kwiintliziy'<br>ezophayo.  | Sleep and rest Nozizwe!<br><br>(Our gratitude) emanates from<br>bleeding hearts. |

The form of the two elegiac poems is African. Verses differ from one another in quantity, and stanzas are not visible, or if they are, they are demarcated by the "principle of the central idea rather than quantity" (They are not marked by a

given number of lines), and would therefore better be referred to as "paragraphs" as Kunene (1971: 53) suggests. Mama eschews rhyme and metre in these poems and instead makes effective use of rhythm, a device that hallmarks indigenous poetry. One of Mama's confreres, J.J.R. Jolobe, writing the preface to Amaqunube, intimates:

Kuluvuyo kum ukwazisa le ncwadi intsha yemihobe. Isihobe sinendawo ebanzi ebomini besizwe ukuhlambulula izimvo nokuphembelela iinjongo ezintle nokugcina umlilo uvutha ngeenkumbulo ezimayela nezenzo zamaqhawe nezesizwe ngokubanzi...<sup>5</sup>

Translation

It is my pleasure to be afforded the opportunity to introduce this new book of poetry. Poetry is of profound significance in the life of a nation. It enhances revitalisation of its thinking and invigoration of the good intentions, and keeping the fire of memories, about the valorous deeds of heroes and the nation at large, burning vigorously.

Jolobe's words capture the true spirit of Mama's work and demonstrate his understanding of its nationalistic content.

#### 2.4.2 Yali-Manisi (1952): IZIBONGO ZEENKOSI ZAMAXHOSA (Praise-poems of Xhosa Chiefs)

In the foreword to another publication by Yali-Manisi (1977) entitled Inkululeko, Opland says about him:

Since 1943 Mr Manisi has acted as an imbongi, serving Chief Manzezulu Mtirara (A! Manzezulu) and Paramount chief K.D. Matanzima (A! Daliwonga). He is one of the most powerful iimbongi practising today, an inspiring performer with... a remarkable poetic talent.

I concur with Opland's assessment of Yali-Manisi's talent as a poet. Izibongo zeeNkosi zamaXhosa is living evidence of this fact. Opland (1983: 106) informs us that:

Manisi gathered material for the poems in this collection by visiting the Thembu, Gcaleka and Rarabe chiefdoms and interviewing "the old people".

From what Opland says I extrapolate that the poems contained in this collection are Yali-Manisi's own poems on various Xhosa chiefs. Izibongo zeeNkosi

zamaXhosa is therefore, in this study, perceived to be Yali-Manisi's conception that reflects his thinking. It is on this basis that his poem will be analysed. The book is divided into two sections, the first being "Izibongo zeeNkosi zamaXhosa" and the second being "Zabuy' iindlezan' entlazaneni". A glaring disjuncture exists in the ideological formation of the texts of these two sections. The first section evinces ideological conservatism though it is anti-Apartheid. On the other hand the second section evinces ideological progressivism and a pro-African National Congress bias. Yali-Manisi (1952: 16) lauds praises at Chief Jonguhlanga Dalindyebo:

<p>Ifik' eDikeni yashiy' ingqushu, Ath'amaGwangq' asuzelana; Lisiko lamakhwenkwe kakade Ukothuk' akubon' indoda.</p>	<p>He arrived in Alice and left the place well trodden Whites passed wind in the presence of others It is customary for boys To be startled at the sight of a man.</p>
<p>Mntwa' kaGxwal' iinyamakazi kaGxagxamis' amagxagx' anxanxatheke</p>	<p>Child of the one who bellows at small game One who pressurises whites until they are exhausted.</p>
<p>Ndlov' enkulu yakwaBomoyi Engafanele kuhlal' emaMfengwini (my emphasis)</p>	<p>Great elephant of the Bomoyi house Who does not deserve staying with Mfengus.</p>

The poet refers to Whites as amaGwangqa. The word is rarely used because of its colour connotations. A commonly used word when reference is made to a white person is "uMlungu". He says that when Jonguhlanga visited Alice he met whites who, at the sight of him passed wind in the presence of others. This might be hyperbolic, intended to depict how these whites were frightened. But the poet further reduces these adults when he says, that action is typical of a boys' behaviour at the sight of a man. He says Jonguhlanga is the one who exerts pressure on whites until they tire (kaGxagxamis' amagxagx' anxanxatheke). This is a beautiful alliteration which creates a vivid image of a man who is bold and fearless. The use of the term "amaGxagxa", which also has a subtly undermining meaning makes me to reach a conclusion that the poet is being racialistic. Whites also perceive the term "amagxagxa" as having a negative connotation. Responding to Raeburn who interviewed him (Daily Dispatch dated 28 September 1993), Johnny Clegg, a South African musician, said:

This is a derogatory term. It means culture drifters, a ship without a port.

The absurd idea of placing one race above another is in contradiction with the

philosophy of Africanism. In a document entitled "Basic Policy of Congress Youth League" (Karis and Carter, 1973: 329-330) the relationship between African Nationalism and Racialism is spelt out:

There is a common accusation that African Nationalism is one-sided, racialistic outlook. The accusation is based on ignorance of African nationalism. Ours is the sanest and at the same time the most practical and realistic view. We do not hate other racial groups. We are the overwhelming majority and at the same time, who are a down-trodden people.

The defiance campaign that was launched in 1952 was not aimed at redressing the consciousness of racist whites only, but at redressing the consciousness of racist blacks as well. In the following extracts from Yali-Manisi's poems, his ethnicity becomes conspicuous. His negative attitude towards the Mfengu clan permeates these poems. I argue that this ideological disposure entrenches the Apartheid tenet of racism and ethnicity. In "Ezika-Mhlobo Matanzima", Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 22) says:

Hay' amaMfengu, int' ezeza nomqombothi	Oh! the Mfengus, things that brought sorghum beer.
--	--

In the poem "Ezika-Gwebinkumbi Sigcawu" (Ibid: 38-39) he says:

Umntwan'e enkos' ongenagosa lithethayo	The son of the chief who has no eloquent mediator/officer.
Kwafik' uElefu kwafik' uBenjamini, Bath' amaMfengu bawawez' iNciba,	Ayliff arrived and Benjamin also, They said they are crossing the Kei with the Mfengus,
Emka nexhob' emka neenkomo zikaHintsas, Wath' okwaGcaleka walahlekelwa Way' owasemaMfengwin' egqoloda. Aaba bant' amaMfengu ngodlula naye, Kuba bangene kwaGcaleka mhla bafika,	They left with a ransom, Hintsas's cattle, And Gcalekas lost, While the Mfengus were rejoicing. These people the Mfengus are not principled, Because they stayed at Gcalekaland when they arrived,
Kuba babaleka nenkomo zikaHintsas. Behlel' ooNonying' amahlwemp' amadala, Omzi kaHintsas bengazinikwa. Hayi ziya lil' iintliziyo, Ilizwe likaGcaleka liziingcandelo, Eli lingentla linikw' amaMfengu. Ngumgidi kwelikaGcaleka kwelikaDumalisile,	Because they fled with Hintsas's cattle. While the Nonyingas; poverty-stricken people, Of the house of Hintsas were never given cattle. The hearts are weeping, Gcaleka's land has been apportioned, The northern part is given to Mfengus. There is a traditional ceremony at Gcalekaland.
Gxothan' amaMfeng' angabuseli.	Send the Mfengus away they must not part take of the beer.
IMfengu nelidala ngumntwana, Sithuma won' amalahl' okutshaya.	A Mfengu is a child even if he is an adult, We send them to fetch us burning coal for lighting our tobacco pipes.

In the poem "Ezika-Ngangomhlaba Sigcawu" (Ibid: 40) he says:

Olu sapho lwamaMfeng' aluvunguli yini na,	Are the Mfengu communities not picking their teeth after meals.
Le nt' ez' amaziny' enenkunqe kwaseThukela?	That their teeth have food remains gathered as early as before they left Tugela?

The poet in "Ezika-Zwelidumile Sigcawu": (Ibid: 43) says:

Ukuza kwamaMfengu kuyavakala Kwanuk' igwada kwaseMzimvubu	The coming of the Mfengus was discernible Though they were as far as Mzimvubu snuff could be smelt.
Kwanuk' amaphukutsha nemiphothulo	A smell of meal-meal and ground cooked mealies could be felt
Awanuk' umqombothi wabalasela. Ezi nt' amaMfeng' azinambulelo, Zingena kwaGcaleka mini zafika, Zemka neenkomo zikaHintsas mini zanyusha.	The smell of 'sorghum beer' excelled. These things the Mfengus have no gratitude, They first settled at Gcalekaland And stole Hintsas's cattle when they left.

Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 47) in "Ezika-Krazukile Mcothama" says:

Ubecinga ngani n'ukuwabeth' amaMfengu Bekhona nj' abeLungu, ooyise bamaMfengu.	How can he attack the Mfengus And think that the Whites, the fathers of the Mfengus, will not intervene.
---	---

In a nutshell Yali-Manisi perceives the Mfengu people as being of inferior class. Thembu and Xhosa chiefs who are of "superior stature" do not deserve to interact with them. The poet not only condemns the Mfengus but goes further and condemns them for their ingratitude to the Xhosa chief, Hintsas, who accommodated them. He accuses them of introducing sorghum beer to Xhosaland, of being traitors who conspired with Whites against Hintsas and of feloniously taking Hintsas's cattle. Mfengus are portrayed as unhygienic people with poor eating habits. They are portrayed as snuffers and heavy beer drinkers. Mfengu adults are reduced to the level of children by the poet. It is beyond doubt that Yali-Manisi's interpretation of the history of the Cape Province is subjective and consequently biased. His ethnicist ideology limits his insight into the complex struggle for access to the means of production that took place in the Cape in the nineteenth century. I need not delve deeply into this struggle for scarce natural resources, economic and political independence, between the Mfengus and the Xhosas. This historical reality has been scientifically analysed and well-documented in a variety of history books<sup>6</sup>. Yali-Manisi's racial and ethnic prejudices are alarming, when one considers the fact that his book was

published in the early fifties. As early as 1911, Pixley kaIsaka Seme, the prime mover for the formation of the South African Native National Congress writing in the October issue of Imvo zabaNtsundu as quoted by Meli (1988: 36), declared:

The demon of racism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongaas, between the Basutos and every other Native must be buried and forgotten; it has shed among us sufficient blood! We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today. (emphasis mine)

This ideological position of the ANC was again enshrined in the "Basic Policy of Congress Youth League" of 1948 (Karis and Carter, 1973: 330):

Tribalism itself is the mortal foe of African Nationalism, and African Nationalists everywhere should declare relentless war on Centri-fugal (sic) tribalism.

In his preface to the second section of poems which is entitled "Zabuy' iindlezan' entlazaneni" (Cows return from morning grazing) Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 69) says:

Zithi ni na iindaba mawethu?	What is the news fellows?
'Ndaba zokubuya kweAfrika.	News about the return of Africa.
Zith' iya buya na leAfrika?	Do they say Africa is coming back?
Mna khe ndondel' ezinkwenkwezini,	I have watched the stars,
Zabuy' iindlezan' entlazaneni.	And cows returned from morning grazing.
Ndev' iindab' ezimnand' emoyeni,	I heard good news from the air,
Zisithi kukh' int' eza kuvela;	Saying something is going to appear;
Uya lawul' uMnini-nto-zonke,	God is exercising control,
Aya khawulez' amaxesh' akhe;	He is making changes at a fast rate;
Athi obephezulu athotywe,	The one on top goes down,
Ath' obephantsi aphakanyiswe.	The one at the bottom goes up.
Buya Afrik' ekugokekeni,	Afrika return from bondage,
Zabuy' iindlezan' entlazaneni.	Cows are returning from the morning grazing.
Sinnika madodana!!	Tell us what have you seen young men!!

Located within its historical milieu, the above poem alludes to the founding of the Youth League with its vibrant ideology of Africanism. The enthusiasm with which the youthful and well educated youth leaguers faced their task of revamping the ANC brought hope to all and sundry that the struggle for liberation was about to bear good fruits. By 1952 the slogan "Mayibuye iAfrika" (Africa must be restored to its rightful owners) had become popular in ANC meetings and rallies. The basis of this slogan is explained by the "Basic Policy of Congress Youth League" of 1948 (Karis and Carter, 1973: 323) which clarifies

the basic position of African Nationalism as follows:

The starting point of African Nationalism is the historical or even prehistorical position. Africa was, has been and still is the Blackman's continent. The Europeans, who have carved up and divided Africa among themselves, dispossessed, by force of arms, the rightful owners of the land - the children of the soil. Today they occupy large tracts of Africa. They have exploited and still are exploiting the labour power of Africans and natural resources of Africa, not for the benefit of the African Peoples but for the benefit of dominant white race and other white people across the sea. Although conquered and subjugated, the Africans have not given up, and they will never give up their claim and title to Africa.

The above position of the Congress Youth League, coupled with the programme of action of 1949 which concretized in the defiance campaign of 1952, kept blacks hopeful that they might realize 'freedom in their life time'. It is when it is studied against this backdrop of history that Yali-Manisi's poem may be appreciated. The poet wants confirmation that Africa truly is about 'to be restored'. Unable to control his anxiety, he says he has invoked his astrological powers, and the cows returned home from the morning grazing - an omen that signifies good tidings. Bovine animals, particularly cows returning home to be milked and to feed their young, in African thought, are portentous of good. Yali-Manisi, in this vision heard an affirmative word. God's intervention will make the dominant the subordinate and vice versa. In the second last line he speaks out his mind and calls on Africans to set themselves free from bondage. The last line repeats the metaphor of the cows. The poet closes or ends with "Sinnika", a term which according to Kropf (1915: 392) has the following meaning and etymology:

Tell us what you have seen!  
(said by the impi to the sentinels or guards)

The signification of "Sinnika" when succeeded by "madodana" which means young men is "share with us your vision about Africa, Congress Youth Leaguers". Yali-Manisi's "Iwil' iAfrika" (Ibid: 72-76) is a long poem of thirty-four stanzas. The poem espouses the doctrine of Africanism.

To avoid repetition I shall only highlight principles of African Nationalism that I have not referred to before.

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 3. | Iwil' iAfrika yethu,<br>Buphelil' ubuntu bethu; | Our Africa has fallen,<br>We have been dehumanised |
|----|---|--|

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Sasala siziintsizana,<br>Sasala siziinkedama.  | We are left destitute,<br>We are left orphaned.  |
| 5. Siyintlekisa yeentlanga,<br>Ngokubuswel' ubuhlanga;<br>Ziya sigxeka neentaka,<br>Zibona singenankaka. | Other nations ridicule us,<br>For lacking nationhood;<br>Even birds criticise us,<br>They see that we have no shields. |
- (Yali-Manisi, Ibid: 73)

In the above two stanzas Yali-Manisi grieves the fact that Africans are 'deprived of their own land. This predicament has dehumanised blacks and left them destitute. By loosing their national self-determination, blacks have lost their dignity. Yali-Manisi's (Ibid: 75) continues:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 21. Lusigqibile ukholo,<br>Sada sang' asinankolo;<br>Lusingene ngobuhlobo,<br>Kanti yeyona nkongolo. | Christianity destroyed us,<br>As if we had no religion;<br>It came as a friend,<br>The best loophole for penetration. |
|--|---|

In the above stanza Yali-Manisi questions Christianity. An attack on a religion is definitely an attack on those who brought it, the missionaries. He says that they undermined African religions, and propagated a myth that Africans had no religion. Christianity pretended to be a friend of Africans but its complicity with the oppressor disproved this fact. The question of religion also received the attention of the Youth League. Gerhart (1973: 199) observes:

...in the early days of the Youth League Lembede had attempted with only limited success, to pose African Nationalism as an alternative value system for an African intelligentsia trained to think in moral frame of reference inherited from the Christian-liberal tradition. By the 1950s the foundations of this older perspective had begun to crumble. The authority and prestige of Christian missionaries had declined as a factor in shaping the world view of urban Africans. Growing secularism was accompanied by new cynism toward the much-acclaimed benefits "Western Christian Civilization", which had for so long served white South Africa as its rationale for race domination.

The above citation also illuminates the next stanza of Yali-Manisi's (Ibid) poem:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 22. Lungene ngeZwi nokhanyo,<br>Kanti sesona siqhatho;<br>Lwatsho sazal' izigulo,<br>Ezidal' inkcithakalo. | It exploited the Bible and Civilization,<br>For its greatest mystification;<br>And sicknesses befell us,<br>Resulting in our scattering. |
|--|--|

Another cornerstone of the ideology of Africanism is its recognition of the role played by women in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. Hence its struggle

for a non-racial and non-sexist democratic South Africa:

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 12. | Taru maqobokazana,<br>Taruni mahotyazana,<br>Nani sikwanijongile,<br>Kuba be sinibonile.                       | Please ladies,<br>Please beloved young ladies,<br>We are also watching you,<br>For we have noticed your role.            |
| 25. | Ewe maqobokazana,<br>Se nditshilo zintwazana,<br>Namhl' iAfrika yeyele,<br>Se ndicela isihlwele <sup>7</sup> . | Yes diligent women,<br>I have already said young women,<br>Today Africa has drowned,<br>I ask for a retinue.             |
|     | Yizani sibambisane,<br>Yizani sincedisane;<br>Kuze silw' utshaba lwayo,<br>Luphakam' uphondo lwayo.            | Come let us join forces,<br>Come let us work together;<br>In fighting its enemy,<br>So that its horn may be lifted high. |

The above three stanzas may be compendiously interpreted as follows: The role played by women in the struggle for liberation is noticeable and acknowledged. Women have a significant role to play, which is equal to that of men, in the liberation of Africa. They must mobilize, join forces with other compatriots in the fight against the enemy of freedom, so that Africa may be set free. As early as 1943, Dr Xuma, then president of the ANC, moved that a Women's League be formed by the ANC and Conference adopted this resolution (Karis and Carter, 1973: 101). Thus the Women's League was formed in 1943, but it was in 1948 at the ANC General Conference that it was inaugurated (Meli, 1988: 131). The issues raised by Yali-Manisi reflect the additional duties, apart from the routine ANC work, that Women's League members assigned to themselves. Meli (Ibid: 131) outlines these duties as follows:

- (a) to arouse the interest of African women in the struggle for freedom and equality;...
- (b) to take up social problems and issues affecting women, and
- (c) to carry on propaganda against apartheid and discriminatory laws among African women.

Another important principle of the Africanist Nationalism that Yali-Manisi espouses in this poem is the question of unity of all South African tribes or ethnic groups. This is a contradiction of his previously ethnic outlook. Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 76) calls upon the Xhosa (descendants of Phalo and Thatho), the Mpondos, the Mpondomises (descendants of Ngwanya) the Sothos (Moshoeshoe)

and the Zulus to unite. In the first couplet of the second and last stanzas he says:

Mayibuye iAfrika,                      Afrika must return to its owners,  
Konwatywe ngamaAfrika;              So that Africans may live happily.

Yali-Manisi reiterates the ideals of the ANC which are enshrined in the "Basic Policy of Congress Youth League" (Karis and Carter, 1973: 326-327). The document argued the historical basis of African Nationalism as follows:

More than 150 years ago, our forefathers were called upon to defend their fatherland against the foreign attacks of European settlers. In spite of bravery and unparalleled heroism, they were forced to surrender to white domination. Two main factors contributed to their defeat. Firstly, the superior weapon of the white men and secondly the fact that the Africans fought as isolated tribes, instead of pooling their resources and attacks as a united force (my emphasis).

Regarding the formation of the African National Congress the document states:

The emergence of the National Congress marked the end of the old era of isolated tribal resistance, and ushered in a new era of struggle on a national rather than on a tribal plane (my emphasis).

Hence the anti-ethnicism and the anti-racism ideology of this South African Black Nationalist Liberation Movement. The contradiction that prevails in Yali-Manisi's socio-political ideology also prevails in his aesthetic ideology. Opland (1983: 106) describes the style of Izibongo zeeNkosi zamaXhosa as follows:

The book contains poems that Manisi wrote in traditional style ...There are also six narrative poems in traditional style... and eighteen poems in Western style on miscellaneous subjects...

What Opland observes cannot be gainsaid. However the main concern of this study is the effect of Yali-Manisi's style, which is the outcome of this ideological disposition, on the text he produces. In the foregoing pages I have proposed that an author's selection of a figure of praise is an act of ideology. Over and above this, popularisation of a figure of praise is popularisation of the ideology that he stands for. The majority of the "dignitaries" that Yali-Manisi extols are African nationalists who were political activists of the first order and national heroes: Meshach Pelem (p.97), Allan Kirkland Soga (p.100), Dr W.B. Rubusana (p.105 & 120) and S.E.K. Mqhayi (p.106 & 121) were executive committee members of the South African Native Congress (SANC) which was founded in the Cape in 1898 (Odendaal 1984: 40-41). Dr Rubusana later became president of the

SANC. The SANC formed the majority of delegates who gathered in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912 to found the South African Native National Congress (later named ANC). It is interesting to note that Yali-Manisi extols these national heroes in the indigenous idiom. Thus his nationalistic socio-political ideology is compatible with his aesthetic ideology. However in the poem "Iwil' iAfrika" Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 72-76) fails to match his nationalistic content with the form of the poem. The poem is written in the Victorian style. It comprises thirty-four quatrains, each comprising two couplets. The poet has struggled to achieve rhyme, at the expense of coherence and cohesion in the following examples that I have already translated and analysed on pages 44 and 45:

5.       Siyintlekisa yeentlanga,  
           Ngokuswel' ubuhlanga;  
           Ziya sigxeka neentaka  
           Zibona singenankaka.

25.       Ewe maqobokazana,  
           Se nditshilo zintwazana,  
           Namhl' iAfrika yeyele,  
           Se ndicela isihlwele.  
                   (Yali-Manisi, Ibid: 73-75)

I am having a difficulty in comprehending the precise import of the words - "-nkaka" and "-sihlwele" because of the context in which they are used. To me it seems as if the poet, unable to find better alternatives, because of his desire to maintain rhyme, found himself compelled to use these terms. Yali-Manisi's aesthetics in this poem fail to match the revolutionary tempo of the content.

#### 2.4.3 Ngani (1952): INTLABA-MKHOSI (War-cry)

Ngani's (1952: 33-35) poem "Ingoma yeNgxangxasi" (the song of the waterfalls) propounds the Africanist ideology of the ANC. In this poem Ngani demonstrates a highly imaginative mind. He uses the literal waterfalls, which are distinctive features of African rivers, to symbolize Africa. The song of the waterfalls is the song of the continent of Africa. The eighth and the ninth stanzas of the poem are as follows:

Yiyo leyo ke ingoma, ingoma yengxangxasi Zithini na izizwe zaseAfrika, ngayo le ngoma?	This is the song, the song of the falls What do the countries of Africa say, about this song?
Ziyivile na iNgxangxasi eyiOgrabisi, kumlambo oliGqili?	Have they heard the Augrabis falls in the Orange River?
KwaneNgxangxasi kaFitoli, kumlambo weZambesi?	And the Victoria falls in the Zambesi River?
Abath' abemi belo zwe kukwaMsi uyaNdila?	Citizens of that land call the place Thundering Vapour?
KwaneNgxangxasi zikaStanley, kumlamb' oyiNkongolo?	And the Stanley falls in the Congo River?
"Wen' ungaphesha komlambo, ndincazele!"	"You who are beyond the river, share your tobacco with me!"
UmXhosa makancazelane nomZulu nomSuthu,	The Xhosa must share his tobacco with the Zulu and Sotho,
Kwakunye namaNdebele namaNyembane, AbaNguni bancazelane namaNgongongo namaSwahili;	With the Ndebele and Nyembane people, The Nguni must share tobacco with Ngongongo and Swahili;
AmaSwahili ancazelane nabaseLuganda.	The Swahili must share tobacco with Ugandans.
Zithi zonk' iinqaba zokwahlukana zidilizwe; Zekwaphulw' imivalo yobuhlanga nocalulo;	All the divisive walls must be demolished; All the racial and discriminatory divides must be broken;
Zekuhanjelwane, zekwendiselwane; Zekubukwane, zekumanyanwe.	There must be inter-visits and inter-marriages; There must be mutual love and unity.

(Ngani, Ibid: 34)

The lyrics of the song of Africa are as follows:

"Wen' ungaphesha phaya, ndincazele!"  
"You who is beyond the river, please share your tobacco with me!"  
(Ngani, Ibid: 33)

Sharing of tobacco is an old Xhosa tradition. When two friends meet they share tobacco. This symbolises friendship and creates an amicable spirit. When two strangers meet sharing of tobacco symbolises acceptance of one another. When two acquaintances meet, sharing of tobacco symbolises fellowship, comradeship and compatriotship. Therefore the call of the continent of Africa is a call for unity of all the heterogeneous ethnic groups of Africa to unite into one homogenous nation. It is a call for comradeship and compatriotship of all Africans. The poet draws the attention of Africans to this song of the Augrabis, Victoria and Stanley falls of the Orange, Zambezi and Congo rivers respectively. These rivers are representative of their respective countries which are Zimbabwe, South Africa and Congo. The cry of all these countries, according to Ngani, is for African unity. From the general the author moves into a specific case, and focuses on South Africa. He says the Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho must unite. He

again moves from South Africa to Africa and says that the above stated South African ethnic groups must forge unity with other African ethnic groups, namely Ndebele, Nyembane, Ngoni, Ngongongo, Swahili and those in Uganda must unite. All racial and discriminatory tendencies must be denounced, and unity must prevail.

It is my proposition that Ngani echoes the ideology of African nationalism of the ANC that was invigorated and popularised by the Congress Youth League. Lembede, the guiding personality behind the Congress Youth League, writing in Inkundla newspaper in October 1945 said that the uniting of all the heterogenous ethnic groups into one homogenous nation was a sine qua non of the liberation of blacks in Africa (Gerhart 1978: 60). Ngani's words advocate the ideas that are purported by the manifesto of the Congress Youth League. Lodge (1983: 20-21) summarises the contents of the manifesto of ANCYL as follows:

The Congress Youth League's purpose would be to infuse into the national liberation movement "The Spirit of African Nationalism"... This involves a belief in "the devine destiny of nations", ...and a belief in the unity of all African from the Mediterranean to the Indian and Atlantic oceans: "Africa", it said, "must speak with one voice".

The poet becomes more explicit in the following lines of the tenth stanza:

<p>Zithini na izizwe zaseAfrika ngayo le ngoma          Hayi, hayi ke bethu le ngoma!          Le ngoma ithi, masisondelelane;          Le ngoma ithi, masikhathalelane;          Ithi, masilwelane, sifelane.</p>	<p>What do African countries say about this song?          Oh! Oh! friends, this song!          This song says, we must come together;          This song says, we must care for one another;          It says we must fight for one another, die for one another.</p>
--	--

(Ngani, Ibid: 35)

The poet gets into the core of this message. Sticking to his metaphor of the song of the waterfalls he says that Africa must unite, have one another's interest at heart, defend one another and be prepared to die for one another.

Ngani's (Ibid: 35) tenth stanza proceeds:

<p>Isibizela phantsi kweNdwe enye -          Ewe phantsi kwebhanile enye yobuAfrika;          IAfrika entsha, ehlanjulweyo, ebunjiweyo.</p>	<p>It (the song) calls us under one "banner"          Yes under one banner of Africanism;          The new Africa, revived, united.</p>
---	---

"Indwe" is a bluecrane (anthropoides paradisea) a bird that is venerated by the

Xhosa nation. According to Kropf (1915: 91):

A collection of cranes' feathers, (were) used by warriors as a head-dress when drilling or fighting: the right to wear this was conferred as a reward for great bravery.

I fully concur with Kropf's lexicon. I, however wish to add a slightly different shade of meaning of the word "indwe" which it has acquired in the course of history. Because of its association with deeds of valour by the military which was usually under generalship of a chief, prince or king, the "indwe" also came to symbolise chieftainship or kingship which in our contemporary world means government. Ngani's poem therefore suggests that "the song of the waterfalls" calls Africans to unite under one central government, under one banner of Africanism, which will unite Africans in the process of rebirth and regeneration which they must undergo. This is a reverberation of the words of Lembede that appeared in Inkundla newspaper in 1947 which are quoted by Gerhart (1978: 61-62):

The tie that will bind all Africans together under the banner of Africanism will be the passionate and glowing love for Africa - our motherland - and her freedom (my emphasis).

Ngani's poem (Ibid: 35) continues until the last stanza which reads as follows:

Yamkeleni ke ingoma yengxangxasi; Nithuthuzele ngay' abafun' intuthuzelo;	Do accept the song of the waterfalls; And use it to comfort those who need to be comforted;
Niyale ngayo abatsha nabasakhulayo;	And use it to guide the youth and those still growing up;
Niqeqeshe ngayo umthinjana nomlisela;	And use it to discipline young men and women;
Zenisikelele ngay' iintsapho zaseAfrika, Nkosi uzuyisikelel' iAfrika, Lube nokuphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo. Makube njalo! Ewe makube njalo.	And use it to bless the families of Africa, God bless Africa, May its horn be lifted high. Let it be so! Yes, let it be so.

This, the last stanza of Ngani's nationalistic poem, directly exhorts the people to heed the call of Africa. He implores them to use the ideology of Africanism to comfort the grieved, and to guide and discipline the youth. He advises people to use the ideology to bless the African families. In peroration Ngani conjures up two lines from "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika"<sup>8</sup>, an anthem that was sung by the African National Congress on its founding day in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912. The

ANC adopted this anthem, which is a prayer to God to bless Africa, as a national anthem in 1925. According to Mutloatse, in his interview by Molefe (1992), "Nkosi sikelela" links South Africa to Zimbabwe and Tanzania in the sense that the national anthems of these countries are composed on the melody and structure of this hymn. He argues that up to this day, the anthem still holds Africans together, and it achieves a meaningful effect than a political statement. By including these lines from "Nkosi sikelela" Ngani underscores the ideology of Africanism of the African National Congress, which is advanced by his poem.

In the poem "Iinkosi zeAfrika", Ngani (Ibid: 36-38) addresses the chiefs and kings of Southern Africa. It is clear that with unlimited time and resources at his disposal, Ngani would include in this poem each and every chief and king of Africa. He has been successful in mentioning the majority Xhosa, Thembu, Bhaca, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Zulu, Swazi, Ngwatho and Ndebele. The first stanza of the poem goes as follows:

Bayetheni, bahlekazi, bayetheni!	I salute you, your excellencies!
Bayetheni, mathol'ezilo, ezizilo ngokwawo!	I salute you, young of animals, being animals also!
Kuthwani n'ukuthethwa nezingwe neengonyama?	How does one talk with leopards and lions?
Ingubani n'onokuthetha namaramncwa kakade?	Who on earth can talk with vicious animals?
Iint' ezavela mhla kwavel' ilanga;	Things that emerged when the sun was created;
Iint' ezadalwa mhla kwadalw' iintaba;	Things that were created when the mountains were created;
Mhla kwavel' ilizwe, mhla kwadalw' ulwandle.	When the universe emerged, when the sea was created.
Ngumqokoz' omkhulu wokuboph' iAfrika,	They are a great chain for binding Africa together,
Owowuphatha ngowozek' ityala.	One who lays his hand on it will be guilty of an offence.

The poet salutes African traditional leaders. Using an effective metaphorical language he underlines the high status of chiefs and kings in the African community. He says that since time immemorial they have been leaders of the people. Their power was granted to them by the Creator. He says that they are a cement that serves to unite Africa. One who threatens this unity will bear the blame. Note that the idea of a united Africa again surfaces in this poem. Chiefs are seen as people who have a pivotal role to play in this unity. This is a

principle that the ANC from its inception has recognised and in practice upheld. The Africanist ideology emerges fully in the last stanza:

Thethani ngazwinye xa nithethayo;	When you speak, speak in one voice;
Zenibambane ngezandla,	Hold one another's hand,
Ukuz' iAfrika yeth' ibe nodumo;	And make our Africa famous;
Luth' uphondo lwayo luphakanyiselwe phezulu;	So that its horn can be lifted high;

The ideal of a united Africa is again emphasised. This is a goal that will be realised if the chiefs speak in one voice and bring their act together. The preeminence of the role of chiefs in the struggle for liberation is recognised by the ANC. In fact Southern African chiefs were founders of the ANC. Gerhart (1978: 12) says:

Coming together at Bloemfontein in 1912, a distinguished group of African chiefs and educated leaders founded the African National Congress (originally known as the South African Native National Congress), an inter-ethnic association pledged to defend the rights and represent the interests of Africans as a whole to the Union government.

The run of time did not change the ANC position regarding the status and the role of the chiefs. This reality can be discerned from an article written in 1932 by Pixley kaIsaka Seme, then President of the ANC, which is cited by Lodge (1983: 10):

I wish to urge our educated young men and women not to lose contact with your own chiefs. You should make your chiefs and your tribal councils feel that education is a really good thing. It does not spoil people nor detribalise them.

Seme's words were translated into the concrete action of wooing chiefs to the ANC, contending with the government which coerced them into supporting its policies.

Ngani in his "Ingoma yeNgxangxasi" has magnificently fused together the indigenous people's folklore with the contemporary people's struggles for liberation. His poem, which carries a contemporary theme, is built on the foundation of indigenous oral forms<sup>9</sup>. The meeting of the animals on the banks of a river to attend a traditional ceremony dance that was hosted by the waterfalls, is an age old folktale. Ngani demonstrates what Iyasere, hence

Msimang (1983) refers to as the "culture sensitive" orientation. His poem is informed by indigenous oral forms which constitute the backdrop against which African written forms may be viewed. Ngani's success in both the above stated poem and in "Iinkosi zaseAfrika" does not lie in the use of indigenous aesthetics per se, but on the effect of these devices in facilitating internalisation of his nationalistic message. His strategy of moving from the domain of the known to the domain of the unknown makes his message clear and vivid.

#### 2.4.4 Tshaka (1953): IINTSIKA ZENTLAMBO YETYHUME (Pillars of the Tyhume river)

Gérard (1971: 89), discussing the impact of Apartheid on Xhosa literature, says:

Already in 1948, the Afrikaner Institute for Christian National Education had issued a pamphlet that emphasized, among other things, the notion that the mother tongue "should be the most important secular subject, and the only medium of instruction except in teaching other modern languages". This led, of course to a considerable enlargement of the market for vernacular literature, and provided encouragement not only to the new generation that emerged after the war but also for older, often mediocre writers, whose work had not reached print earlier. (emphasis mine)

Gérard (Ibid: 93) proceeds:

Restrictive measures, such as censorship, combined with the increase in the teaching of Xhosa, cannot but produce highly ambivalent results. In poetry, some of the older men, who had never gone into print before, were able to start publishing their work. One such was R.M. Tshaka...(emphasis mine)

The former and latter statements by Gérard might lead one to assume that Tshaka is one of these "mediocre" writers referred to above. To correct such misconception, I wish to state that Tshaka was a writer of the first order, who derived his inspiration from his love for his people and his fatherland - its amazing geographical formations and its beautiful flora and fauna. He identified himself with the struggles of his people against the vicissitudes of life and against the oppressive government of the day. His style, which exploits the heavy African rhythm, resembles that of the indigenous bard. Imagery, the hallmark of indigenous poetry, is exploited to the maximum. His indepth knowledge of

African folklore is admirable. Qangule (1972) makes an analysis of one of Tshaka's excellent poems "Igqili". This concise monograph which focusses on content, imagery, related aspects and theme reveals Tshaka's immense talent.

In the sphere of ideology Tshaka identifies himself with the black nationalist thinking of his time. His poem "IAfrika" is a clear attempt to disseminate the Africanist philosophy. Though Tshaka explores a terrain that has already been explored by writers before him, his creativity and originality make his poem interesting and unique. He brings to the fore other dimensions of the philosophy of Africanism of the ANC. This valuable information is however presented in a stylistic manner. I shall select stanzas from the poem, which follows hereunder, for analysis and interpretation. I shall simultaneously focuss on the aesthetics of the poem.

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Maye bawo, singathini na ngayo!<br>Afrika, lizwe lokuzalwa kwethu.<br>Masithini n'ukuvelana nawe?<br>Afrika! Awu, Afrika, Afrika!!<br>(Tshaka, 1953: 17) | Oh father, what can we say about her!<br>Africa, land of our birth.<br>How can we express sympathy with you?<br>Africa, Oh, Africa, Africa!! |
|----|--|--|

The first stanza attracts the attention of the reader who is bombarded with rhetorical questions. The poet claims his birthrights as an African. Repetition of interjectives in the last line emphasises the grief felt by the author about the status quo in Africa:

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 3. | Ikamva lakho sisithokothoko senkungu,<br>Ngathi ludano, ziinyembezi, ngamagazi.<br>Inqatha kaloku yimbambano nombuzo;<br>Afrika! Awu, Afrika, Afrika!!<br>(Tshaka, Ibid) | Your future is a very dark mist,<br>It looks like disappointment, tears and blood.<br>Wealth means contention and quarrelling;<br>Africa, Oh, Africa, Africa!! |
|----|--|--|

In the third stanza the poet predicts a bleak future for South Africa. He predicts impending catastrophe whose outcome will be tears, bloodshed and disappointment. Analysing the situation in materialistic terms he propounds that the major cause of the problem is economic factors. Literally translated the word "inqatha" in line 3 means "fat". Figuratively the word means treasure or wealth or materialistic or pecuniary gains. Tshaka develops this point in the following stanzas:

- |    |                                  |                                |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 4. | Nants' indlu yentak' itsityelwa, | Here is a nest being attacked, |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Iyavungam' ikati phezu kwayo.<br/>Nazo k'ezo ntwana zayo zothukile.<br/>Afrika! Awu, Afrika, Afrika!!</p>   | <p>The cat snarls above it.<br/>There sit the chickens startled.<br/>Africa, Oh, Africa, Africa!!</p>  |
| <p>5. Iinzipho zangen' umlomo waval'<br/>emnyango,<br/>Ngab' ithemba liphi na kuvaliwe?<br/>Iinzipho zingene, kuph' ukonwaba?<br/>Afrika! Awu, Afrika, Afrika!!<br/>(Tshaka, Ibid)</p> | <p>Claws got inside and the mouth closed the<br/>nest,<br/>Where is hope when the nest is closed?<br/>Claws are inside, where is happiness?<br/>Africa, Oh, Africa, Africa!!</p> |

The above two stanzas narrate the story of a nest with chickens which is attacked by a cat. The cat with its big mouth and sharp claws overpowers the chickens. This story ends in that pathetic situation for the chickens. The imagery that Tshaka makes use of, symbolises the African situation<sup>10</sup>. The cat is the capitalist imperialist whose aggression in Africa has subjected Africans to misery and pathos. The aggressor uses his superior military might to subjugate the powerless, then follows their exploitation. Tshaka's analysis of the scramble for Africa is in line with the analysis by the ANC that I have exposed in the foregoing pages. Suffice it to say at this juncture that the "Basic Policy of Congress Youth League" of 1948 (Gerhart, 1973: 323) states that the General National Economic Policy of the envisaged democratic South Africa will:

...in short give no scope for the domination and exploitation of one group by another.

Tshaka becomes more explicit in his articulation of the ANC ideology in his poem "Zemka Inkomo". In order to appreciate the poem one must view it against the backcloth of the Programme of Action of 1949 and the defiance campaign of 1952 of the ANC. According to Meli (1988: 12) the immediate targets of the campaign were:

the pass laws; stock limitation; the Separate Representation of Voters' Act; Group Areas Act; Bantu authorities; and the Suppression of Communism Act.

From the above laws we observe that the struggle between Apartheid ideology and the Black nationalist ideology was not confined to urban areas only. This is confirmed by Lodge (1983: 261) who says that for over two decades, i.e. 1940-1960 there were conflicts between peasants and authority in the African reserves of South Africa. Tshaka's (Ibid: 20) poem depicts the exigences that confronted the peasant community:

Amahlathi' agawulwe amahlath' aphelile,  
Zityeshelwe ezemivuz' ephilisayo.  
Amadlel' abiyelw' amadlel' avaliwe,

The forests have been cut down the forests no  
longer exist,  
Those of lasting value have been neglected.  
Pastures are fenced pastures are closed,

The poet protests against the exploitation of natural resources of South Africa by other people while the legitimate owners of the resources are deprived. The demarcation and closure of pastures referred to by the poet is the outcome of the Natives Land and Trust Act of 1936 which was retained by the Nationalist government in 1948. Blacks rejected this legislation, particularly those who supported the ANC. According to Lodge (Ibid: 215):

Landless households were sometimes deprived of access to grazing: this was the case in Victoria East in 1951 and more generally common pastureland in practice shrunk as officials fenced off forbidden grazing camps. Prohibitions on tree-felling for people who could not afford to buy fuel were especially arduous in the colder reserves and in any case contravened a customary right of free access to firewood<sup>11</sup>.

Tshaka (Ibid) goes on:

Irhafu zilindile kumakhaya ngamakhaya,  
Kodw' akusekho ms' uqhumayo.  
Amakhaya ngamanxuwa, ahlala amabhungane.

Taxes are demanded from the homes,  
Though smoke can no longer be seen.  
Homes are deserted, beetles stay in them.

The oppressive laws of Apartheid brought poverty to the rural community. Despite this poverty and starvation the government continues to demand taxes from Blacks. Many decide to leave their homes to sell their labour in the urban areas. This situation is captured by Lodge (Ibid: 266) in his discussion of the effects of Bantu Authorities system in the Transkei:

In the Transkei direct taxation almost doubled between 1955 and 1959, and throughout the whole country convictions of Africans for defaulting leapt from 4800 in 1950 to 17900 in 1960.

The poet continues:

Nab' oomam', ootata noodade,  
Kule dolophu, kulaa dolophu nakuleya,  
Noko k' asikayaz' int' esakuba yiyo.  
(Tshaka, Ibid: 20)

There they are mothers, fathers and sisters,  
In this town, in that town and in that one,  
We do not yet know what will happen to us.

The effects of oppression on the family were disastrous. The family exploded into a diaspora. Both husband and wife left the countryside for the urban area to seek employment, causing a breakdown of family life. Lodge (Ibid: 139) says:

During the 1940s there was a significant increase in the number of women employed in manufacturing. In 1951 they represented at least 7000 - one percent of the total manufacturing force...

Tshaka (Ibid) raises another contentious issue:

Imfund' ayizuzwa ngoboya nombona,  
Njengamzuzu kookhokho bethu.

Education can no longer be obtained by selling  
wool and mealies,  
As it was during the times of our forefathers.

Despite all the economic problems that landed Blacks in abject poverty, they still had to pay large sums of money to keep their children at school. It is clear that Tshaka supported the call by the ANC's "African claims" which called for free and compulsory education to be provided by the state (Lodge, Ibid: 115). Tshaka ends all his stanzas with the refrain "Zemk' iinkomo magwalandini" which literally means "There goes your cattle cowards". Figuratively this metaphor means "there goes your national heritage". This refrain underscores the role of Africanism as a repository for and a custodian of African national heritage.

Tshaka in the above poems evinces that he is interpellated by the alternative ideology of the African National Congress. The issues he raises in his poem and his analysis of the socio-political situation in South Africa reflect the ideology of the ANC. His aesthetic ideology, in the above poems compliments his socio-political ideology.

#### 2.4.5 Yali-Manisi (1954): INGUQU (Change)

Yali-Manisi, who by 1954 had carved a niche for himself as an oral bard, and whose recognition after his first publication, had widened, re-emerged in the literary scene with his Inguqu. Though Yali-Manisi still retains his negative stereotypes against the Mfengus, which are accentuated by his effective imagery, he is now courageous enough to bring the other side of the story as well. His account of "Umhla wakuNgqwaru" is a case in point. Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 5) says:

Imbel' isinq' into kaMnqanqeni ngasemva,  
Isithi, "Wajoken' amaMfeng' asinge kwaTshaka,  
Kub' alidle kad' elinkonazana.

Mnqanqeni's son was in hot pursuit behind,  
Saying "Drive the Mfengus back to Tshaka's  
land,  
Because they have had more than they

Afik' ebuNguni eziintuthwasi neembelwana

Imilom' izel' iintanda kudl' udaka.

Sawanqom' iindlezana, sawabel' imimango,  
Namhla sibulawa ngawo ncasasana".  
Uvel' uNgangelizwe ngaphambili ejongole,  
Way' uMatanzima ngasemv' ehamba ngezingqi.  
Bamraqil' uMbambo-nduna bamfaka phakathi;

Bamhluth' izinti baya bamgodusa,  
Besithi ma kayek' amaMfeng' akonanga nto.

Ikwasithi buNgun' abeza nabeLungu.  
Ababeth' amaMfeng' ahamba ngegunya.  
(emphasis mine)

bargained for.

They arrived at buNguni destitute and wretched

Their mouths full of cracks because of living on mud.

We gave them cows, we gave them land,  
Now we are killed by them".

Ngangelizwe came from the front, red eyed,  
And Matanzima's feet pounded the soil.

They surrounded Mbambo-nduna and placed him amidst them;

They grabbed his sticks and took him home,  
Saying leave the Mfengus alone they have committed no crime.

It is we from buNguni who brought whites.  
Who have made Mfengus to be audacious.

Yali-Manisi in the thirteenth line of the above quoted verse acknowledges the fact that Mfengus were not the only ethnic group that was used by Whites in their divide and rule policy. It is a reality that colonialists had an axe to grind in their act of fanning the flames of inter-tribal conflict. Mdaka (1981: 2) is supportive of this view:

It is self-evident that tribal discrepancies would provide a favourable ground for the implementation of the whites' policy of "divide and rule".

The above account in Yali-Manisi's narrative poem, which shows some balance, evinces a transformation on his part from a narrow ethnic orientation to a broad Africanist orientation. In "Ibuyambo", Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 7-8) says:

Taruni zinkosi nani zidweshu,  
Sasingumz' ongqingqwa waseluhlangeni.  
Sivel' entla kweli silimiyo;  
Sihamba neenkosi zethu zohlanga.  
Kodwa zafik' izizwe neentlanga,  
Zasihluth' ubuntu nobukhosi,

Saphelelwa sidima nentlonipho,  
Baphel' ubuNumzana nobuduna;

Listen chiefs and countrymen,  
We were a solid nation.  
Coming from the north of our present country;  
Travelling with our chief.....  
But foreign tribes and races came,  
And deprived us of humanity and chieftainship,  
We lost our dignity and respect,  
Our honour and manhood was lost;

Yali-Manisi in the above poem touches a polemical issue, that Blacks came from the North and settled in the South almost at the same time with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. This is the interpretation of history from the White man's point of view, whose motive is to claim that both whites and blacks are foreigners in South Africa. This deficient South African historiography is formidably

challenged by Black historians. Pheko (1984: 2) retorts:

The strangest thing, of course, about the history of South Africa is that almost all White historians have tried to make Azania an "empty land" before it was colonised. In some cases they have even suggested that the Africans were intruders in South Africa. Perhaps this helps to justify Apartheid and the national dispossession of the African people by Jan van Riebeeck's descendants, the Voortrekkers.

Yali-Manisi, as a product of an educational system that was under the control of the colonial government or the missionaries or both, was influenced by the interpretation of history by the dominant class<sup>12</sup>. Notwithstanding this internalisation of a distorted history Yali-Manisi's description of the results of subjugation is correct. His diagnosis of the cause of the suffering is as follows:

Kodwa zafik' izizwe neentlanga                      But foreign tribes and races came.  
(Yali-Manisi, Ibid: 7)

Pheko (Ibid: 1) concurs with Yali-Manisi:

South Africa is a blackman's country. It was once ruled by indigenous Africans: it was free and independent. The arrival of Jan van Riebeeck on the 6 April 1652, started the dispossession of the African people. The history of South Africa which followed is a tragic story of military suppression, political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation of a people, unprecedented in the history of the civilized world.

Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 8) invites the Africans to join him in prayer. He says:

Sithethe noThixo woobawo bethu,                      And ask God of our forefathers  
Abuye nelizwe lethu,                                      To return our country,

The last line is an adaptation of a popular slogan in Black politics in South Africa:

"Mayibuye iAfrika, iAfrika ilizwe lethu"

Yali-Manisi moves further and makes a clarion call to his people to return to the right course. He calls for a return to God of Africa:

Silahle bonk' ooThixo basemzini,                      And all abandon the foreign Gods,  
Izivumba-mpunzi nezibunga,                      The wild-garlics and the rotten woods,  
Ezeza kuthi neentlanga-ntlanga,                      That came to us with other races,  
Ezeza namasiko-siko,                                      That came with customs,  
Sanamathela kuwo singazi;                              And we clinged to them inadvertently;  
Samkel' imikhwa neentloni-ntloni,                      And accepted bad habits and bad customs,  
Zadal' ukufa nembuthu-mbuthu,                      That caused us death and disruption,  
Ukuwa nokuphalala kwesizwe.                      The fall and scattering of the nation.  
(Yali-Manisi, Ibid)

Yali-Manisi's analysis of the dilemma that confronts Blacks in South Africa

concurr with the analysis of Lembede, the theoretician of Africanism (Karis and Carter, 1973: 318) who said:

Africans are being mowed down by such diseases as tuberculosis, typhus, venereal diseases etc. Infantile mortality is tremendously high. Moral and physical degeneration is assuming alarming dimensions. Moral and spiritual degeneration manifests itself in such abnormal and pathological phenomena as loss of self-confidence, inferiority complex, a feeling of frustration, the worship and idolisation of white men, foreign leaders and ideologies. (emphasis mine)

Having diagnosed the disease Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 8) then proposes a remedy:

Ndith' isizwe sakowethu siwile  
Phakamisani ngoko uphondo lwaso.

I say our nation has fallen  
Lift up therefore its horn.

What is suggested by the second line is that Africa must be set free. The rise of a nation is the rise of its people. Note that the second line is an adaptation of the second line of "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika". Yali-Manisi's remedy to the said problem echoes Lembede's (Ibid) who continues:

Now the panacea of all these ills is National freedom. In as much as Africans are free, they will... devise ways and means of saving or rescuing their perishing race.

In his poem "UNKosi Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela", Yali-Manisi (1954: 34-35) salutes Mandela whom he allots a name from his personal nomenclature, AA! Zwe-liya-Shukuma! Yali-Manisi wrote this poem at a significant historical conjuncture. His collection of poems was published in 1954. Therefore the poem focusses on Mandela before that period. Before exposing the ideological underlays of the poem I propose to first present a brief profile of Mandela before 1954.

Mandela was born into the Royal House of the Thembu in Transkei. After matric he went to the University of Fort Hare to pursue a BA degree. After two years on campus he was expelled for taking part in a student protest. He went to Johannesburg where he privately pursued legal studies. He completed his studies at Wits University and founded, in partnership with his friend and comrade Oliver Tambo, a legal firm in Johannesburg in 1952. Throughout these years, Mandela played an active role in politics. He was the founder member of the Youth League in 1943. He was actively involved in the preparation of the

Programme of Action document which was adopted in 1949. The document formally recognised the ideology of African Nationalism, the Africanist ideology. It pledged itself to struggle for the rights of national freedom, political independence, self-determination, rejection of white leadership and all forms of segregation. Mandela was also actively involved in the planning of the Defiance Campaign in 1952. Mokgatle as quoted by Lodge (1983: 42) says:

Nelson Mandela was National volunteer-in-chief, which means that he had to go all over the country, to see that committees were formed and that the people were defying everywhere.

The Defiance Campaign evolved the ANC into a Mass Movement with membership close to 100 000 by the close of the campaign. It may be said that the campaign was a resounding success since it popularised the ANC. In 1953 Nelson Mandela proposed a new organisational system which he called the M-Plan. The plan aimed at evading repression and legal constraints by the government and enabling the ANC to prosper despite any pressure brought to bear by the government. Throughout this period the government consolidated its repressive state apparatus. The 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, Population Registration Act of 1950, the Natives Act of 1952, the Natives Laws Amendment Act of 1952 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953, to name a few, were passed. By the end of 1955, 42 ANC leaders including Mandela were banned by the Nationalist Government. It is against this background that Yali-Manisi's poem, which follows, may be understood. I shall extract only three stanzas from this poem:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 3. | <p>Umgawuli wezint' ezisemeveni,<br/>Egec' iintsunguzi zobudenge;<br/>UMavelel' iimbombo zomhlaba;</p> <p>Uzama-zam' ilizwe lizama-zame;<br/>UMabijel' ilizwe nje ngechanti.<br/>Izilenz' elidada kwaweLigwa,<br/>Liye ngokusela kwaweZambesi;<br/>Umkhonzi wezizwe zeAfrika.</p> | <p>Chopper of sticks in the midst of thorns,<br/>Chopping down the thick forest of ignorance;<br/>One who has been to the four corners of the world;</p> <p>One who shakes the world to its foundations;<br/>One who coils around the world like a snake.<br/>The water snake that swims in the Vaal River,<br/>And goes to drink in Zambezi River;<br/>Servant of the African nations.</p> |
| 4. | <p>Ubakhonzi' abaMbo nabaNguni;<br/>Wabakhonz' abeSuthu nabaTswana;<br/>Wawakhonz' amaZulu kaSenza-<br/>ngaKhona;<br/>Wawakhonz' amaSwazi namaNdebele;</p>  | <p>He has serves the eMbo and Nguni people;<br/>He has served the Suthu and Tswana people;<br/>He has served the Zulus of Senza-ngaKhona;<br/>He has served the Swazis and Ndebeles;</p>  |

Wawakhonz' amaTshona, amaNyasa namaKhalanga; Wadib' izizw' ezikhulu nezincinane, Edal' umanyano lwamaAfrika, Ukuz' inimb' ibe nye yezizwe.	He has served the Shonas, Nyasas and Khalangas; He brought together big and small nations, Forging unity of Africans, So that these nations speak in one voice.
--	---

.....

7. Thetha mfo kaMandela! Thetha nkosi yam! Theth' ungoyiki kusekh' iimpund' eAfrika! Maz' ungaboyik' ooS' wana-sibomvana, OoSobindeka nooQhinga-libentsile.  Bonga bakubon' amadlala, Kanti kukrakh' inyaniso; Kuba kamb' ihlaba ngokwekhala, Budul' ububengeqa nobungqwanga- ngqwili.	Speak son of Mandela! Speak my chief!  Speak fearlessly there still are truthful people in Africa! Do not fear those whose stomachs are never filled up, Those who are offended and those whose conspiracy is exposed. They will start levelling criticism at you, Because truth is bitter to them; Because it pierces them like a cape aloe, And exposes arrogance and barbarousness.
---	--

Stanza 3 is probably reference to Mandela's perilous political activities. His motive, according to the poet, is to bring an end to ignorance. He has travelled throughout Africa and the world in the service of the African nation. The poet presents Mandela as a person who has the interest of all Africans at heart. In stanza 4, the poet names all the ethnic groups that Mandela serves. He states that his aim is to unite Africans, so that they speak in concert. The Africanist ideology promoted by Mandela (and the poet as well) emerges from this stanza. In the 7th stanza the poet's support for Mandela and the ideology that he stands for becomes transparent. He encourages Mandela, his chief, to speak out fearlessly as there are still some people who have maintained their honesty. Those with "stomachs that are never filled up", "whose conspiracy is exposed", are in my view the exploiters of Blacks, and the engineers of the white minority Apartheid regime. This is an attack on the government which according to the poet, hates Mandela and levels criticism at him, only because he is telling them the naked truth, which is bitter to them because it exposes their arrogance and barbarousness. I have in the foregoing sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 made the following propositions:

I. Choice of a figure of praise is ideologically laden.

- II. It evinces the author's ideological orientation.
- III. The figure of praise is a symbol of an ideology.
- IV. Therefore the figure of praise is used to promote the ideology that he/she symbolises.

I now further propose that an author may select a figure of praise in an endeavour to vindicate same. Yali-Manisi's poem, when located within its historical conjuncture, exemplifies this fact. It categorically states that the figure of praise is not the terrorist and Communist that the dominant ideology labelled him as. The poet endeavours to depict the image that in his perception is the true image, of an honest and humane African Nationalist.

Yali-Manisi's Africanist disposition again emerges in his poem "Umntwana weAfrika". Like the writers who preceded him Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 13) in this poem claims his inalienable right to Africa, in which he takes pride. He claims Africa as his home because he is entitled to his birthrights. Isolation, ridicule, dehumanisation, deposition from power, persecution and dearth of food will not make him rescind his claim to Africa. He says that God created him and placed him in Africa, nobody will exile him unless he is God his creator. Africa is his home and he is proud of his home. He is the son of Africa and he takes pride in this fact. To avoid repetition I shall not delve deeply into this poem, suffice it to say that its content underscores the ideology of African Nationalism of the ANC.

Yali-Manisi (Ibid: 13) has designed the structure of this poem "Umntwana weAfrika", after the Western model. This long poem of sixteen stanzas is written in the Western style. Each stanza is a quatrain. It is clear that the poet struggled to achieve a rhyming effect as the majority of his couplets repeat identical syllables at the end of the lines.

Ndingumntwana weAfrika,	a
Ndiya zidla ngeAfrika,	a
Khaya limbi andinalo,	b
NdingumAfrika woqobo.	b

In some couplets he has made use of closely related vowels, as in the second

couplet of the following stanza:

Ingavel' imbandezelo,	b
Indixhwal' ingcinezelo,	b
Kodwa xa ndiseAfrika,	a
Ndiguya ndiqudalale.	x

Yali-Manisi's aesthetic ideology in this and other poems has compromised his socio-political ideology. In the other examples we have used e.g. "Umhla wakuNgqwaru", "Ibuyambo" and "UNKosi Rolihlala Nelson Mandela" Yali-Manisi has stuck to the indigenous canon.

## 2.5 RESUMÉ

This chapter first presented the context of Xhosa literature during the period 1948-1955. Because the main concern of the study is ideology, hegemony and their relationship with Xhosa literature, my contextualisation focussed on Apartheid and ANC ideologies. The very nature of the study demands that literature be studied against the backdrop of history which evolved these ideologies. Hence my constant reference to history. Against the abovestated background I have analysed selected poems from six poetry collections by five writers of the period.

The simultaneous evolution of the Apartheid ideology, an Afrikaner Nationalist ideology, and the Africanist ideology, a Black nationalist ideology in the forties and fifties impacted on Xhosa written poetry. This literature became a contested terrain, with both the dominant Apartheid ideology which is the ideology of the ruling class which has control over the means of production, and the Africanist ideology which is the ideology of the subordinate class which had little or no access to the means of production, striving to win hegemony.

I argue that in this contest, the alternative ideology of Africanism, during the first half of the first phase of the Apartheid epoch, took the upperhand. The Africanist ideology referred to above is what Gerhart (Ibid: 13) refers to as

"liberal or non-racial nationalism" and its exponents were the ANC. Xhosa written poetry of the first half of the first phase reflects that though the Africanist ideology was politically subordinate, it was ideologically dominant<sup>13</sup>. The majority of the texts I have analysed and interpreted advocate inter-racial co-existence and, non-racial and pluralistic democracy - the basic tenets of the ANC ideology.

Writers of the first half of the first phase demonstrate a great concern for their society. In all spheres of life like politics, religion, education, economy and culture they address real issues, in clear unambiguous terms. The majority of my data is produced in the indigenous style of oral poets. There are also a number of attempts at imitating the Western model. Effects of this aesthetic ideology are discussed in the foregoing chapter.

The cultural hegemony that the alternative Africanist ideology enjoyed during this early stage of Apartheid may be attributed to the space that the regime still allowed for it to disseminate throughout society. The Apartheid regime had not yet fully consolidated its ideology and had limited influence in the cultural sphere. For instance the majority of the texts I have studied were produced by a missionary press, Lovedale, which was sympathetic to Black political aspirations. Furthermore, the only legislation that was used at this stage to censor books was the Communism Act of 1950. Therefore the repressive state apparatus was not yet effective.

## Notes

1. See Davies et al (1984: 26) and Pheko (1984: 94)
2. See Davies et al (Ibid: 16-26)
3. For an indepth discussion of the "... precise nature of the connection between the South African political and ideological system on the one hand, and the capitalist economy on the other..." See Bozzoli (1981).
4. Gramsci, on whose theory this study is based was against economic reductionism.
5. I have updated the orthography of this extract from the preface of

- Amaqunube by Mama and Mbebe (1950).
6. See for example "Mnguni" (Hosea Jaffa) (no date), Majeke (1952) and Pheko (1984) who expose the existence of external forces that exacerbated the Xhosa-Mfengu feud and other inter ethnic-group conflicts.
  7. Kropf (1915: 164) explains the meaning of "isihlwele" as: "The retinue or suite of a chief; a company of soldiers under one officer; a town council parliament choir (it never means a promiscuous number nor a very great one)".
  8. "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika" was composed by Enoch Sontonga in 1897. S.E.K. Mqhayi wrote the additional stanzas of the song. See also the Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (1988: 209).
  9. Researchers in African languages have highlighted the influence of traditional forms on contemporary forms. See Msimang (1983), Sirayi (1989) and Mtuze (1990) on the influence of the folktale on contemporary prose. See also Mzamane (1984) and Kaschula (1991) on the interaction of oral and literary forms.
  10. Mda (1979: 5-6) acknowledges the symbolic nature of this poem, but fails to state what it symbolises.
  11. Note that Victoria East is where Tshaka lived. He was employed by Lovedale Press as a bookbinder. See Gerard (Ibid: 93) and Jolobe (1970: 58)
  12. Apartheid ideologues like their colonial predecessors never underestimated the political role of the school. "Under the baton of Hendrick Verwoerd ... 'native policy' sought to ... impose complete government control over African education in order to shape it as an instrument of Apartheid" (Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, Ibid : 377).
  13. Gramsci (Ibid: 207) also pointed out that a social group (class) can be politically dominant but ideologically subordinate.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIRST PHASE INCLUDING THE POST-SHARPEVILLE CRISIS : 1956-1963

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this third chapter of this study, I shall focus on three contending ideologies and their impact on Xhosa written poetry of 1956-1963. This is the second half of the "first phase" of the Apartheid epoch, and includes the post Sharpeville-Massacre crisis of 1961-1963. I shall first provide an exposition of the ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress. The fundamental tenets of the ideology will be highlighted. I shall then focus on the ideological contest during the period 1956-1960. A brief discussion of the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 - a significant event that marks the end of the first phase of Apartheid, will be presented. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the aftermaths of this event in 1960-1963, a period that is known by historians as the "Sharpeville crisis"<sup>1</sup>. Against this historical background, Xhosa written poetry will be analysed and interpreted.

#### 3.2 THE IDEOLOGY OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

##### 3.2.1 The emergence of the ideology

The transformation of the ANC into a mass democratic movement and the role accorded to whites by the movement in the formation of the Congress Alliance, culminating in the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955, resulted in resentment from within the ranks of the organisation. Davies et al (Ibid: 287) say:

A minority right wing faction calling themselves "Africanists", argued that the new leadership under Chief Albert Luthuli had abandoned the "genuine" African nationalism of the 1949 programme of action and had become the tools of the "White communists" of the Congress of Democrats.

The Africanists advocated an ideology of "authentic African nationalism" which became incompatible with the Freedom Charter which they believed betrayed the principle of Africanist nationalism. Pheko (1984: 89), a historian of Pan African persuasion, writing in the seventies says:

In 1955 the ANC officially adopted the "Freedom" Charter and

abandoned the fight for self-determination and national sovereignty in Azania.

Pheko represents the mood of the Africanists in the fifties, who argued that South Africans had to be reconstituted on the basis of Africanism, with Africans playing a hegemonic role, as they are the indigenous people who are the majority. They rejected the democratic organisations of non-Africans that were in the Congress Alliance. Lodge (1983: 83) explains their position as follows:

The Africanists felt that White Congress sympathisers had mainly sectional interests; the proof of this, they said, was to be found in the Freedom Charter with its clauses guaranteeing the rights and status of all national groups. Their influence had succeeded in dissolving the ethnically assertive nationalism which Africanists believed to have been adopted by the ANC with the acceptance of the Programme of Action in 1949. In doing so the Whites had deprived the ANC of the most effective ideological means of inspiring a mass following. "Multi-racialism" as they termed it served to perpetuate the psychological subservience and dependency on Whites upon which minority domination rested.

After the adoption of the Freedom Charter the ANC strain of African Nationalism was dubbed "Charterist". The PAC claimed that they are the true Africanists who advance true Africanism. Gerhart, who is described by Lodge (Ibid: 83) as a "sensitive and sympathetic" historian of the Africanists advises that the "distinction between orthodox or 'Black Power' nationalism and what might be called the liberal or non-racial nationalism of the ANC is vital to an understanding of the African politics..." Gerhart (Ibid: 13) explains the ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress as follows:

Orthodox African nationalism (which is sometimes called "exclusivist nationalism") defines South Africa as a country belonging to Africans by right of first possession, and on the ground that they are the great majority of the population. To the orthodox nationalist, the white man is a guest in the African house and should be permitted to remain in Africa only on terms set down by his indigenous hosts. Democracy is defined as a majority rule, ...Turning from ends to means, orthodox nationalism rejects alliances with anti-apartheid whites, ...

I shall briefly outline the position of the PAC regarding the following crucial concepts: An African, individual/group rights and non-racialism/multi-racialism.

A concise definition of an African by the PAC is provided by Dyani in the Daily Dispatch of 25 February 1993<sup>2</sup>:

Africans are those people from whom the African continent, the land called Africa, was dispossessed through conquest by European imperialists and colonialists and all those people who have Africa as their only home and partake in the just struggle for African liberation and the establishment of a non-racial Africanist, socialist and democratic society in South Africa and in Africa as a whole.

According to the PAC, Africans, because they are the majority and because they are the indigenous people, are the rightful owners of the land in South Africa. In his opening address on the occasion of the Inaugural Convention of the PAC in 1959, Sobukwe said :

The Africans constitute the indigenous group and form the majority of the population. They are the most ruthlessly exploited and are subjected to humiliation, degradation and insult.

Now it is our contention that true democracy can be established in South Africa and on the continent as a whole, only when White supremacy has been destroyed. And the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key and centre and content of any struggle for democracy in South Africa. (Karis and Carter, 1977 a :515)

However the PAC maintains that Europeans and Asiatics are not excluded by the definition of the African. If they acknowledge the fact that Africans, who are the indigenous people, have the right to govern, and demonstrate respect for them, then they qualify to be "Africans" and enjoy all fundamental human rights. In his maiden speech Sobukwe stated:

We wish to emphasise that the freedom of the African means the freedom of all in South Africa, the Europeans included, because only the African can guarantee the establishment of a genuine democracy in which all men will be citizens of a common state and will live and be governed as individuals and not as distinctive sectional groups. (Karis and Carter, 1977a: 515-516)

Sobukwe's statement brings us to the crucial question of individual/minority group rights. The PAC could guarantee no "minority rights". In a free non-racial South Africa all citizens would be Africans who would enjoy all their fundamental human rights as individuals, and not as a group. The PAC rejected the idea of protection of minority groups which it perceived to be another form of racial discrimination. At the Inaugural Convention Sobukwe's address concluded:

We aim politically at government of the Africans by the Africans, for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is

prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African. We guarantee no minority rights, because we think in terms of individuals, not groups. (Ibid : 516)

This PAC position was diametrically opposed to that of the ANC as espoused by Joe Matthews in Liberation of July 1959 :

But the whole point is that in countries where the population is not homogeneous, where there are a number of national groups, it becomes necessary to go further than merely to recognise the right of each individual citizen of the state. It becomes essential to create conditions under which those who do not belong to the numerically superior national group are able to develop their languages, culture and customs without let or hindrance. ...The guarantee of full rights to minority groups is fundamental in any truly democratic society. (Ibid:541)

Regarding the ANC doctrine of multiracialism, the PAC maintained that it is unacceptable, as it lacked sufficient emotional appeal for large scale mobilisation of Africans. PAC ideologues anticipated a revolutionary confrontation with Apartheid. Only the doctrine of exclusive nationalism could inspire Africans to face this challenge and the concomitant sacrifice. In his inaugural address Sobukwe set out the PAC position regarding multiracialism:

Against multiracialism we have this objection that the history of South Africa has fostered group prejudices and antagonisms, and if we have to maintain the same group exclusiveness, parading under the term of multiracialism, we shall be transporting to the new Africa these very antagonisms and conflicts. Further, multiracialism is in fact a pandering to European bigotry and arrogance. It is a method of safeguarding white interests, implying as it does, proportional representation irrespective of population figures. In that sense it is a complete negation of democracy. To use the term "multi-racialism" implies that there are such basic insuperable differences between the various national groups here that the best course is to keep them permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to us is racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term truly connotes. (Ibid: 516).

The PAC therefore rejected the notion of multiracialism and instead embraced non-racialism. According to them in a free non-racial South Africa all would be Africans who belong to one human race. On the other hand the ANC rejected the doctrine of exclusive nationalism and embraced inclusive nationalism/multi-racialism. They criticised the PAC for being unrealistic in their endeavour to mobilize the masses under the banner of exclusive nationalism and then expect that people's attitudes will

be transformed overnight to welcome other races without reservations as "Africans", when liberation has been realised.

The rejection by the PAC of democratic organisations which were non-African, the emphasis on Africa for Africans, and the rejection of the idea of protection of minority rights, led to a general perception of the ideology of the PAC as being anti-white. An official position of the PAC refuting the accusation that they are anti-white is contained in the Golden City Post of Sunday 7th November 1958. Sobukwe was again interviewed by The Africanist in January 1959, three months before the launching of the PAC. The interview goes as follows:

Question: But are you anti-white or not?

Sobukwe: What is meant by anti-whiteism? Is it not merely an emotional term without a precise signification? Let me put it this way: In every struggle whether national or class, the masses do not fight an abstraction. They do not hate oppression or capitalism. They concretise these and hate the oppressor, be he the Governor-General or a colonial power, the landlord or the factory owner, or in South Africa, the white man. But they hate these groups because they associate them with their oppression! Remove the association and you remove the hatred. In South Africa then, once white domination has been overthrown and the white man is no longer "white-man boss" but is an individual member of the society, there will be no reason to hate him and he will not be hated even by the masses.

We are not anti-white therefore. We do not hate a European because he is white! We hate him because he is an oppressor. And it is plain dishonesty to say I hate the sjambok and not the one who wields it.

Question: Do you regard all whites as oppressors?

Sobukwe: We regard them all as shareholders in the South Africa Oppressors Company (Pty) Ltd. There are whites of course, who are intellectually converted to our course, but because of their position materially, they cannot fully identify themselves with the struggle of the African people. They want safeguards and checkpoints all along the way, with the result that the struggle of the people is blunted, stultified and crushed. (PAC of Azania, undated: 168-169)

Dyani however concedes that misrepresentations by some rank-and-file members of the PAC were responsible for the anti-white accusation:

The problems referred to (i.e. short lifespan of the PAC etc) have led to misrepresentation of the definition of an African and other party issues by the less articulate members and the rank-and-file supporters. The misrepresentations became a godsend for PAC detractors who were helped by the misrepresentations in casting PAC as a racist organisation... (Daily Dispatch, 25 February 1993)

### 3.2.2 The fundamental tenets of the ideology

At the inaugural conference of the Pan Africanist Congress on 5 April 1959, the Pan Africanist Manifesto was adopted. From this document and from the inaugural address of the first PAC president Robert Sobukwe, the fundamental tenets of Africanism can be discerned.

#### 3.2.2.1 Political

The political aim of the PAC is Africanist Socialist Democracy. The PAC envisaged a unitary constitution for South Africa, and ultimately for the United States of Africa. A central government, elected by the people on the basis of adult suffrage, will govern Africa. The government will, as already stated, be socialist. Racialism, imperialism and colonialism will be rooted out. Self-determination of the Africans, i.e. the right to determine and shape their destiny, is rated supreme by the PAC.

#### 3.2.2.2 Economical

The economic policy of the PAC is equitable distribution of wealth to all South Africans. This will be achieved through enhancement of growth of industrialisation. It will be a strategy of uplifting the economic standard of the people. Equality of income and equal opportunities for all are guaranteed. The government will provide incentives that encourage industrial and agricultural development. Systematic planning will aim at development of all areas in the country.

#### 3.2.2.3 Social

The strategy for liberation of the PAC according to Sobukwe is:

...the full development of the human personality and a ruthless uprooting and outlawing of all forms of manifestation of the racial myth.  
(Karis and Carter, Ibid: 516)

The PAC stands for racial integration and the emergence of a United African nation. In terms of PAC policy all people are equal irrespective of skin pigmentation.

#### 3.2.2.4 Religious

The PAC looked forward to Christian Whites to intervene in the struggle against oppression. According to Leatt et al (Ibid: 98):

...the PAC chose to identify itself within the independent churches... calls were made at the inaugural for an African National church, and Anglicans, Catholics and Lutherans were described as foreign.

#### 3.2.2.5 Cultural

The PAC policy stands for a United African nation from which a distinctive African culture will emanate.

#### 3.2.2.6 Intellectual

The PAC strategy for liberation is aimed at an intellectual revival of the African. They believe that the ruling class has inculcated in Africans through their education, a feeling of inferiority. Sobukwe retorted:

This group has educated the African to accept the status quo of white supremacy and black inferiority as normal. It is our task to exorcise this slave mentality, ...(Karis and Carter, Ibid: 546)

### 3.3 IDEOLOGICAL CONTEST : 1956-1960

The emergence of the Pan Africanist Congress widened the political spectrum and increased the number of competing political ideologies in South Africa. It brought the number of contending ideologies in the second half of the first phase of the Apartheid epoch, including the post-Sharpeville crisis, to three: the Apartheid, Charterist (ANC) and Africanist (PAC).

The abovestated Black nationalist movements, the ANC and the PAC, struggled for the total liberation of Blacks from the Apartheid domination. Both "envisaged the same ultimate goal for African political action : the creation of a democratic society in which individual merit and not race would determine status and advancement". (Karis and Carter, Ibid : 315). However in terms of ideology and strategy for realisation of the said goal, these two movements differed. The difference between these two strains of African nationalism is outlined by Leatt et al (Ibid: 98) as follows:

Fundamentally the difference between Africanists and the ANC can be seen in their conflicting answers to the question "who owns the land?" The ANC Charterists argued that it belongs to all, the Africanist that it belongs to the indigenous African people.

Another area of disagreement was the question of basic human rights. As already stated the PAC ideology rejected the idea of guaranteeing minority rights, and instead guaranteed all human rights to each and every individual. On the other hand the ANC and other members of the Congress Movement endorsed guarantees of minority rights.

According to No Sizwe (1979: 177) this view of the Congress Movement derived from their conception of the 'nation' which they perceived to be consisting of 'majority' and 'minority' nationalities, hence "democratic rights would be guaranteed for those groups that would require such guarantees". On the other hand the PAC understood the concept 'nation', in the South African situation to mean the African people inclusive of Coloureds, and exclusive of Indians and Whites who constitute 'foreign minorities' (No Sizwe, Ibid: 116). It is after 1960 that Indians were also included.

The strategies of the PAC and ANC, though they differed, as we have already seen, may be seen as attempts by the oppressed masses towards establishment of a single or one nation. Both were trying to move away from the racist Apartheid ideology.

Both the PAC and the ANC ideologies were diametrically opposed to the

Apartheid ideology of the Nationalist government. While Black nationalists intensified their struggle for freedom, in the second half of the first phase of Apartheid, Afrikaner nationalists intensified their struggle for white supremacy. The mechanisms of Apartheid were made more and more perfect. Oppressive legislation was piled one over the other by the government. In the economic sphere the 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act established industrial tribunals which were empowered to reserve jobs for whites in the public and private sector. The Defence Act 44 of 1957, the Police Act of 1958 and the Prisons Act of 1959 were further legislative measures that were taken to empower the repressive apparatus of the state. In the education sphere the implementation of Bantu Education was completed. In 1959 the Extension of Universities Act changed historically Black universities to ethnic institutions. These universities were transferred from the Department of Education, Arts and Science to the Department of Native Affairs. Proof of the success of the Apartheid policy (i.e. as far as Afrikaners were concerned) was the landslide victory of the Nationalist Party at the polls in April 1958.

The intransigence of the Apartheid regime resulted in frustration and impatience by the oppressed masses, particularly during the late fifties. The leaders of the liberation movements, the ANC and the PAC had to decide on a strategy for addressing the discontent of the Africans, and in the choice of the direction to be pursued by the struggle against Apartheid. Gerhart (Ibid: 216) captures the status quo in the late fifties as follows:

The choices being made by African leaders were pivotal ones, for it was the leaders, not the inarticulate masses who could decide in which direction to steer the struggle. Should African anger be stirred up on the chance that the time was ripe for a successful confrontation with white power, or cooled down in order to buy time until conditions were more favourable? The ANC, intentionally or otherwise, gave the appearance of having chosen the latter course. The PAC without hesitation chose the path of confrontation.

As the first decade of Apartheid drew to a close, Afrikaner nationalism clashed vigorously with African nationalism under the leadership of both the ANC and the PAC. Confrontation between the contending nationalisms seemed to be inevitable, as race relations continued to deteriorate.

### **3.4 THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE**

The PAC announced that anti-pass campaigns would commence on 21 March 1960. The ANC on the other hand announced that its campaigns would commence on 31 March. A march by PAC demonstrators proceeded to Sharpeville Police station where passes would be handed over to the police. Without provocation and warning the police opened fire indiscriminately on the crowd. Sixty-nine people were fatally shot, eight of them women and ten being children, and one hundred and eighty were wounded. The PAC leadership proceeded to hand over their passes to the police who arrested them. In April 1960 the ANC and the PAC were outlawed under the Suppression of Communism Act. Regarding the Sharpeville massacre which he perceives as closure of an old chapter, Pheko (1984: 94) says:

The "Sharpeville" campaign had not achieved the abolition of passes nor the ultimate overthrow of the government. But Sharpeville shook the whole country and changed its political climate.

This climactic event brings us to the end of the first phase of the post-1948 ideological struggle in South Africa.

### **3.5 THE POST SHARPEVILLE-MASSACRE CRISIS**

From 1960 to 1963 the political developments in South Africa reached crisis proportions. The Sharpeville Massacre had clearly demonstrated the failure of the Apartheid ideology to win the consent of the Black majority. The Massacre triggered a wave of riots all over the country's metropolitan areas. The riots also spread to rural areas and the Pondo revolt in the Transkei is a case in point. The rural peasantry of Pondoland protested against taxation, government conservation measures and unpopular government installed headmen. Government supporters were killed and hundreds left without shelter. These riots were confronted with an imposition of a state of emergency by the Apartheid government on 30 March 1960. The might of the repressive state apparatuses was brought to bear on the protesters. The reign of terror crushed all forms of resistance. On April 8 the Apartheid government passed the Unlawful Organisations Act which proscribed

the ANC and the PAC, and any other organisation that furthered their aims. Penalties for protest activities were increased tenfold.

In October 1960 the government held a referendum to test the views of whites regarding an idea of breaking away from the British Commonwealth to found a Republic. Results were positive and on 31 May 1961 South Africa attained a republic status. The underground ANC challenged this by calling a nationwide three-day strike which coincided with the Republic day. When all channels of communication were closed by the government the ANC and the PAC established insurgent movements. The ANC formed "Umkhonto weSizwe" in 1961 which would operate underground. A sabotage campaign was waged against the government. The PAC launched Poqo, an underground operation that was mainly centred in Cape Town and Transkei. Poqo killed a number of whites and pro-government blacks during the period 1961-1963.

In the economic sphere the post-Sharpeville years were disastrous. According to Davies et al (Ibid: 27):

...between 1960 and 1963 South Africa experienced a net outflow of foreign capital of between 60% and 134% of the levels of the net inflow recorded in 1958... This had the effect of sharply reducing growth rates and of creating a crisis of capital accumulation in the economy as a whole.

The discovery by the Apartheid security system of the ANC underground operation at Rivonia in 1963 resolved the Sharpeville crisis. Resistance by the masses to the Nationalist government was brought to an end.

### **3.6 AN ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF TEXTS**

It is against this background of historical events that the literature of 1956-1963 will be viewed.

### 3.6.1 Jolobe (1959): ILITHA (Sunlight)

Sobukwe, the first president of the PAC, delivered a speech at the Basutoland Congress party in Lesotho in 1957. In peroration he quoted a few verses from one of Jolobe's poems, saying that they "sum up most handsomely the spirit that urges us on":

Apho igazi lenu lithe lathontsela khona, Komila intyatyambo evumba limnandi, Eliya kuthwalwa ngamaphiko empepho,	Wherever your blood has dropped, Will blossom a flower of exceeding sweetness, Whose scent will be carried on the wings of the air,
Zithi zon' izizwe zilirogole.	And all the nations will inhale it.
(Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, undated: 166)	

The above lines evince Jolobe's patriotism and nationalism<sup>3</sup>. However the power of the dominant socio-political and aesthetic ideology has found occasions to permeate Jolobe's work. In "Iqegu" Jolobe (1959: 1) says:

Yayingumfo omhlophe ekhwel' ukracakraca Othe cwaka wemoto, ibhabha okomoya	It was a white man driving a new car That moved quietly, fast as the wind.
---	---

From the very outset in this poem one is confronted with the white image which because of its association with beauty and speed, creates a positive impression.

The poem continues:

Ngaphambili walama dwayi lwenkosikazi Lusindana lubophe ozindlebe ngeqhiya	In front of him he saw a wretched woman Walking with difficulty and covering her ears with a doek.
Kumhlonyan' empumleni lupheth'umsimelelo	With wormwood leaves in her nose using a walking stick
Wafikelwa yinceba walumema lwakhwela.	He became sympathetic and invited her into the car.

Jolobe (Ibid)

The beautiful white image is juxtaposed with an ugly black image of an obese, old and wretched black woman who is clumsily dressed and has an awkward gait. The image created results in a negative impression towards the old lady, while the positive impression towards the white man is enhanced when he engages in an altruistic act by inviting the woman into his car. Jolobe (Ibid) continues:

Weva ngexhegokazi lisithi "khawumise	The old lady called "Please stop
--------------------------------------	----------------------------------

Nank' umntu ememeza!" Wabumisa umqhubi.	Somebody is calling!" The driver slowed down.
Yathi nqa intokazi yakuphawula kwabunje	The lady was surprised to note that
Yimoto ethethayo. Ubugqi babeLungu!!	It is the car that speaks. Behold, the technology of Whites!!

This is the very first exposure of this lady to a radio. She is taken aback by the technology of whites. This is another credit to the white image and discredit to the black image. The integrity of the old lady is further undermined when the poet makes her fail to discern that the driver uses the steering wheel to control the direction of the vehicle. When the vehicle reaches a rough slope the old lady feels uncomfortable and insecure. She grasps the steering wheel and clings to it "emulating" the driver. A crisis ensues as the driver finds difficulty in controlling the vehicle's direction. He manages to remove the hands of the old lady and a serious accident is averted. The old lady disembarks at her destination. Later on when the driver again passes by, he decides to pay the lady a visit. What a kindhearted white gentleman! He is warmly received by the old lady and members of the family. The old lady tells members of this family:

"Ndancedwa yile nkosi, ndikhwel' iqegu layo	"I was helped by this gentleman, he offered me a lift in his car
Zendifike ngexesha ukunceda lo mntwana	That is why I arrived in time to help this child
Cebeshu anishiye".	You nearly parted with him".
(Ibid: 2)	

The image of the white man is further enhanced because of his altruism which helped the old woman who in turn helped the child. While I appreciate Jolobe's attempt at encouraging interracial harmony, I nevertheless argue that Jolobe's noble goal is mediated by the ideological undertones of his poem. As it is, the poem entrenches the ideology of white superiority. It portrays Blacks as being inferior to whites. Positive racial relations would have been encouraged by the poet if the encounter was between individuals who have an equal status in terms of intellectual development, social or economic standing. This would narrow the focus to the encounter itself, particularly its nature.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981: 36) protesting against the teaching of only European literature in African schools says:

...Our children are daily being confronted with the European reflection

of itself, the European image, in history... Worse still, these children are confronted with a distorted image of themselves... (my emphasis)

Ngugi (Ibid: 37) continues:

These distorted literary reflections, reinforced by religious images of white gods and angels reigning and "choiring" in heaven while black devils writhed in hell because of their black sins, were meant to lead us and especially the "educated" and Christianised - to paths of self-doubt and self-hatred and to indecisive postures before our enemies.

What Ngugi attributes to European literature is also evident in our own indigenous literature. This is evidence of the power of ideology in its interpellation of man. A large number of Xhosa writers, as this study will prove, have consciously or unconsciously advanced the ideology of Apartheid by the imposition of the white image which by implication is white superiority over the black image of inferiority.

In the poem "uDengana" Jolobe (Ibid: 16) says:

UDengana wakhula ingqond' izekelela,  
Eqonda engaqondi, ngomzimba ephilile.

Ubesakucubhula abantu ngokuhleka,  
Okanye isiphumo aphatheke kanzima.  
.....

Xa wayeyindodana nanko esitishini,  
Emi ngakwintunjana yamatikiti apho.  
Wavul' owanikayo wabuz' esithi "Where to?"  
Eba yena kuthiwa kutheni ethe thu nje.

Waphendula ngelithi "Uthi kum wena 'wee thu'  
Ndothini ungathi thu ndifun' itikiti nje".

Uphindil' omnye, "Where to?" Ubuyise elithi,  
"Uthi ndee thu ndifuna itikiti laseNdwe?"

Dengana grew up being mentally retarded,  
Took time to comprehend, but physically he  
was healthy.

He used to amuse people,  
Sometimes the outcome would be painful.  
.....

He had reached manhood when he went to the  
station,  
Standing near the ticket office.  
The officer opened and asked "Where to?"  
Thinking that he says "Why do you appear?"

He replied, "You say to me why do I appear?  
Why shouldn't I appear because I want a  
ticket".

The officer asked again, "Where to" He replied  
"You say why I appear, it is because I want to  
buy a ticket to Indwe?"

The situation depicted is both ludicrous and mirthful. The poem evinces Jolobe's sense of humour. At the ideological level the poem enhances the idea of superiority of whites with their English language and inferiority of blacks with their indigenous languages. The man who is selling tickets expresses himself in English though he is fully aware he is talking to a non-English speaker or Black, Dengana. This is ludicrous. The speaker repeats himself though it is clear that

Dengana does not comprehend. Dengana replies and incidentally answers the question. But what is strange about this episode is that the author and subsequently the reader overlooks the absurdity that is perpetrated by the English speaker who is the first communicator. How on earth can he encode a message in a medium that makes it impossible for the receiver to decode? Is that effective communication? If the author had asked himself the question the poem would have taken a different direction and Dengana would be redeemed from ridicule for being unable to understand or express himself in English. This entrenches the idea that being educated means assimilation of white culture including its language, in this instance English. In a sane society Dengana would be addressed in his own language. His own language ought to be a language of power. Language empowerment means that it can enable people like Dengana to use it to seek employment, to buy tickets and the like. While Jolobe's sense of humour is appreciated, it must also be pointed out that if its done at the expense of the oppressed it tends to legitimise oppression, and to entrench the feelings of racial superiority and inferiority which are endemic in our society.

Nkosi (1981: 117) asserts that the pioneering African writers experienced:

The conflict of loyalties between the Western and African traditions, the tendency encouraged largely by missionaries to regard African culture as "pagan" and therefore, as somehow "degenerate"...

I concur with Nkosi's view regarding our pioneers. This conflict of loyalties is evident in Jolobe's long poem "Ingqawule". The poem can be divided into two sections/parts. The first section/part is a narrative by Jolobe of the catastrophe that befell the Xhosa nation in 1856/57, the Nongqawuse cattle-killing. The second part of the poem entails Jolobe's dream about the destiny of Nongqawuse. The first part of this poem is the subject of a critical analysis by Sirayi (1991). Sirayi's thesis, which I fully support, is that the African perspective of the cattle-killing movement as espoused by Jolobe and other African creative writers is that white colonists engineered behind the scenes the 1856/57 cattle-killing movement. Due to space limitations I shall not pursue this trodden terrain. Suffice it to say that up to the end of this part, it is beyond doubt that Jolobe's socio-political

ideology is nationalistic. His intervention in the interpretation of South African history is an indictment on South African historiography. Mqingwana in Kaschula (1992: 54) says:

It is common knowledge that in South Africa, history has for many years been used as an instrument of subordination, of control, of inculcating negative perceptions, of creating negative cultural stereotypes, of transmitting values that give meaning to the system of racial separation.

History has been presented from the white man's point of view (sometimes even by Africans). The stereotyping of blacks in the textbooks has been part of this process of legitimation. (emphasis mine)

While fully cognisant of the fact that literature is not history, it is against this background that Jolobe's interpretation of the Nongqawuse cattle-killing will be appreciated. The second part of Jolobe's long poem is a negation of the first part. The second part entails Jolobe's dream (ithongo) about Nongqawuse's death. He says:

Sicwila ngeNqawule sivuka sithongile.  
We sing about the holocaust and dream before waking up.  
(my emphasis) (Jolobe, Ibid: 55)

This part of the poem attempts to reconcile the two distinct worlds of the African and the Western. Jolobe attempts to harmonise the conflicting African and Western religious concepts. In the process of doing this, contradictions and ambiguities emerge. I shall view these against the four important points that Jolobe raises in the first part of his poem:

- (i) The context of the catastrophe was depicted as the subjugation of the Xhosa nation by imperialists. In the second part of the poem Jolobe refutes this idea. He says:

Abo babesoyikwa ngokuba beziintlanga	Those who were feared because they were foreign races
Sisukulo sengqondo kuchunyiswa ukwazi	Were stimulators of intellectual activities that enrich knowledge
Okuvelis' inkitha yendlela zokuphila	Which brings a number of ways of making a living
Ulimo umsebenzi wezandla nowengqondo.	Agriculture, manual and mental skills.

Abo babesoyikwa ngokuba beziintlanga	Those who were feared because they were foreign races
Baye besisibane sokuchith' ubumnyama,	Were a light for dispelling darkness,
Kuzaleke isizwe esicinga ngokutsha.	So that a new nation with a new thinking is born.

(Ibid: 58-59)

The above lines suggest that the Xhosa nation ought to express gratitude for the arrival of the British who brought knowledge, numerous ways of making a living, agriculture, manual and mental job opportunities. Those who were feared because they were foreigners brought light to dispel darkness, they were harbingers of a nation with a pristine thinking.

- (ii) When viewed against the fundamental tenets of indigenous religion Nongqawuse's story lacks authenticity. In the second part of the poem Jolobe suggests that Nongqawuse did communicate with the ancestors in her dream, and was entrusted with the responsibility of being a link between this world and the world hereafter, but unfortunately the encoded message was lost at the perception level where it was incorrectly decoded. He says:

Safik' isigidimi sambethe ubulumko	A messenger came adorned with wisdom
.....	.....
Sathi wayechanile ekuphupheni kwakhe	And said her dream was accurate
Kwaphoswa inkcazelo, inguqulo	It is the interpretation of the dream that was incorrect.
yephupha.	

(Ibid: 58)

- (iii) The origins of Nongqawuse cattle-killing are extrinsic to the Xhosas. Majeke (1952: 73) who supports this view says:

To this day many Africans are of the opinion that the strangers who spoke so mysteriously to the young Nongqawuse and then concealed themselves the (sic) the reeds, were actually sent by the White people. Be that as it may, one has to meet the fact that the destruction of cattle was directly-even violently-opposed to the whole social system of the maXhosa and therefore at variance with their whole way of thinking.

Jolobe in the second part suggests that the radix of the problem is intrinsic. It derives from the religious concepts of the Xhosa. He says:

Kwathiw' ababebambe isiko labo bakho.	It was said that those who held fast to custom are present.
Kubo lalikhanya, indlela yokuphila.	To them it was light, a way of living.
Abadela okuhle kwisithethe abakho.	Those who rejected the good aspect of their custom are absent.

(Ibid: 56-57)

- (iv) Therefore the calamity is the outcome of a conspiracy between Nongqawuse and the imperialists. In the lines cited above Jolobe has exculpated the Imperialist government or its surrogates from any blame

regarding the event. Jolobe not only exonerates Nongqawuse but goes further to reward her with eternal life for the atrocious action she has perpetrated. Jolobe says:

Isigidimi sasuka samwola uNongqawuse,	The messenger embraced Nongqawuse,
.....	.....
Isigidimi eso sasuka samkhokela	The angel led the way for her
Sasingisa eBhotwe esazulwini somzi,	To the Palace in the centre of the premises,
Isixeko soyolo apho kwaKhayakhulu...	The village of joy there at the Great Place.
.....	.....
Bathi bakusondela yabonakal' iNkosi	When they came close the Lord appeared
.....	.....
Wavuya uNongqawuse ngovuyo	Nongqawuse was thrilled with joy,
olukhulu.	

(Ibid: 60)

Jolobe confers this heavenly reward on Nongqawuse on top of the earthly reward that was conferred on her by Sir George Grey who according to Mnguni (undated: 88):

...knew also that a priestess could be very powerful, and Nongqawuse was his instrument. No wonder, when Grey had achieved his purpose in 1857, she was "arrested", but named herself "Victoria Regina".

Nkosi's (1981: 118) assessment of Jolobe cannot be overstated:

...one begins to sense in Jolobe a troubling ambiguity which is only made sharper, not blunter, by his almost desperate willingness to find a brighter side to every national calamity.

Jolobe's attempt to locate the Nongqawuse event within the framework of the Christian ideology has mediated his initial nationalistic ideology. The reality of subjugation of the Xhosa by the Colonialists undercuts his portrayal of the same as harbingers of knowledge and labour skills. The material base of colonialism/imperialism compromises his spiritual analysis of this reality. Thus his vain attempt at finding a silver lining in the dark cloud of Nongqawuse evinces his subjection to the dominant ideology and his endeavours to constitute other individuals as subjects of the dominant hegemony. Sirayi (1985: 135) aptly observes:

Worth noting is the fact that in 1959 when *Ilitha* was published the social distance between Whites and Blacks was more pronounced...

Xhosa writers of the late fifties show that their consciousness was preoccupied

with the racial question. I am convinced that Jolobe's poem about interracial encounters were a product of such consciousness. The intervention of Xhosa writers in the racial debate is intended to be reconciliatory. They attempt to reduce racial tensions. However the endeavours of the poets are betrayed by an ideology which constantly hails them, transforming them into its subjects. This is the dominant Apartheid ideology which is built on the foundations of the segregation policies of the successive colonial governments. Consequently their reconciliation sometimes becomes mediated by this dominant ideology. This reality applies to all the writers of the late fifties and early sixties.

The aesthetics of the dominant class had profound influence on Jolobe. He devoted much of his time and energy in an endeavour to perfect his 'modern' poetry which is modelled after Western literary canon. Sirayi (1985) employs Western literary norms in his critical appreciation of this category of Jolobe's poetry. Mahlasela (1973: 19) however observes that "...when Jolobe comes to deal with national topics he is more of an "imbongi", a praise singer, than a poet as we understand that term in its English usage".

### 3.6.2 Sinxo (1959): THOBA SIKUTYELE (Listen to my story)

Discussing the traditional concepts and literary conventions in Sinxo's works, Satyo (1977: 198) avers:

In fact Sinxo's approach to his novellas is that of subjecting the outer world and general experience to his subjective visions and interpretations. His visions and interpretations are in turn governed by his social provenience, status, ideology and the traditional folkways. (emphasis mine)

Satyo's averment cannot be gainsaid. Sinxo's collection of poems, Thoba Sikutyele, also bears this distinctive brand. Sinxo, as an African was evidently preoccupied with the race-relations debate which dominated the late fifties. The Africanist ideology seems to have interpellated and subjected him.

In his poem "UmAfrika nomnqamlezo" he draws from the Bible to buttress his

argument that Africans have since time immemorial been closer to God. This, he says, was proved beyond doubt during the last days on earth of the Lord Jesus Christ, when he was struggling with the heavy cross, climbing the hill of Calvary. Sinxo (Ibid: 52-54) says:

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 9.  | <p>Ngelo xesha uvelile umdaka,<br/>Ewe, uSimon waseKirene,<br/>Uyise kaRufo noAlesandire,<br/>Wayithwalis' iNkosi yehlabathi.</p>         | <p>At that time a Black person emerged,<br/>Yes, Simon of Cyrene,<br/>Father of Rufus and Alexander,<br/>And assisted the Lord in carrying the cross.</p>                   |
| 11. | <p>Nathi ke, ma-Afrika sinebango<br/>Kwathi xa uMsindisi ebulawa<br/>Yasithi sedw' abamthwalisayo<br/><br/>Thina bezwe elidelekileyo.</p> | <p>We also, Africans have a claim<br/>When the Lord was murdered<br/>We were the only ones who helped him in<br/>carrying the cross<br/>We of the undermined continent.</p> |

Sinxo makes use of Biblical evidence to support the ideology of African nationalism. This is a clear attempt at freeing Africans from "...such abnormal and pathological phenomena as loss of self-confidence, inferiority complex, a feeling of frustration, the worship and idolisation of whiteness, foreign leaders and ideologies" (Lembede as quoted by Lodge 1983: 21). Also this might be a counter to the dominant Apartheid ideology which made use of the Bible to legitimise its ideology. The fifties were marked by the emergence of an Afrikaner Nationalism that was fully supported by an emergent Afrikaner theology that was espoused by the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) which sought moral justification of the Apartheid system 'on scriptural grounds' by 'producing a misguided interpretation of Calvinism which was out of step with Calvinist churches around the globe' (De Blank in Walshe, 1983: 8). Using selected biblical texts, the Afrikaner theologians argued for the system<sup>4</sup>. Drawing from Moodie's work Leatt et al (1986: 67) say that Afrikaner nationalism as an ideology:

...was "theologised nationalism" or "civil religion" which held that God had "called" the Afrikaner as an elect Volk (nation) with a distinctive language, culture and history, to be His agent in Southern Africa.

In order to liberate his fellow Africans from the inferiority complex that they were subjected to, Sinxo, in the same token, selected from the Bible relevant texts to support his ideology of Africanism which emerges fully in "IAfrika isiphelo":

Tyhini, ndiyazidla ngeAfrika!

Oh, how proud am I of Africa!

Lilizwe elinembal' ezintle  
Thob' iindlebe, sikubalisele,  
Nangona singenab' ubuciko.  
(Sinxo Ibid: 50)

It is a land with a beautiful history  
Listen, we shall tell you the story,  
Though we are not eloquent narrators.

In this poem Sinxo cites Biblical personalities who at some stage in their lives came to reside in Africa. The first is Jacob, the son of Isaac, whose country went through a long period of dearth of food due to a disastrous drought. The famine that ensued forced him to seek refuge in Egypt. The second is Israel, the great grandfather of Jesus Christ, who fled from his famine stricken country and found a haven in Africa. The third is Jesus Christ the Lord, who had to escape to Africa, to flee the wrath of Herod. Sinxo says that this is evidence of the importance of Africa and its people. He makes a clarion call to Africans to work towards their self-affirmation and towards an improved self-esteem. He says:

Koda kube nini ungazazi,  
Ungalibon' ixabiso lakho,  
Umkhulu nje phakathi kwezizwe,  
Noko oko kufihliwe kuwe?

How long will you be ignorant,  
Not being able to see your value,  
You are great amongst nations,  
But that is hidden from you?

Vuka ke uphakame ukhanye,  
Zikuvuselele ezi mbali!  
"Thabath' ukhuko lwakho uhambel!"  
Kudala elo zwi lathethwayo.  
(Ibid: 50)

Wake up and stand up and shine,  
Let these stories inspire you!  
"Take your mat and go!"  
That was said long ago.

The aims of the above poems are transparent. They are aimed at resisting the dominant Apartheid ideology. In their resistance they support the alternative Africanist ideology of Black nationalists. Sinxo could be accused of abusing the word of God by making it to degenerate into a political ideology. Leatt et al (1986: 301) in their discussion of theology and ideology contend that:

The expectation of God's kingdom therefore determines a Christian's attitudes towards ideologies in a double way: on the one hand, it makes him critical of any absolutising ideologies that use their power to dominate and oppress the poor, and, on the other hand, it makes him engage with, collaborate with, and commit himself to those ideologies which at a given time and place, incorporate more fully the values of God's kingdom and the hopes of the poor.

Sinxo's Africanism is not exclusivist. He envisages an Africa that is free from racism and exploitation, where both Black and White co-exist in harmony. In his poem "Umsebenzi weLovedale Press", he says:

Hay' ubuhle bokuthi  
Ngeli xesha localulo  
Sith'izizwe esimhlophe  
Sancedise esimnyama.

How beautiful it is  
During this time of discrimination/Apartheid  
For the white nation  
To help the black nation.

Ngamana ke kwaba njalo,  
Zimanyane zonk' izizwe,  
Ezintsundu nezimhlophe,  
Sonke sakhe iAfrika.

May this spirit prevail,  
And all nations unite,  
Black and white,  
And we build Africa.

(Ibid: 46)

Again in the poem "Igora lenene" Sinxo (Ibid: 46-47) emphasises non-racialism and co-existence. He preaches love that transcends all racial barriers. The poem narrates the story of a black boy who struggled to save the life of a white girl who was swept away by a sea current. The strong current overcame Dumisani and he drowned and died. Sinxo praises the boy for sacrificing his life for a fellow being, irrespective of her skin pigmentation. About Sinxo's poetry, and the foregoing poem in particular, Mkonto (1988: 32) says:

There are some poems that touch on race relations. The themes basic to these poems show that Sinxo has been concerned about the unpalatable influence of the colour-bar among his countrymen...

The poet praises him (Dumisani) for risking his life to save a fellow human being despite her colour. To Sinxo, one's life is more important than one's pigmentation. In his ideal society, love for one's fellow countryman is boundless and guided by patriotic emotions.

I concur with the above observation regarding Sinxo's poetry. The role played by Sinxo who is described by Mkonto as a Christian is in line with the perceptions of Leatt et al (1986: 302):

Christians will have to confront all ideologies that do not respect the dignity of the human person, created in the image of God and destined to be an heir to God's kingdom, that is, endowed with intellect and free-will, from which flow certain universal inviolable and inalienable human rights. They will have to be equally critical of ideologies that exalt individual interests to the detriment of common good, as of those that sacrifice too easily the freedom and rights of individuals to the demands of an egalitarian society.

But even a man of Sinxo's calibre was not free from the interpellation of the dominant ideology. The contradictions that prevailed during his time are discernible in his poem "Mhla isela lalungisa". In this poem Sinxo (Ibid: 40-41) narrates the story of Magada, a Black man who was a thief, stealing from the

neighbouring farms owned by whites. One day he executed his long contrived plan of stealing two beautiful oxen from one of the white farmers across the Keiskamma river. But when he was about to drive the cattle across the river he heard a bitter cry which attracted his attention. He rushed to investigate and was shocked to see a white child struggling against a heavy current of the river. His friends were crying painfully on the bank of the river. The writer captures the scene as follows:

Bamangala ubuntu kuloo nto ingento;  
 Angathini na ukwenza inkohlakalo enjalo,  
 Ayeke loo mvekwana imke naloo mlambo!  
 Laphela ucalulo, ewe, kwaqabela ubuntu.

Humanity overwhelmed the rogue;  
 How can he be so cruel,  
 And leave the child to drown in the river!  
 Discrimination ended, yes, humanity  
 superceded.

Wazilah! ezo nkomo, wangen' emsingeni,

He left those cattle, and jumped into the  
 current,

Wamnyul' emanzini loo mntwana umkayo  
 weza naye,

He saved the child and returned with him,

Wamgodusa emgonile wamsa kuyise.

He took him home, his arm around him to his  
 father,

Wazaliswa yimincili emikhulu wonke loo mzi.

The whole house was filled with joy.

Wathi umLungu, "Cela konk' okufunayo!"

The white man said, "Ask for all that you want  
 And I shall give you!"

Yavakal' into enkulu idanduluka, isithi:

And he said:

"Nkosi yam, ndicela zombini eza nkabi

"My Lord, I ask for the two red,

Zimaxhakaxhaka zibomvu ziphaya emlanjeni!"

semicircle horned oxen near the river.

(Ibid: 41)

Sinxo's humorous poem attempts to bring forth interracial harmony. However this is marred by the ideological underpinnings of this poem. The poem is based on hegemonic postulates of the white historians who interpret the interracial conflict in the eastern frontier incorrectly. The cause of the conflict is said to be the "thieving kaffirs" who invaded the "innocent farmers". The pioneer African academic, Jabavu as cited by Naidoo (1989: 9) raised this issue, and called for reappraisal of some historical events, particularly those pertaining to the encounter between Blacks and Whites:

Present books on the subject are from the pens of Europeans who, biased on the side of their own people in these things too often present the native at a disadvantage. Why should we be told so often of these 'cattle-stealing savages wantonly attacking unoffending white farmers'?

This distorted interpretation of history was impressed upon the minds of pupils at schools who in turn became teachers and imparted this gross misrepresentation

of history to the succeeding generations. The myth of thieving Xhosas is exposed by Mnguni (undated: 80) who says about the seventh anti-Xhosa war:

This and other anti-Xhosa wars enormously increased the export of wool as raw material for England's textile factories. Thus in 1826, before the Hintsa war, Cape wool exports were 40 000lbs and ship skins 192 000. But in 1839, after this war, the exports were 404 000lbs of wool and 372 000 skins (1923 Year Book).

From the information provided by Mnguni an objective historian would use common sense and imagination and tell who the real thieves were. The inadvertent effect of the poem on the reader is the entrenchment of the idea that Blacks are bad and Whites are good. The positive image of whites is enhanced by the token of gratitude, the two oxen that the white man wholeheartedly gives to Magada, who despite his momentary altruism and the consequent material benefits, retains his 'inherent' thieving tendencies.

### **3.6.3 Manyase (1960): UMLU KAPHALO (Meat for the house of Phalo)**

In the poem "Idabi labaThembu" Manyase (1960: 72-73) recapitulates on a past historical event, the battle between the British and the Thembus. What is striking about Manyase's poem is his acceptance of British Colonisation of Thembuland. Manyase's interpretation of history seems to be within the framework of the ideology of the superiority of the British over Africans. He seems to approve the myth that the British are sent by God to save Africans. Manyase seems to approve of the subjugation of the Blacks of Thembuland by the British imperialists. The British are addressed as "our governors". He prays that Africa be blessed so that war will never break out again. The question is: Is this possible if one nation is subjugated by another? Is the unity that the poet alludes to possible if "our governors" have imposed themselves on unwilling people?

Manyase's irrational idolisation of great Britain is prominent in his poem "Imfazwe kaNgcayechibi", a reconstruction of the historical event of the Frontier War of 1877-1878. The poem can be summarised as follows: A group of men from Gcalekaland visited Ngcayechibi's kraal in Mfenguland to parttake in a

traditional ceremony that was conducted. Towards the end of the ceremony the hosts apparently ran out of beer. This upset the Gcaleka visitors who pleaded with the host to offer them even the last remaining beaker of beer as the Chief Diko, did not get his share. When the Mfengu hosts could not come up with the beer the Gcalekas who interpreted their failure as an act of undermining their integrity and that of their traditional leader attacked the Mfengu hosts. According to the author the war that erupted was brought to an end by the intervention of the British Colonial Government. Manyase (Ibid: 73-74) says:

Sibulela iBhilitan' enkulu,  
Ngokuza kulamla abaNtsundu,

Uz' iphel' imfazwe kaNgcayechibi;  
Yaphel' isizw' ingekasigqibi;  
Zaphel' iimfazwe kwalawul' uxolo;  
Zaphel' iingxaban' eziluthotho.

We thank Great Britain,  
For her intervention in the conflict between  
Blacks,  
Bringing an end to the war of Ngcayechibi;  
Before it spread to the whole nation;  
Wars ended and peace reigned;  
Successive conflicts were brought to an end.

This historic event, the war of Ngcayechibi, is in my view presented out of its context. The author presents it as Black on Black violence for its own sake. I think there is much information that is left out which would illuminate this historic event. For instance, the wider context of the event, which is the wars of dispossession that were waged by colonists against the indigenous Black population, and the encouragement of Xhosa-Mfengu feuding by the colonists with their strategy of divide and rule which aimed at weakening South African Blacks in order to facilitate their colonisation. Sobukwe (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, undated: 164) addressing the Basutoland Congress Party in 1957 confronted this question:

Ever since he came to this country, the white man, particularly the Englishman has adopted a policy of divide and rule. He has always to get some Africans to his side to fight against other Africans. In the Cape, for instance, we had Ngqika set against Ndlambe. Ngqika was compelled to cede to the British. Here we had a nephew set against his uncle. Blood against blood.

In Natal we had Mpande set against Dingaan and with the defeat of the latter the Zulus lost Natal. Here again we had blood against blood. When the Boers found that they could not defeat Sekukuni, they got the Swazis on their side and defeated Sekukuni. We had here one black ethnic group set against another.

The incident of Ngcayechibi was therefore a climactic event of a conflict that was

building up. Behind this conflict was the Colonial Government, with the able cooperation of the Wesleyan missionaries. Majeke (1952: 35-36) says:

Nowhere have we a clearer example of the tactics of "divide and rule" than in the way the Rev. John Ayliff drove a wedge between the Fingos and their natural allies, the Gcaleka...

It must be said that Ayliff acted with jesuitical cunning in driving a wedge between the Gcaleka and the Fingos.

But the author's distorted account overlooks this historical reality. The outcome is that his poem promotes the myth of White superiority. It depicts Black as being inherently violent. It propagates the idea that Blacks cannot solve their own problems, and therefore White intervention is necessary. Why is the author thanking Great Britain for fulfilling its responsibility? Maintenance of peace is the responsibility of the government. By imposing themselves on Blacks as governors, the British took it upon themselves to maintain law and order amongst their citizens.

Manyase's poem not only evinces his interpellation by the dominant Apartheid ideology of White supremacy, but also disseminates this ideology, thereby promoting Apartheid hegemony.

### 3.6.4 Ntloko (1962): ZONWABISE (Entertain yourself)

This collection of poems carries the Africanist ideology to the early sixties and simultaneously marks 1962 as the last year of clearly discernible evidence of this ideology in Xhosa written poetry texts. Since 1950 it had become a tradition for poets to articulate their Africanism through poetry. In "Umnyaka ka1953" Ntloko (Ibid: 6) says:

Asizilibali zonke izimanga  
Ezenzeke ngexesha lakho,  
Ukufa kweKumkani yamaNgesi  
Nokubekwa kwentombi yayo.  
Ukuphalala kwegazi eKorea,  
Ukubulawa kwabantu eKenya;  
Izixovuxovu kumZantsi Afrika  
Nenguqulo kwimpatho yama  
Afrika.

We shall never forget the atrocities  
That were perpetrated during your time  
The death of the King of England  
And his daughter's installation.  
The spilling of blood in Korea,  
The murder of people in Kenya;  
The upheavals in South Africa  
The changes in the rule of Africans.

Ntloko starts by making reference to international events, and then comes to Africa. He demonstrates interest and insight into global history. He mentions the death of the British king. He then goes to Asia and makes mention of the Korean war of liberation from imperialism<sup>5</sup>. Thereafter he makes reference to political developments in Kenya. The people who are murdered are probably the indigenous people of Kenya who from 1952 conducted the Mau-mau guerilla war fare to liberate their country from British colonialism<sup>6</sup>. Then Ntloko comes to South Africa and expresses his consternation at the intensification of oppression of Africans. His reference to South African Blacks as Africans and his interest in the struggle in other parts of Africa attests to Ntloko's pan-Africanist orientation.

Ntloko's selection of 1953 is not arbitrary. As we have already stated, this is the year of the introduction of Bantu Education and a vast range of oppressive laws. The ANC responded to these oppressive laws with a call for continued industrial action. Thus the Defiance Campaign reached its peak in 1953. On the side of the Apartheid government, Lodge (1983: 69) says:

In 1953 the Nationalist Party consolidated its position in a second electoral victory. More confident of its long-term prospect of ascendancy it began to quicken the pace of social restructuring, implementing with greater alacrity the measures enacted in the previous parliament.

Ntloko's denunciation of 1953 is therefore rejection of the Apartheid hegemony. His nationalism is more explicit in his poem "Phambili Mawethu". Ntloko (Ibid: 16) says:

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | Sinebhongo ngesizwe esiNtsundu,<br>Sinegugu ngohlanga lwethu;<br>Sinekratshi ngomzi oNtsundu,<br>Sineqhayiya ngemidaka yakowethu. | We are proud of the Black Nation,<br>We are proud of our race;<br>We are proud of the Black Nation,<br>We are proud of our Blacks. |
| 7. | Phambili mawethu phambili,<br>Masinyuse uhlanga lwethu,<br>Phambili mawethu phambili,<br>Masibuyise iAfrika yethu.                | Forward compatriots forward,<br>Let us lift up our nation,<br>Forward compatriots forward,<br>Let us bring back our Africa.        |

In the first stanza Ntloko expresses his pride at being Black and for belonging to the Black nation. Ntloko's acceptance of his blackness and his confidence in the

Black race shows that he is free from inferiority complex. He in turn endeavours to impart this freedom to all Black people. It is on this philosophy that the aggressive ideology of Africanism, which was popular in the fifties, is based. In Stanza 7 Ntloko implores his countrymen to brace forward to uplift the Black nation. He entreats them to play a leading role in the struggle for liberation. The last line of this stanza invokes the battle cry of the liberation movements in South Africa, "Mayibuye iAfrika!" (Africa for Africans). The origins of the slogan lie in Marcus Garvey's "Africa for Africans". His ideas were influential when the Congress Youth League was formed in 1943. However the League perfected its ideology and moved away from Garvey's brand of African nationalism which is "extreme and ultra-revolutionary"<sup>7</sup>. However the popular slogan was retained. The Charterist ANC, particularly the leadership, avoided use of the slogan as it contradicted the Freedom Charter which says Africa belongs to all who live in it black and white. But the leaders at the lower rank and the rank and file never abandoned this slogan. Gerhart (1973: 95) quotes Joe Mathews of the ANC who wrote to a colleague in the Cape in November 1954:

...but it is our slogan (still)... We are only keeping the slogan in reserve whilst we build our strength. "Akuncedi nto ukuqwebisa ungaphethanga nto" [It does no good to be arrogant before you have achieved anything].

This slogan has appeared in a wide spectrum of poetry in the fifties. Ntloko carries this tradition over to the sixties, and uses it to invoke African nationalism.

Ntloko's rejection of Apartheid hegemony is prominent in his satiric poem "Utyelelo lweRhuluneli-jikelele eMthatha ngama 28 Septemba 1956". Ntloko (Ibid: 32) says:

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Ifikile inqwelo emhlophe<br>Ethwele uMnini-mhlaba,<br>Yalibhongo kubo abaMhlophe,<br>Ukutyelela kwenganga kulo mhlaba. | A white car arrived<br>On board was the owner of this land,<br>Whites were filled with joy,<br>At the visit by the great man to this land. |
| 3. | Yasweleka imbongi loo mini,<br>Kub' asinto yaziwayo kwabaMhlophe;  | There was no bard that day,<br>For that is an instituton not known to  |

	Lwanqaba noyiyizelo loo mini, Kuba ngumbel' enkuku leyo kwabaMhlophe.	Whites; There were no ululations that day, For that is unknown to Whites.
4.	Yadandalaza imiqodi yabaMhlophe  Iphahle izitalato macala; Babonis' imbeko abo baMhlophe, Kwaw' iminqwazi kumacala ngamacala.	Big crowds of Whites gathered stretching out Along both sides of the streets; Whites paid their respect, Hats went down from both sides.
6.	Ibekho neRhulunelikazi, Yaluvuyo kwisizwe esiMhlophe, Kwaluvuyo nakumakhosikazi, Yalibhongo kusapho olumhlophe.	The wife of the Governor was present, It was joy to the White race, The women were also happy, Whites were exhilarated.

Ntloko's narrative poem accounts about the visit of Prime Minister Johannes Strijdom who had taken over from Malan in 1956. The man is popular for his immediate abolition of the Black vote in the Cape in 1956 which removed the coloured people from the common voters role. He was a 'purified' nationalist who in 1936 had opposed the Natives Trust and Land Bill (Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, Ibid: 343,392-397) which would increase the land area of the Reserves from 7,5 percent of the Union to about 13 percent, by adding to land set aside for African occupation under the 1913 Natives Land Act. About J.G. Strijdom and his predecessor Malan, Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (Ibid: 423) states:

To previous Prime Ministers Daniel Malan and J.G. Strijdom, no strings attached baaskap was the only recipe for the maintenance of (White) Afrikaner power.

The above four stanzas may be summarised as follows: In Stanza 1 Prime Minister Strijdom arrived in Umtata in a white car. The word "Umnini-mhlaba" (owner of this land) and '-nganga' (the honourable) are a transparent irony. They appear to be laudatory while in actual fact they are ridiculing the Prime Minister. Stanza 3 shows the absolute exclusion of Blacks. The bard and ululating women, characteristic features of a joyful ceremony in African culture, are not present. The sarcastic effect of the poem is enhanced by the author's use of words with a pejorative meaning e.g. "yadandalaza" (they gathered stretching out) used in Stanza 4, and his repetition of '-mhlophe' (white) to expose that this event was exclusively white. In Stanza 6 the poet emphasises that only Whites were excited

about this event. Ntloko's account of proceedings of the day in Umtata on 28/09/1956 at a first glance is objective and innocent. At a closer scrutiny one notices the biting irony that the poet employs. Umtata is in the heart of Transkei where the citizens are predominantly Black. But there is not a single Black person mentioned in Ntloko's poem. The constant invocation of the word '-mhlophe' meaning Whites or white depending on its prefix highlights the absurdity of this situation. In a country where the majority is Black, only Whites partake in this joyful event. At the same time the repetition of the descriptive '-mhlophe' is a rejection of the Prime Minister. The poet's sarcastic language exposes the fact that the Prime Minister represents the White minority only, as he was not democratically elected. He rejects the White government of the day as it does not represent the interests of Blacks. The conspicuous absence of Blacks in this moment of joy shows their exclusion in the political decision-making of this country. In this poem Ntloko, in an artistic manner, that demonstrates rather than tell, has depicted contradictions that prevailed in South Africa in the late fifties, and the mystification that White South Africans subjected themselves to by pretending that they are the only people who are rightful owners of the land. Ntloko's rejection of the Prime Minister is rejection of the Apartheid ideology that he stands for. His protest at the exclusive nature of the reception of Prime Minister Strijdom sends a clear signal that he denounces racial segregation. According to Ntloko South Africa belongs to both Blacks and Whites.

Ntloko is a poet who takes a keen interest in the socio-political developments of this country. In his poem "Ewe ke 1960" (Lo and behold 1960!). Ntloko (Ibid: 44-45) says:

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 4. | Naye ke u1960 akazicelanga<br>Izimboyimbo, izimanga nemihlola;<br>Wathabath' unyawo kratya ku1959<br>Ngemikhuba nokuqubuda intlalw' entle;<br>Zifuqe de zafika iintlekele zika-1960,<br>Sakhwankqiswa laphel' elonyak' omtsha. | 1960 also did not refrain from<br>evil gestures, actions and occurrences;<br>It superceded 1959 in terms of<br>Wicked deeds and subversion of orderly life;<br>The disasters of 1960 occurred,<br>We were disgusted and excitement for the new<br>year was drastically terminated. |
| 5. | Ewe ke nyakandini ongu1960<br>Kusekutsha nje sewudulise amaxoki,   | Lo and behold year 1960<br>Early in the year you exposed liars,  |

Abahlebi, abangcatshi, nezigebenga,  
 Watsho iintlanga zahlala zigxeleshene;  
 Lwaphel' uxolo, uvelwano, nemfesane,  
 Zashenxel' iinzondo nokuphalala  
 kwegazi.

Gossiping, treacherous and murderous beings,  
 Races were left at loggerheads;  
 Peace, sympathy and empathy, were displaced,  
 And replaced with hatred and spilling of blood.

6. Asazi nokuba singathi lahl' inqawa  
 ngesaquphe,  
 Kuba soyik' ukulahl' eyethu  
 ngophoyiyana;

We do not know whether to immediately say  
 vanish and die,  
 For we fear forsaking the treasure we have,  
 in anticipation of what may prove to be  
 counterfeit;

Sesonyamela kwa-ubu bakho ubukelem,  
 Kuba nawe akungondofa weli phakade;

We shall endure your cruelty,  
 For we know you will not remain eternally.

Ntloko's poem becomes clearly comprehensible when one locates it within the framework of the South African history we briefly discussed at the beginning of this Chapter. Probably written before the end of 1960 the poem captures, in a dramatic and moving manner, the year of the Sharpeville Massacre. In a creative and ingenious manner Ntloko guides the reader to the event he is referring to but (probably to evade the censor) he does not mention anybody or anything by name. The second half of the decade 1950-1960 was marked by escalating conflict between the oppressive apartheid government and the oppressed masses. This conflict culminated in the "shots that echoed around the world" (Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, Ibid: 398). The author says that the incident occurred early in the year. This links with the Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March. He says that early in the year liars, gossipers and murders were exposed. Viewed against historical evidence the author here makes reference to the oppressive Apartheid government and its surrogates, which had assured the PAC leadership that Police will exercise maximum restraint in dealing with the unarmed protestors. Gerhart (1978: 235) says:

On March 16, Sobukwe (the PAC president) wrote to Major-General Rademeyer, the Commissioner of police to inform him that PAC would begin "a sustained, disciplined, non-violent campaign" and its members would surrender themselves for arrest on Monday, March 21. He warned of "trigger-happy, African-hating" police, and assured Rademeyer that the people would disperse if given clear orders and adequate time to do so.

Gerhart (Ibid: 236) continues:

On Friday, March 18, Sobukwe announced at a press conference in Johannesburg that the campaign would begin the following Monday.

PAC circulars announcing the launching date were already in the streets. "I have appealed to the African people... to make sure that this campaign is conducted in a spirit of absolute non-violence, and I am quite certain they will heed my call... If the other side so desires, ...we will provide them with an opportunity to demonstrate to the world how brutal they can be. We are ready to die for our cause".

Indeed police demonstrated how brutal they can be and as Ntloko intimates, peace gave way to hatred and the spilling of blood. Everybody was left dejected and grief-stricken, and races were left at loggerheads. A perspective of the Sharpeville Massacre which sympathises with the police version of the incident is provided by Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (Ibid: 402):

Meanwhile, the police were growing increasingly jittery. Reinforcements were called for, and by lunchtime about 300 policemen, most of them facing a crowd situation for the first time, had arrived in the township. At 13h15pm a scuffle broke out outside the wire fence surrounding the police station. In the tussle that followed a portion of the fence was trampled and a crowd move forward, pushed by curious onlookers from behind. It was then that police opened fire, apparently spontaneously and without any order having been given to do so.

Irrespective of anything that might have happened, the poet expresses his disgust (sakhwankqiswa) at the events of the new year. His censure of 1960, which he says bears "ubukelem" (cruelty) shows his condemnation of the atrocious action of the police. No matter what might have happened the author feels that human life ought to be respected. The oppressed masses' anxiety and pessimism about the future after this fateful incident, which the writer depicts, evoke pathos. They do not know whether to hope for the best or the worst in 1961. Nonetheless 1960 is undesirable, the year must pass at the highest velocity.

It is interesting to note that in "Ewe ke 1960" Ntloko throws away the mould in which he has been desperately trying to fit himself in his previous poems, that of Victorian verse. His attempt to perfect the Western model has compromised his nationalistic endeavours. Having discarded rhyme he has concentrated on maintaining a fine rhythm. This break away from Western influence has enhanced Ntloko's nationalistic poem. His aesthetic ideology in this poem goes hand in hand with his socio-political ideology which is African nationalism.

3.6.5 Nyoka (1962): UHADI (A bowlike stringed musical instrument)

Nyoka's Uhadi published in the same year as Ntloko's Zonwabise also is a marker of the last year of clearly discernible evidence of the ideology of Africanism which had dominated Xhosa written poetry of the fifties. Nyoka (1962: 19-21) in "Vukani mawethu!" (Arise compatriots!) not only demonstrates his interpellation by the Africanist ideology, but also strives to disseminate this ideology. Nyoka earnestly admonishes:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | Vukani, zizwe zeAfrika!!<br>Vukani, zintlanga nani mzi omDaka!<br>Vukani nibhinqe ninxibe<br>Nishenxe nonk' ebuthongweni;<br>Vukani zonk' izizwe zivukile.<br>..... | Arise, African Nations!!<br>Arise, races and you Blacks!<br>Arise and put your clothing on<br>Move away from your sleep;<br>Arise all nations are awake.<br>..... |
|    | Yakhan' ubunye, niyimele inyaniso,<br>Yilweleni niyifele ngothando,<br>Zidubeni ngokuyimel' inyaniso.<br>Vukani Midaka!<br>.....                                    | Forge unity, stand for the truth,<br>Fight for it and die for it with love,<br>Go out of your way and stand for the truth.<br>Arise you Blacks!<br>.....          |
| 2. | Cikidanani amanxeba, niphululan'<br>izivubeko.<br>Yikhotheni imihlana nithululisana;<br>Omny' akhoth' owomnye nomnye.<br>.....                                      | Nurse one another's cuts and dormant wounds.<br><br>Help one another<br>One must help the other.<br>.....   |

(Nyoka, 1962: 19)

In the first stanza Nyoka exhorts African countries to rise from their sleep. The exhortation links with the words of the Congress Youth Leaguers in a letter to the Secretary of the Progressive Youth Council, Ruth First (Karis and Carter, *Ibid*: 316):

We are alarmed and startled by the bitter and painful realisation that these 150 000,000 African Blacks have for centuries slumbered or lain dormant in this dark continent. We consider that the hour has now struck that these black African masses as an organised powerful force be made effective or that their voice be heard and felt in international affairs.

Nyoka's clarion call is directed to the whole spectrum of races and nationalities in Africa. He makes reference to races (zintlanga) and Blacks (mzi omdaka). The "-ntlanga" are people of European or Asiatic origin. It is unambiguous that Nyoka's ideology is inclusive. He envisages an African nation comprised by

Blacks and Whites who are united by honesty and love. Nyoka's nationalism is compatible with the Charterist tenet that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White...".

The second stanza alludes to the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. Nyoka implores South Africans both Black and White, and of all races and creeds to pledge solidarity with the bereaved and injured compatriots. The word "izivubeko" (dormant wounds) is intended to underline the heinousness of the crime that was perpetrated by the South African Police and to highlight the physical and spiritual grief that was sustained by the victims of the massacre. The poet, in the third stanza, says that despite all, a ray of hope exists. He says:

Khendaxelelwa ngoVukangene Inkunzi eyophisa ezinye Nanzo zipoqelwe zizigodlo Lithole elirathazayo elo dlophantyapha Ezimthetho unguDlul' amtyhale Ngaloo mini kuth'wa lwanuk' uphondo.	I was informed about 'Vukangene' A bull that hurts others There they are horns broken That arrogant and unreliable calf Whose laws are oppressive and harsh On that day I am told there was a smell of horns.
---	---

.....  
(Nyoka, Ibid: 19)

Using a metaphor of a bull and its horns, Nyoka makes reference to 'Vukangene' who in my assumption is 'Vukayibambe', a name given to the ANC Youth League. The laudatory epithets in lines 2-5 suggest that the ANCYL would rise and resist the oppressive Apartheid regime. The last verse again alludes to the tragic event of the shootings at Sharpeville. In the fourth stanza the poet reflects upon the fate of Blacks in South Africa. He starts from a lower note in the first line and reaches a high and emotional note in the ninth line:

Owu, hay' ubunzima Phezu komntu endinguye, Zon' iintsiz' ezi kukudla kwam Ndiluroqo ngomoya, unqinile lo mphefumlo.	Oh, how heavy the burden is On my shoulders Miseries are my daily bread I am spiritually lean, my soul is emaciated.
Intliziy' ithath' ibeka, Sisigidi seminyaka Ezi minikazi zeenyembezi Owu, tar' ubulembu! Kodwa abudliwa nasirov' ihagu.	My heart is in deep meditation, It is million years These many days of shedding of tears Oh, Alas the moss! Even a gluttonous animal, the pig, does not feed on it.

(Nyoka, Ibid: 20)

The above stanza is meticulously analysed by Mtuze (1991: 17-18). Mtuze's thesis is that because of the socio-political system in South Africa the voice of protest of the modern Xhosa poet is muted. If one looks at the metaphorical language that Nyoka uses in the above stanza one cannot but agree with Mtuze's view. In an attempt to evade the censor the poet ends up being unintelligible to an average reader who is not able to discern the meaning of what he says.

In the above stanza Nyoka highlights the predicament of Blacks in South Africa who are oppressed by Apartheid. Making use of the hyperbole "sisigidi seminyaka" (it is a million years) and "ezi minikazi" (these many days) Nyoka vivifies the ugliness of the misery and terror that he finds himself subjected to. At this stage he reaches the height of emotions and vents his anger at the oppressor. He exclaims, "Owu, tar' ubulembu!"<sup>8</sup>. According to Mtuze (Ibid: 18):

The moss referred to ... symbolises whites with their flowing soft hair. It is traditionally believed that they came out of the sea. This is presumably because they came by ship.

Nyoka proceeds, "Kodwa abudliwa nasirov' ihagu". The word "isirhovu" which is harsh and bears a negative connotation, can be toned down by substituting it with the milder and neutral "ukubawa" or "ukurhala" meaning greed. Nyoka says that the pig, voracious as it is, does not covet the moss. Something that cannot be eaten by a brute of inferior status like a pig, which has a reputation of extreme ravenousness, is indeed extremely detestable. Hence my view that Nyoka expresses anger at the brutal and thoughtless mowing down of innocent and unarmed demonstrators at Sharpeville. But Nyoka's emotions are channelled towards the correct direction, creativity, instead of destruction. Over and above, he handles his task in an artistic manner, through the use of cryptic and evasive imagery. But his detestation of the white oppressor is obvious. The context of this line, that is the entire verse, nevertheless indicates clearly that Nyoka's invective is directed only at the oppressor and not at the entire white community.

In stanza 5 Nyoka (Ibid: 20) calls for unity amongst Africans, thereby exhibiting a pan-Africanist ideology. He avers:

Vuka, vuka mAfrika!!  
Bumb' ubunye, uthando noxolo!

Arise, arise African!!  
Forge unity, love and peace!

In stanza 6 he prays to God to set free the Israelites from Pharaoh's domination. This symbolises the oppressed Blacks and the Apartheid regime. He says:

Somandla Bawo Solukhanyiso  
Khulula uSirayeli kwisandla  
sikaGoliyathi;  
Sakhe sazinkamel' eKirene  
Loo mini sakuhelebha kumnqamlezo.

Kuthe cwaka ngelakho icala namhla.  
(Ibid: 21)

God Father harbinger of light  
Free the Israelites from the hand of Goliath;

We were once camels at Cyrene  
On that day we helped you and carried the  
cross for you.

But you are so quiet today.

In this same poem in stanza 2 line 8-10 Nyoka reveals that he is an ardent reader of the Bible. This attests to the man's commitment to the Christian faith. Nyoka's poetry which frequently addresses the Deity is evidence of this fact. In the above stanza he prays God to free Black South Africans from White oppression. He demonstrates his knowledge of the Bible by citing a text that tells about a black man who helped Jesus Christ with the heavy cross when he was climbing mount Calvary. Simon of Cyrene, father of Rufus and Alexander is the man<sup>9</sup>. This disillusionment of Blacks with Christianity is transparent in the last line "Kuthe cwaka ngelakho icala namhla" (It is quiet from your side today). Walshe (Ibid: 8) who concurs with this view cites Joost de Blank, an Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town who in 1958 condemned Apartheid and criticised the D.R.C. He says:

In de Blank's view South Africa faced the gravest crisis in its history as Africans were not only rejecting white oppression; they were also turning away from a Christianity that was all too clearly associated with the injustices of Apartheid.

Despite the assistance by a Black man Jesus Christ seems to have forgotten Africa in its hour of need. Nyoka also employs the strategy of selecting relevant texts from the Bible to elevate the self-concept of Blacks, and to move them away from inferiority complex. We have already explained how the Afrikaner Churches use the same strategy to legitimise white domination of Blacks in South Africa.

In "Vukani mawethu" Nyoka exhibits African nationalism. He pledges solidarity

with the PAC after the massacre of its members, and supports the ideals of Pan-Africanism. He envisages a dispensation for South Africa that will usher in nonracialism, equality and co-existence of races. Even the very title of Nyoka's poem "Vukani mawethu" is pregnant with meaning. It is equivalent to "Vukani Bantu" in Zulu, a phrase that has a revolutionary meaning and is closely associated with SANNK, which later became ANC. Mtuze (op.cit.: 17) cites Odendaal who explains the phrase as follows:

The phrase "Vukani Bantu", meaning Rise up you people! in Zulu or Xhosa, was used by members of the early educated African class in Natal in efforts to galvanise the people into becoming politically aware and active. Regarded by the Natal government as a dangerous and seditious invitation to rebellion, the term came to assume emotive connotation.

In "Izwe liyashukuma" (The country is shaking to its foundations) Nyoka's ideological orientation becomes more pronounced. He is, in this poem, more explicit and his message is full of urgency. Nyoka (Ibid: 45-48) says:

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | Bikani kumazwe ezikumkani<br>neentlanga;<br>Yitshoni kwabadala nabancinane<br>Nakwabamsobo namvubo<br><br>Nakubo bonke yithi ndithi<br>Izwe liyashukuma.<br>.....                      | Announce to the countries of kings and<br>races;<br>Inform the old and the young<br>Those who are like berries of the nightshade<br>and, like sourmilk with porridge.<br>And to all tell that I say<br>The country is shaking.<br>..... |
| 2. | Xelelani abaseNyasa nase-<br>Ntshona eseMntla.<br>Liyashukuma ilizwe, zinkosi<br>namaphakathi<br>Inkulu nale nto iligungqisayo<br><u>Lishukuma ngent' aph' erhu-</u><br><u>lubayo.</u> | Tell those in Nyasaland, and in North West.<br><br>The country is shaking, chiefs and counsellors<br><br>The cause of the jerking is great<br><u>The shock is caused by something crawling</u><br><u>on its belly.</u>                  |

(emphasis mine)

The very title of Nyoka's poem warns of impending catastrophe. He says that the events that are taking place in South Africa are shaking the country to its foundation. The title warns about a threatening uprising of the populace, whose consequences will bring the country to its knees, and everybody will suffer. In stanza 1 he says that the message must be conveyed to kings and to be the broad spectrum of races (neentlanga). His message is directed to all and sundry, young and old and to Blacks and Whites (abamsobo namvubo). The specific mention

of Blacks and Whites underscores the writer's inclusive ideology. He perceives the South African community as comprising all those "who live in it Black and White". Hence his call to all of them to equally intervene in the South African situation and avoid the downfall that threatens the country.

In stanza 2 the poet evinces a Pan Africanist inclination. He mentions African countries and traditional leaders. The poet in the same stanza, in metaphorical language, briefs us about the force behind the imminent revolution, "ngent' aph' erhulubayo". Placed in its context in terms of time and space, this "thing that is crawling on its belly" is the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. The two liberation movements were banned in 1960 and from the time of their banning until 1963 they operated underground. The sabotage activities of 1960-1963 that were conducted by both Umkhonto weSizwe and Poqo were never precedented in the history of South Africa. According to Marx (1992: 37) Umkhonto weSizwe carried out clandestine opposition to Apartheid through the use of violence because it was the only option open to it. The assessment by the poet of the situation as being alarming and his fear for the future is therefore comprehensible. But the poet emphasises that the solution is a resolution of the conflict through negotiations by all the parties involved. Nyoka in Stanza 3, continues with his prediction of doom. He spells out that South Africa is on the verge of the precipice:

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 3. | Koze kubegazi, kube mswane<br>Koda konakale, lindani mafa-namzi!<br>Soda senzakale zibiken' ezi ndaba.<br>Izwe liyagungqa, izwe liyashukuma!<br>Ziyavuthuz' izizwe neentlanga<br>Amehl' anengozi, ingqondo ziquth'<br>ukufa,<br>Zijamelene izizwe lusabile uXolo. | One day blood will spill and contents of<br>people's stomachs will scatter all over<br>Act swiftly patriots before everything gets out<br>of hand!<br>Please disseminate this news before we get<br>hurt.<br>The country is jerking, the country is shaking!<br>Countries and nations are furious<br>Eyes spell danger, minds contemplate death,<br>Nations are at loggerheads, there is no peace. |
| 5. | Umi ngazo zoshumi uLusifere,<br>Uthimbe inyaniso, wazixakathis'<br>ubujibilili<br>Uth' ubulungisa likhamte<br>Yinqaba yengqondo ubungqwanga-<br>ngqwili<br>Ubethe kumahlelo neendidi (sic) <sup>10</sup>  | Lucifer is resolute,<br>He has substituted truth with lies<br><br>He says justice is valueless<br>Absolute power is maintained through foul<br>means.<br>He has hit at the selection division of soldiers  |

Bee khumbaca  
Bezindwane abaHlekazi.

(Nyoka, Ibid: 45)

and the last line of defence  
They broke down  
The honourable men layed dead in rows.

Nyoka entreats South Africans to voice out the urgent call for reconciliation and a negotiated settlement (see Stanza 3 line 2 and 3). He emphasises the urgency of the matter so as to avert the imminent havoc. Failure to address this question will be failure to avert a revolution that will decimate innocent people. The poet warns that foreign nations and countries are furious at the brutality demonstrated by the Nationalist Government. The conflict in South Africa, according to the poet, has a potential of causing an international conflict, as it has left nations at loggerheads. The furious countries and nations are probably those that are sympathetic to the Black cause in South Africa. These nations are said to be ready to assist Blacks if circumstances force them to resort to violent means in their struggle for freedom.

In the fifth stanza the poet says that the Devil is reigning in South Africa. Truth has given way to lies. Justice has given way to autocracy and injustice. The oppressive government which is associated by the poet with Lucifer (the Devil) has murdered the most reliable and intelligent men (amahlelo) and the most trustworthy, resilient and resolute men (iindini). These honourable martyrs were broken down (bee khumbaca) and finally eliminated (beziindwane) by repressive apparatuses of a state that thrives in tyranny (ubungqwangangqwili). In the eighth stanza Nyoka discloses the cause of his concern. In the previous poem "Vukani Mawethu" he only alludes to the incident at Sharpeville. In this poem Nyoka spells out in no uncertain terms that the Sharpeville massacre will never be another event, significant only to statisticians. According to his assessment the massacre is going to have profound repercussions nationally and internationally. Nyoka (Ibid: 46) says:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 8. | Lutsho umelwane namakholwane<br>Budlavukil' ubudlelane<br>Ngesandulela sendlakadla.<br>Uza kungena umgomanzi,<br>Kophendula ukufa kulamle igazi.<br>Suka ndalila <u>ndakwalama ukuthi wace!</u> | Neighbours and friends say<br>Relations are damaged.<br>After the massacre.<br>War is imminent<br>And death and spilling of blood will ensue.<br>I wept <u>when I saw the slain mowed down!</u> |
|----|---|---|

Oonyana babantu, inzala yabafazi,  
Awu, Yerusalem, mzi kaThixo  
Safafika msinya noThando noxolo!

(emphasis mine)

The sons of man, progeny of women,  
Oh, Jerusalem, House of God  
South Africa move speedily towards Love and  
peace!

In the above eighth stanza Nyoka makes reference to neighbours and friends who pledge solidarity with the cause of Blacks in South Africa. The poet's confidence in African and European countries is understandable when one learns about the visits of Mandela to these countries in 1961, to "make direct contact" with other leaders. Meli (Ibid: 149) recounts:

Mandela met and had discussions with many leading African politicians: Julius Nyerere and Rashidi Kawawa (Tanganyika); Emperor Haile Selassie (Ethiopia); General Abboud (Sudan); Habid Bourguba (Tunisia); Modiba Keita (Mali) Leopold Senghor (Senegal); Sekou Toure (Guinea); William Tubman (Liberia); Ben Bella and Colonel Boumedienne (Algeria); Milton Obote (Uganda); Kenneth Kaunda (Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia); Oginga Odinga (Kenya, then still a British colony); Joshua Nkomo (Southern Rhodesia) and many others... "In all these countries we were showered with hospitality, and assured of solid support for our cause", remembered Mandela... Mandela also went on to visit Britain...

It is clear that after the Sharpeville massacre (indlakadla), Africans and some sympathetic Europeans realised the need to support the liberation movement in South Africa. Karis and Carter (Ibid: 359) explains the basis of the optimism that permeates Nyoka's poem:

Historically, South African Blacks have felt optimistic about achieving full rights... As South Africa entered the 1960s, morale was boosted by the emergence of Black independent states on the continent and the gradual mounting of pressures against South Africa. A world-wide economic boycott appeared to be in the making, and sanctions by governments against South Africa were being seriously discussed.

Against the backcloth of history it becomes clear why Nyoka anticipates an insurrection that will successfully counter the full force of state power, violently overthrow the illegitimate regime and usher in a democratic government. Nyoka in the sixth line of the above eighth stanza expresses his disgust at the Sharpeville murders. He says he could not withhold his tears at the shocking scene of men, women and children who were mowed down by police bullets. The sight was horrible (lulwalamo) and abhorrent. Nyoka prays for God's intervention and calls on the South African government to pursue a peaceful route. In Stanza 12

Nyoka continues with his prayer to God. He prays for equality, non-racialism, cooperation, coexistence, love and respect amongst races:

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 12. | Thetha nezizwe, iintlanga nabalawuli,<br>Fika ngesandi neyona nguqulelo,<br>Sunduza injubaqa uchil' amafu<br>onxunguphalo<br>Luth' uhlanga kwanomelwane<br>Lwangane olunye nolunye lukhonzane.<br>..... | Talk to countries, nations and rulers,<br>Come and effect drastic changes<br>Remove the wicked and clear the clouds of<br>tension<br>So that races and neighbours can<br>Embrace one another and serve one another.<br>..... |
|-----|---|--|
- (Nyoka, Ibid: 47)

Nyoka in the last stanza underscores his nationalistic disposition by bringing in the first two verses from the African national anthem "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika". He prays:

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 13. | Nkosi khawusikelele eyeth' iAfrika!<br>Luhlokome uphondo lwayo<br>Luhlokome ulawulo nonqulo<br>Zide izizwe zibuqonde ubungangamsha<br>bakho. | God please bless our Africa!<br>Let its horn sound loudly<br>Let governance and religion sound loudly<br>Till the nations recognise your greatness. |
|-----|--|---|
- (Ibid: 48)

In his nationalist verse, Nyoka's socio-political ideology is accordant with his aesthetic ideology. He has completely abstained from foreign influence and he, in pure Xhosa forms of expression, lays his soul bare. Imagery that is all African is utilised to the maximum, and the effect is vivid descriptions. Holding fast to the indigenous style has enabled Nyoka to tread lightly a very sensitive and delicate theme. His verse is divided into paragraphs with an unequal number of lines<sup>11</sup>. Each paragraph contains a subject matter that makes it different from another. In the above poems Nyoka has emerged with a revolutionary content that is in a dialectical relationship with its form.

### 3.7 RESUMÉ

The ideological contest of the first phase of Apartheid gained momentum during the second half of the fifties. This ideological contest impacted profoundly on Xhosa written poetry. Xhosa written poetry became a terrain of the struggle against Apartheid by the ANC and PAC ideologies.

The desperate attempts by the government of the day to make people consent to

apartheid governance and White supremacy was reciprocated by resistance which strived for elimination of inferiority complex amongst Blacks, and dissent to Apartheid governance. The nascent PAC ideology stimulated debate about who owns the land in South Africa and the national question<sup>12</sup>. These debates permeated Xhosa written poetry. Though the impact of the PAC ideology cannot be underestimated, the majority of Xhosa poets seem to be interpellated by African nationalism as it was propounded by the ANC at that time. In his historic speech at the Rivonia trial on April 20, 1964, Mandela explained the ANC's African Nationalism:

The ideological creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of African nationalism. It is not the concept of African nationalism expressed in the cry, 'Drive the white man into the sea'. The African nationalism for which the ANC stands is the concept of freedom and fulfilment for the African people in their own land. The most important political document ever adopted by the ANC is the 'Freedom Charter' (Learn and Teach publications 1988: 20).

It is however not easy to reach certainty in this regard as the texts also exhibit a Pan-Africanist inclination. The poets unfortunately do not delve deeply into finer aspects of these ideologies, namely individual and/or group rights.

The year of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 marks the end of the first phase of Nationalist rule. The period 1961-1963 has been included in this chapter because it is an overlap of the first phase. Literature produced during this short period is a continuation of the tradition of the fifties. It addresses socio-political-economic issues. It continues to disseminate African nationalism. Following on the trend of the fifties, it popularises the ANC and PAC ideology. What I observe in these texts is that Xhosa poets do not regard Pan-Africanism as a preserve of "Africanists" (PAC) only. In fact ANC ideology is not anti Pan-Africanism.

During its brief period of existence of eleven months the PAC was responsible for stimulating the political debate, as it was the PAC that incurred the brutality of Apartheid at Sharpeville. This incident became a dominant theme in the poetry of the said period. The influence of Apartheid ideology on poetry of this period

is also discernible, but it is minimal.

Also noticeable during the first phase of Apartheid is the appropriation of the Christian religion by both the ruling class and the subaltern class to legitimise their respective political ideologies. Xhosa written poetry became a vehicle for conveyance of these sentiments. It is my view that during the second half of the first phase of National Party government, including the post-Sharpeville period, the ANC creed of African Nationalism was the dominant ideology, though it was politically subordinate. Xhosa poetry writers of this period utilized this mechanism of culture to disseminate the said ideology, and to affirm its hegemony.

### Notes

1. See Davies et al (Ibid: 26-27)
2. According to the Daily Dispatch of 25 February 1993 Malcolm M.Z. Dyani is "a former member of the Border PAC executive, who was himself a political prisoner for 15 years..."
3. In Mahlasela (1973) and Sirayi (1985) one is exposed to Jolobe's modern and traditional poetry. In both studies Jolobe's nationalistic interventions have been exposed.
4. Criticism from within the DRC (NGK) confirms this. Walshe (1982: 7) says:

Even with the DRC the beginnings of what were to become serious tensions emerged as the apartheid government proved incapable of evolving a policy which could give any substantial meaning to 'separate development'. In 1955 Professor B.B. Keet of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) seminary at Stellenbosch dismissed the biblical defence of apartheid in his book Whither South Africa? ...In attempting to defend apartheid on scriptural grounds, the DRC stood alone in error - the major error being the 'false assumption that diversity is synonymous with separation' a separation 'at variance with God's ordinances': As with Keet, the realisation was growing, at least among a few DRC ministers, that the application of apartheid was intensifying injustice -not least in the vicious destruction of African family life.
5. Cf Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981: 107-122).
6. Cf Ibid (1981: 86-93; 1972: 26-30).
7. See "Basic Policy of the Congress Youth League". Manifesto issued by the

National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League, 1948 (Karis and Carter, 1973: 328).

8. The "ubulembu" may be the moss or the filaments of a ripening maize cob. Both images are used to symbolize whites.
9. Sinxo (195: 52-54) also makes reference to this episode in his poem.
10. This is probably a typographical error. The word is "iindini". Literally it denotes the bank of a dam or river. Figuratively it connotes the last line of defence in military or hunting expeditions; or a reliable, trustworthy, protective, resolute and resilient person.
11. See Kunene (1971: 531).
12. See No Sizwe (1979: 115-121).

**CHAPTER 4**  
**THE SECOND PHASE OF APARTHEID : 1963-1973**

**4.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this third chapter I shall focus on the second phase of the Apartheid epoch, a period that spans from 1963- after the underground ANC was discovered at Rivonia, to 1973 just prior to the outbreak of crisis for the Apartheid ideology (Lodge, Ibid: 326). I shall first provide a brief historical account of the consolidation of the Apartheid ideology, which prepared the ground for this "real golden age of apartheid" (Davies, Ibid: 28). Secondly, I shall take a brief look at the general response of committed writers to repression. From this general perspective I shall proceed to the specific case of Xhosa written poetry of the second phase of Apartheid. I shall therefore, thirdly, analyse and interpret selected texts that were produced during the period under review. Lastly, I shall furnish my conclusion to this chapter.

**4.2 CONSOLIDATION OF THE APARTHEID IDEOLOGY: 1963-1973**

The discovery by the Nationalist party government, of the ANC underground operation at Rivonia in 1963 resolved the post-Sharpeville crisis. Resistance by the internal masses was dissipated by the deluge of repressive measures that ensued. The decade 1963-1973 which is referred to by Lodge (1983: 326) as "the post-Sharpeville quiescence", allowed the Nationalist party government to consolidate its Apartheid ideology in its political, economic, intellectual and cultural spheres.

**4.2.1 Political**

During the period 1963-1973 the Nationalist party government passed a broad range of laws and regulations. To name a few the following laws were passed:

The General Law Amendment Act of 1964, the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act of 1965, the General Law Amendment Act of 1966 and the Terrorism Act of 1967<sup>1</sup>. All the above laws were aimed at alleviating threats to state security. They increased penalties for political offences and introduced detention without trial. A number of other laws were passed to galvanise the state's political position. In 1964, the 1936 Land Act was amended. From 1963-1973 over a million people were relocated from so-called "White Areas" in terms of this law<sup>2</sup>. The Pass laws and the Black Urban Areas Act of 1945 were amended and rendered more effective and severe. They empowered the government to determine who to retain and who to expell from "white" South Africa. The Black (Urban Areas) Act, with its dreaded section 10, was made more effective. In terms of this Section 10 Africans who did not qualify for residence in an urban area or "white" area, were only allowed for 72 hours. After the expiry of the time one would face prosecution and or deportation to his homeland. The Group Areas Act was also attended to in 1964 to demarcate White, Coloured and Indian areas. The situation of Blacks in South Africa in the sixties is summed up by Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (Ibid: 43):

In 1967 it was 'accepted government policy that the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic, for as long as they offer their labour there'.

In 1959 the South African Parliament had tabled the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Bill. In order to solve the political problem it confronted, Bantustans would be established, would be self-governing, and independent. This "positive response" to the demands for political rights by Blacks would, according to Verwoerd buy "...the white man his freedom and right to retain domination in what is his country"<sup>3</sup>. In 1963-73 a lot of work was carried out by the government to establish an infrastructure for the Bantustans. In terms of the 1970 Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act all Bantus would become citizens of one of the Bantustans. Even those people who were born and bred by parents who were also born and bred in urban areas, were affected by this regulation. The Bantustan policy, in short, was aimed at consolidation of South African racial capitalism. It aimed at dividing the Black masses and creating an alternative to the ANC and PAC ideologies<sup>4</sup>.

#### 4.2.2 Economical

The economic situation after 1960 is articulately depicted by the Readers Digest Illustrated history of South Africa (1988: 420-421):

The haemorrhage of foreign capital precipitated by Sharpeville and the emergency had been staunched, and was soon to be replaced by an infusion of new capital on an unprecedented level. ...By 1963, the economy had righted itself; its growth rate over the period 1960-70 averaged nearly six percent a year, ...Imports rose by 109 percent between 1958-62 while exports (excluding gold) rose by 135 percent. Foreign investment which had been valued at R3 billion in 1963, had risen to R7 billion by 1972 - an increase of about 230 percent; this was the fuel that fired the boom...

This rate of growth of the economy was unique. It led to restoration of confidence in South Africa's Apartheid capitalism by international investors of capital resulting in Davies et al (Ibid: 28) saying:

Through these measures, and in particular the success in subduing the challenge of the oppressed masses, the ruling class created the conditions for nearly a decade of uninterrupted boom from 1963-1972. This period was the real golden age of apartheid for those class forces which benefitted from the system.

These conditions of success in the economic sphere enhanced consolidation of monopoly capitalism in all sectors. A large number of small companies were absorbed by a few giant companies. This accounts for the monopolisation of publication of Xhosa literature by a few conglomerate publishers who work hand in glove with the department of education. These publishers collaborate with the department in disseminating the ideology of Apartheid and expurgating books of any trace of the alternative ideology. The economic upswing also enabled the government to build its military might tenfold. As a result it was in a position to withstand any form of internal rebellion and worker industrial actions. The economic boom of the sixties had however very little benefits for Blacks. In a terse exposition of "the other side of the Boom" Bunting (1986: 518) says:

The riches of South Africa, which enable the whites to enjoy one of the highest living standards in world (only the US, Canada and Sweden have a higher per capita income than White South Africa), are based on the poverty and exploitation of the Blacks.

### 4.2.3 Cultural

In 1963 the government passed the Publications and Entertainments Act. In terms of the said act as quoted by Gérard (1971: 91), any publication that:

- (a) is indecent or obscene or is offensive or harmful to public morals;
- (b) is blasphemous or is offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic;
- (c) brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt;
- (d) is harmful to the relations between any section of the inhabitants of the Republic
- (e) is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare, or the peace and good order; or
- (f) discloses indecent or obscene matter in relation to reports of judicial proceedings.

would be banned forthwith. A Publications Control Board which was granted wide-ranging powers to censor books, films, magazines and other publications was established. The 1963 Publications and Entertainment Act and the Control Boards according to Gérard (Ibid: 91-92) prohibited:

- ...any serious discussion of Christian beliefs or of the actual mores of allegedly Christian people, any analysis of the ethical, social, economic and political aspects of apartheid, any criticism or irony levelled at the European ruling minority...

During the second phase of Apartheid the foregoing are the state apparatuses that were used by the nationalist government to eliminate any challenge to its ideology.

### 4.2.4 Intellectual

The strategy of establishing Bantustans also consolidated the policy of Bantu Education which was introduced in 1953. A number of schools were built in the rural areas to cater for the pupils of the families that were dumped there. Marx (1992: 41) says:

- Perhaps the most significant immediate consequences of the structural changes culminating in the 1960s was the dramatic increase in segregated black education required to provide a larger skilled work force: Preuniversity Black enrollment increased from 1 million in 1955 to over 25 million in 1969, while the black university population increased from a meager 515 in 1961 to almost 3000 by 1972.

This naturally increased the demand for literature written in vernacular languages. But to ensure that the ideology of Apartheid is not challenged the Department of Bantu Education consolidated the Language Boards<sup>5</sup> of all the vernacular languages in South Africa, whose brief was the screening of all manuscripts and published literature, to assess their suitability for prescription in schools. The Department furthermore cooperated with the monopolistic publishing houses which are mostly pro-government. These publishers collaborated with the government in its ideological contest. Publishers who showed sympathy toward the alternative ideology were neglected in prescriptions for schools.

#### 4.3 WRITERS UNDER REPRESSION

The intensification of repression during the second phase of Apartheid ideology had profound impact on Xhosa written poetry. The preceding section has explained how the authorities used their power at the level of reception of literature to influence its ideological content. Some writers on the other hand resisted the influence of the dominant Apartheid ideology and strived for the promotion of the alternative African nationalism. At their level of production of literature these writers contributed towards whetting the consciousness of the oppressed. Some writers consciously or unconsciously acquiesced with the dominant ideology while others resorted to new strategies for resistance. Ngara in Peterson (ed) (1988: 130) intimates:

In any epoch literature either supports the ideology of the ruling class or opposes it. In modern Africa literature has so far tended to oppose the ideology of the ruling class.

Ngara (Ibid: 131) having outlined the hazards that confront committed writers under repression discloses:

...some writers are now resorting to obscure imagery and symbolism, making their works less accessible to the general reader than is desirable.

The trend that Ngara cogently identifies is clearly exemplified by the Xhosa written poetry of the second phase of Apartheid. Mtuze (1991: 15) confirms that the aforesaid pattern is also followed by writers of the Southern tip of Africa:

A direct consequence of these repressive measures has been that most Xhosa writers, especially poets, decided to use forms of writing that muffled the shrillness of their protest on political issues.

Imagery is certainly one of the forms of writing that Mtuze makes reference to. Hence my view that his observations concur with Ngara's. The foregoing observations are supplemented by Mapanje in Peterson (ed) (1988: 105) who insists that the poet's innovation and creativity is not depreciatory to the quality of the text. He cites "the famous Polish novelist" Jadeusz Konwichi who noted:

...writing under censorship has positive aspects. It can be like gambling or doing battle. The fact of having to face a censor can mobilise a writer to create ways of bypassing censorship; it forces the writer to employ metaphors which raise the piece of writing to a higher level.

The above scholars' consciousness will guide this study in its analysis and interpretation of Xhosa written poetry of the second phase of the Apartheid epoch.

#### 4.4 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF TEXTS

##### 4.4.1 Magona (1965): ULUNDI LAMAPHUPHA (A horizon of dreams)

Regarding this collection of poems, minutes of the Xhosa Language Committee which met on 21 to 25 August 1967 read thus<sup>6</sup>:

It reflects deep philosophy, a gifted writer of good poetry rich in imagery.

The above evaluation of Magona's work cannot be contradicted. Small wonder that the publishers of this book inscribed this eulogy in the opening paragraph of its blurb.

Magona is one of the few Xhosa writers whose work focusses on burning issues in the metropolitan milieu. Qangule, as quoted by Gerard (Ibid: 98) observed that Xhosa works "have in the main a rural setting. This comes as no surprise since the vast majority of the 2300,000 Xhosa live in rural areas". Magona's exposure to an urban setting in Cape Town might have shaped his thoughts, and focussed his attention on his immediate environment<sup>7</sup>. Magona (Ibid: 1-2) was appalled by the abject poverty that was experienced by Blacks in South Africa

during his time. In "Ubuhlwempu" (poverty) he expresses his condemnation of this undesirable phenomenon. This condemnation is poignantly depicted with ironic imagery in the first of this five stanza poem. The third and fifth stanzas posit philosophical arguments that seek the truth about this reality of poverty.

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | Bungunonc' ubuhlwempu obungafunwa<br>mntu,<br>Qabane ndini ongathandwa sihlobo,<br>Sivuthuvuthu ndini, sitshingitshane,<br>Mtshazisi wobomi nozakuzaku wokufa.                      | Poverty befalls all, though rejected by all,<br><br>Friend that is hated by its friends,<br>You hurricane, you gale,<br>Blighter of life, harbinger of death.   |
| 3. | Luthul' emehlweni, sisis'<br>ezingcingeni,<br>Sivuka ngentseni kuhab' emvabeni,<br><br>Mendo omxethuka mkhuthulwa<br>zizihlewe,<br>Siwusikelwe na lo mendo<br><u>kwase mveleni?</u> | Vision and cognition are disturbed by dust and<br>smoke,<br>Waking up in the morning, the milk sack is<br>empty,<br>The hillside road trodden by multitudes,<br><br>Were we <u>from creation</u> destined to<br>pursue this course? |
- (emphasis mine)

The images with negative connotations, that are used in the first stanza, portray poverty as a detestable, destructive and deadly experience. In the second stanza the poet says that poverty affects one's vision and cognition (in both the literal and figurative sense) (line 1). He says that the majority of Blacks are suffering (line 3). They wake up in the morning not knowing what they will have for breakfast (line 2). Then he asks the crucial question, "were Blacks from creation destined to live in poverty?" This is a rhetorical question, but to emphasize the negative answer the poet substantiates:

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 4. | Bambi baphambukile bakumarhiw' ambi,<br><br>Malinge matsh' akathethi ntw' imbi,<br>Moyiki kuthiy' awusayikubambisa,<br><br>Nyathel' umhlab' omtsha uqin' uthi<br>nkqi.                 | Some have deviated and reached new<br>pastures,<br>New methods have nothing wrong,<br>You who dreads ensnaring you will<br>never catch a booty,<br>Tread a new soil and be resolute.                  |
| 5. | <u>Umntu ngamny' uzalw' ekhululekile;</u><br>Agange ubom, bubophe ngesiko<br>nesithethe,<br><br><u>Ngelinye ngenzam' aphoncule</u><br>Phaphama nawe mlingane phandl' apha<br>kuvukiwe. | <u>Everybody is born free;</u><br>He receives life which chains him with<br>customs and traditions,<br><br><u>Through struggle he may be set free</u><br>Awake friend, everybody is awake<br>outside. |

(emphasis mine)

In the fourth stanza the poet says that those who struggled with determination have deviated from the course of oppression. Magona perceives freedom of the oppressed masses as the only condition that can rescue the masses from poverty. He therefore urges the people to intensify the struggle for liberation. The Umkhonto weSizwe Manifesto as quoted by Barrel (1990: 2) illuminates the above stanza:

Umkhonto weSizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organisations. Umkhonto weSizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members jointly and individually place themselves under the overall guidance of that movement. (emphasis mine)

When reconciled with the Umkhonto Manifesto, Magona's poem on behalf of Umkhonto weSizwe "appeals for support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people..."<sup>8</sup> He argues that the new methods (*malinge matsha*), which are obviously the turn to violence, are justified (*akathethi ntw' imbi*). Those who fear exploring the perilous and precarious new methods must not hope to realise freedom one day. He urges people to pursue the new course with resoluteness.

In the last stanza the poet says that man is born free but social restrictions strangle him. Magona reverberates the proposition of the Geneva born philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, purported by his monumental work - The Social Contract. Rousseau's very first sentence of this book intimates that: "Man was born free but he is everywhere in chains". He then develops his argument that if civil society or state, could have a genuine social contract as its basis, a situation that is diametrically opposed to that of a fraudulent social contract, people could "receive in exchange for their independence a better kind of freedom, namely true political or republican, liberty. Such liberty is to be found in obedience to a self-imposed law"<sup>9</sup>. Law, in terms of Rousseau's proposition is dichotomous. There is true law and actual law. Actual law protects the status quo, while true law is just law. It is just, because it is made by people and obeyed by the very people who made it. Rousseau posits that such law can never be unjust as people cannot make oppressive laws for themselves. On this basis,

argues Rousseau, men need not be in chains.<sup>10</sup>

The above synopsis of Rousseau's contribution in political philosophy illuminates Magona's poem. Magona's proposition is that the roots of poverty in South Africa lie in the undemocratic political system of the country which makes oppressive laws. He says that the cause of poverty is not in the inherent nature of Black South Africans, but in the 'actual laws' (as distinct from true) that protect the oppressive 'fraudulent' status quo. When a representative democratic government is in place it will make "true laws" that will not oppress people. Freedom from oppression and deprivation will uproot poverty. Magona admonishes his comrades (mlingane) to make an effort and struggle for their freedom, and calls on them to remain vigilant. Magona (Ibid: 18-19) again addresses the question of poverty in "Ingcinga zehlwempu". The poem spells out the grief that is endured by poverty stricken Blacks of South Africa:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 3. | Inga ndindedwa entlango<br>Intlango engangelam iphango,<br>Izingcing' awam amaqabane<br>Iliphango eyam intandane,<br>Ndinga ndingalibhabhatane<br>Ndingcamle ubuhle bentebe <sup>11</sup> . | It is as if I am alone in a desert<br>A desert as wide as my hunger,<br>My companions being my thoughts<br>Hunger being my loved one<br>I wish I could be a butterfly<br>And taste the beauty of "intebe".                                    |
| 6. | Kobo bunzima bobom<br>Kuyo kany' <u>intibazo ventlalo</u> ,<br>Ngethemba nonyamezelo,<br>Ngenzame nenzondelelo<br>Ndohamba lomgaq' uthe ngqo,<br>Ndifike kwisiphelo solwam<br>uvuyo.        | Under the difficult circumstances<br>Under the <u>stifling social conditions</u> ,<br>With hope and endurance,<br>Struggle and patience<br>I shall not deviate from the right course<br>Until I reach the destination that makes me<br>happy. |
- (emphasis mine)

In the third stanza Magona depicts the stress that is caused by poverty. He portrays how mentally, physically and spiritually debilitating poverty is. In the sixth stanza he underlines the fact that the roots of poverty in the Black community lie in politico-socio-economic deprivation. The stifling social conditions provide little opportunity for self-actualisation. Despite all the suffering, the pauper still has hope, endurance, and patience. He is determined to live an ethical and virtuous life, and to struggle until his very last day on earth.

Magona took up the cause of the Black proletariat that was growing in leaps and

bounds with the growth of racial industrial capitalism in South Africa after the second world war, and particularly during the economic boom after 1963. The impact of racial industrial capitalism in South Africa is pointed out by Halisi (1993: 1)<sup>12</sup>

The majority of black South Africans have been the subjects of a process that can be described as racial proletarianization - wage labor was imposed on them under conditions of racial domination.

Magona draws attention to the exploitation of the Black worker who sweats producing wealth for the privileged white minority and the white state. But this hard work does not in any way bring the deserved reward in terms of remuneration and human dignity. Instead the proletariat is humiliated, deprived of South African citizenship and reduced to an expendable commodity that, when it ceases to produce wealth, is neglected.

In "Umninimzi" (the head of the family) Magona (Ibid: 16) divulges the embarrassment that obtains inside the majority of homes of workers, as they fail to meet the demands of the household. In the first stanza of the poem the worker meditates upon his family in the urban location (elokishini). The wife and children are waiting anxiously. He thinks about all the problems he fails to overcome. His son, Themba, is at a teacher training college. He has not yet sent money for his books and he also needs some articles of clothing. The poet highlights the difficult accessibility of education to the poor Blacks. There is another thorn in the breadwinner's flesh:

- |       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| 3.    | Inyanga ifile uyazi<br>Nezibonda nazo ziyazi<br>Irhafu yendlu inkqenkqeza<br>phambili,<br>Ukudipha kuyw' akuthathinto,<br>Iikhaya esona silili sakhe<br>nosapho. | It is the end of the month he knows<br>And the local authorities also know<br>House rental is a priority,<br><br>Using some of it does not bring a relief,<br>The homee, a heaven for himself and his<br>family, is the most important. |
| ..... |  | .....   |
| 4.    | Athini "ulonwabo" ukungalangi?<br>Kwinyani ekrakra okwekhala,<br>.....   | How can there be "happiness?"<br>In a reality that is as bitter as an aloe,<br>.....  |
- (Magona, Ibid: 16)

In the above third stanza the poet sets forth the plight of the landless worker who is forced to pay a high rental for "his home" in the location. In terms of the Native Land and Trust Act of 1948 which was adopted by the Nationalist government from previous governments, the urban areas were a "white man's land". Morris (1981: 42) says:

...the Nationalist government was committed to the ideology of separate development for Blacks and Whites. Blacks in 'white' urban areas were to be regarded as 'temporary sojourners' and as such would not be entitled to any political, social or other rights in these areas.

Because of the temporary status of urban Blacks the government in the fifties and sixties, made legislation that prevented them from acquiring land. Instead it build cost-effective houses for Blacks who qualified through Section 10 of the Native (Urban Areas) Act. The economic rentals for this accommodation strangled the majority of black workers who earned incomes that were below the breadline. The local authorities (izibonda) demanded that rental be paid promptly and defaulters risked being ejected, hence the rental (irhafu yendlu) was a priority. Magona in this poem exposes the savagely cruel Apartheid ideology which subjected Blacks to poverty, lack of access to education, and poor conditions of land tenure. In stanza 4 he asks a rhetorical question which emphasises that under the prevailing circumstances Blacks will never taste happiness.

In "Imbali yeXhego" (A biography of an old man) Magona again takes a look at the exploited worker at old age. After all the hard work during his lifetime he is as poor as a churchmouse. The law of the land has made little or no provision for his sustenance. While the employer has accumulated wealth the person who laboured for that wealth is left destitute. Magona furthermore argues that the postulates of the dominant ideology that Blacks are inherently lazy are a myth. The oppressed masses die poor, not because that is their nature, but because forces and factors brought to bear upon them by the oppressor, exploit them and subject them to perpetual servitude. Magona (Ibid: 13) puts it to the physically feeble senescent proletarian:

- |    |                             |                                 |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 3. | Iminqweno yakho yathinteka  | Your wishes were curtailed      |
|    | Ingcinga zakho zanzinyelwa, | Your ideas were suppressed,     |
|    | Inzame zakho zoyisakala.    | Your struggles were stultified. |

Ulapha nje asibobugwala,  
 Uzamile, walwa lem' ithemba,  
 Liwil' ibhotwe leengcinga liwile.  
 Latshabalala langangesiduli,  
 Kakade uthuthu lanamhla ibazinkuni  
 zezolo.

Your being here is not due to cowardice,  
 You struggled, fought until you lost hope,  
 The palace of ideas is demolished.  
 Destroyed and reduced to the size of an anthill,  
 Of course today's ash is yesterday's  
 firewood.

4. Awuvilaphanga ukhoboziwe  
 Usongiwe okomqokozw' edyokwe,  
 Ngamasiko, yimithetho nesithethe,  
 Yintluphek' entlalo ekuthe qiqe

You have not been lazy but enslaved  
 You have been rolled up like a yoke chain,  
 By customs, laws and traditions.  
 By suffering caused by social conditions that  
 place you

Kwimithunz' obomi ebanga ubufede.

Under shades of life that induce indolence.

According to Magona Apartheid which has enslaved (khoboza) Blacks and deprived them of all human rights, shares the greatest part of blame for the poverty, suffering and dehumanisation during senility.

Magona subscribes to the ideology of Pan-Africanism. But his sharp intellect discerns that this goal will never be realised in a turbulent world. Magona (Ibid: 3) therefore in "Uxolo eAfrica" calls for peace in Africa:

2. Makubekho uxolo kuyw' iAfrika,  
 Lungxangxaz' okwemvula, imiziswa  
 lihlobo.  
 Makubekh' uxolo aph' emhlabeni.  
 Luwambese okwenkungu zentseni,  
 Makubekho uxolo ezizweni,  
 Zilwamkel' okwemitha yelanga.

Let there be peace in Africa,  
 Let it pour heavily like rain, brought by  
 summer.  
 Let there be peace on earth.  
 That adorns it like the morning mist,  
 Let there be peace amongst nations,  
 Who will welcome it like the rays of the sun.

Magona perceives Africa as an integral part of the international community. Peace in Africa enhances international peace and vice versa. In this call for peace Magona emphasizes the significance of unity by all African countries for an effective and efficient maintenance of peace. This arrangement also enhances peaceful existence of citizens of each and every country. He also emphasizes the significance of unity by all countries (izizwe) of the world (umhlaba) in order to maintain international peace and stability. Pan-Africanist as he is, Magona advocates the Charterist strain of African Nationalism. Luthuli, then president of the ANC, as quoted by Karis and Carter (1977: 658), demonstrated in his speech at Oslo that Charterists are not anti Pan-Africanism:

Our goal is a united Africa in which the standards of life and liberty are constantly expanding... This goal... carries the only real promise of peace in Africa.

Magonas' African nationalistic ideology emerges more fully in his poem "Ikhaka noMkhonto" (The Shield and the Spear) which celebrates the founding of Umkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress, in 1961<sup>13</sup>. Symbolism is an old tradition in Africa. Symbols are used to signify worldviews, ideologies, countries, etc. The Shield and the Spear were used by African warriors in times of war. Their use became more frequent when Africans defended their country against Western imperialism. Even after the final defeat and subjugation by colonialists Africans continued to venerate the spear and the shield which played such a significant role in their lives. These relics, which are a memento of the contradictory past, with its moments of joy and suffering, have become objects of reverence which were adopted by the majority of Africans as national symbols. The African National Congress's Umkhonto weSizwe adopted the Shield and the Spear as their symbols. Malan (1993: 18) explains the significance of symbols as follows:

When perceived positively, they have the ability to inspire, mobilise, unify and to express solidarity and identification.

I therefore postulate that Magona's (Ibid: 5) reference to "Ikhaka noMkhonto" is reference to Umkhonto weSizwe, which they symbolize in the poem that follows:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1.     Namhla ndikunika ikhaka,<br>Libe likhusi kuwe nabakho<br>Libe sisiviko sesizwe sakho,<br>Ukhusi lohlanga olilo.<br>Ndingu Ntu inyange<br>Ndingu Ntu isinyanya<br>Namhla uphiw' elo gama,<br>Kub' isizwe silangisiwe. | Today I am giving you a Shield,<br>To protect yourself and your people<br>To defend your country<br>Protection of the nation you are.<br>I am "Ntu" the elder<br>I am "Ntu" the ancestor<br>Today you are given that name,<br>Because the nation has been blemished. |
|---|--|

Magona says that Umkhonto weSizwe will be the protector of the people and the nation. It will be the vanguard of African national identity. Line 5 and 6 link this world with the world hereafter. The elders and ancestors of a nation are links between the people and Qamata<sup>14</sup>. "Ntu" is the forbear of the nation that comprises "abantu". The implication here is that the formation of the wing has the blessing of the ancestors and God. The last line in its literal sense says that a cataract has been spread over the eyes of the nation. According to Kropf (Ibid:

213) "Umlanga" means "a blemish, a cataract or film on the eye" Figuratively this means that the nation has been blemished, or kept in the dark or undermined. Magona (Ibid) develops his argument in the second stanza.

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 2. | Sothuke asabinakuthetha<br>Ngulowo uzikhethayo,<br>Ngokuzaz' ubuyekeyeke;<br>Asimdudi kwinkundla yezizwe<br>Ngumlandeli weyakh' imigaqo,<br>Ngokoyik' imiqad' eyavezwa<br>kwizihlwele. | We were shocked and dumb founded<br>By the one who isolated himself,<br>Because he knows he is in a weak position;<br>He does not dance in international courts<br>He follows his own regulations,<br>He fears because of his faults that were<br>exposed in public before many people. |
|----|--|---|

A recapitulation on historical evidence will illuminate the above stanza. On March 15, 1961, the then Prime Minister Dr Verwoerd withdrew membership of South Africa in the British Commonwealth, responding to criticism levelled against Apartheid by the Commonwealth Prime Minister Conference where Chief Albert Luthuli, then president of the ANC, made a harangue in favour of South Africa's expulsion<sup>15</sup>. Having broken away from the Commonwealth the regime founded a Republic on 31 May 1961. This action freed the government from being bound by the ethics of the Commonwealth, but isolated the country. It is these events that shocked Magona. The person referred to in the Stanza is South Africa with its oppressive racist policies which were exposed at the Commonwealth conference. Magona (Ibid) continues:

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 3. | Wamkele lo mkhonto namhla,<br>Kwintshaba zakun' ibesisothuso,<br>'Ze kumthinjana ibe sisikhuselo,<br>Uwalathe kuzo zonk' indlela. | Today do accept the spear,<br>To be your defence against your enemies,<br>To be a protection to the young men,<br>Point it to all the roads. |
|    | .....   | .....  |

The founding of a Republic was met with resistance by the ANC and PAC. The government reciprocated by intensifying its repression. These events led to the founding of the Umkhonto weSizwe on 16 December 1961. Magona perceives this military wing of the ANC as a resort to violence that is necessitated by defence and protection of the people. He advocates that it be warmly received by the people. Magona's poem echoes the Umkhonto weSizwe Manifesto<sup>16</sup> which is described by Barrell (1990: 4) as:

...one of the most eloquent assertions of revolutionary morality in the period after Second World War.

#### 4.4.2 Msingale (1966): AMATHONTSI (Drops)

Cronin (1984: 78) advances the notion of "vertiginous play of subversions" within a single poem, by which he means coexistence of different meanings that simultaneously undermine each other. The foregoing principle which Cronin exposes can be extended to include different pieces in a single repertoire that is performed by a single artist. Msingale's Amathontsi manifests ambivalences and disjunctures. Contradictory voices in texts that are produced by the same writer express conflicting ideological positions. In "Umanyano" a poem that is designated 'a song of inspiration to the nation' (Ingoma yokuvuselela umzi<sup>17</sup>) Msingale (Ibid: 15) says:

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 5. | Inye kuphela indlel' empumelelo<br>Linye kuphela icebo lokoyisa<br>Masibambane ngezandla sonke<br>Simanyane okwembumba<br>yamanyama.           | There is only one way to success<br>There is only one plan for victory<br>Let us all hold one another's hand<br>Let us unite for unity is strength.  |
| 6. | Zamani mawethu ixesha limkile,<br>Vukani nonke zikhali! iinkuku!<br>Anibonanga na ukuba liphumil' ilanga?<br>Endimeni ke mawethu! Siyaminelwa. | Make an effort compatriots time is against us,<br>Arise all of you the cocks have crown!<br>Haven't you seen that the sun has risen?<br>To the fields compatriots! the day is fast going by. |

Msingale galvanises his countrymen into action in all spheres of life: political, social and economic. He exhorts them to close ranks, forge unity and make a united effort in their struggle for liberation. Victory (national liberation) will be achieved when everybody sets his shoulder to the wheel. Msingale's call shows urgency. Reiterating the words of his predecessors like Nyoka (1962) he earnestly admonishes his compatriots (mawethu) to arise (vukani) and act forthwith. The aggressive and assertive tone of the foregoing poem is muted by the defeatist tone of "Kwazembe latshona" where Msingale (Ibid: 28) tirades:

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 10. | Ezi nto zixelani na?<br>Azixeli lishwa kusini na?<br>Ishwatyulelw' iAfrika eseZantsi:<br>Nango k' umzi ubulawa ngabaniniwo! | What do these things mean?<br>Are they not meaning a misfortune?<br>South Africa is cursed:<br>There is a house, being killed by its owners! |
| 11. | Koda kube nini kodwa<br>Lusapho lukaNtu, lukaNgconde<br>noPhalo<br>Nihleli kwesi sithokothoko                               | Till when you<br>Children of Ntu, Ngconde and Phalo<br>Will you remain in this pitch darkness  |

	Sobumnyama nobunyamakazi?	Resembling wild animals?
12.	Khangelan' ecaleni kwenu, Nibukelwe zeziny' iintlanga; Zithe nqa zezi zinto Zenziwa yimidak' eAfrika.	Look at your sides Other races are watching you; They are surprised by these things Done by blacks in Africa.

The poet expresses his indignation at the growing criminal propensities which are a result of moral decay in the urban areas. Juvenile delinquents have scant regard for the word of God and human life. They make their living through robbery of their own Black people, particularly unsuspecting visitors from the rural areas. While Msingale's censure of moral decadence is esteemed highly, his attribution of the problem, in stanza ten, to a misfortune and a curse is both defeatist and misleading. Instead of finding a solution he complicates the problem that confronts Black South Africans, by suggesting that a supernatural power is responsible for the predicament. By suggesting that moral degeneration of Blacks in South Africa is due to some agency above the forces of nature, Msingale undermines his previous admonitions for unity against the agency of oppression and suffering. He implies that the struggles of the people are a futile exercise, a contradiction of his initial position that victory is certain. In stanza twelve Msingale advises Blacks to behold 'other races' who are watching in astonishment. If the races that Msingale makes reference to are Whites, it is not perceptible that the very agents of deprivation and impoverishment through centuries of imperialism and decades of Apartheid, or those who directly or indirectly benefitted from these cruel systems, can be astonished by the outcome of their direct or indirect evil practices. Msingale in this poem enhances the ideology of white supremacy. By introducing the idea of a supernatural force, he entrenches the Apartheid idea of divine providence. If Blacks are a cursed nation then, automatically, Afrikaners who are blessed and who are "the chosen nation"<sup>18</sup> are justified in their domination of Blacks.

In "Wena?" Msingale (Ibid: 29-30) advances the ideology of racial equality which is diametrically opposed to that of White supremacy of the Nationalist Party government.

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 7. | <u>Sonke sibunjwe ngadongwe lunye,</u><br>Eyenziwayo naw' unakh' ukuyenza,<br>Ulinde ntoni ke ngoko?<br>Betha ndoda silindile!                               | <u>We are all made of the same type of clay,</u><br>What can be done you are able to do,<br>What are you waiting for then?<br>Forward man we look upon you! |
| 8. | Liyatshon' ilang' eli!<br>Zulibale kukuhlal' apho<br>Yonk' imihlamb' iyagoduka<br>Sindis' owakuni kodyakalashel!<br>Awu! Hini madodana!!!<br>(emphasis mine) | The sun is setting!<br>Why waste your time by remaining there<br>All flocks are home bound<br>Save your home's from the jackals!<br>Oh! Hallo Young men!!!  |

Msingale challenges the doctrine of racial supremacy, which is enunciated by Bunting (Ibid: 244) as follows:

For the Apartheid state to endure, the Nationalists must exercise complete control over the minds of the young. The Afrikaner, the Englishman, the White man and the Black man - each must be brought up to understand the role which has been allocated to him by the state. There must be unquestioning acceptance, by the White man of his superiority, by the Afrikaner of his right to leadership, by the non-White races of their duty to serve.

Contrary to this Apartheid doctrine of White supremacy, Msingale avers that all people, black and white, are equal. What can be done by a white person, a black can also competently do. He alerts his fellow Blacks on their inherent potentialities which are self-suppressed by inferiority complex, or suppressed by the doctrines of the powers that be. He calls on them to be alarmed at the threatening danger to their national heritage (imihlambi). He calls on young people to rise to the occasion by developing themselves to the maximum, and by using their acquired skills to liberate their people from those who usurp power (oodyakalashel).

Msingale's nationalistic intervention in the foregoing poem is mediated by his acceptance of the myth that civilization came to Africa with the White man. In "Ebukhweni", a humorous poem that exhibits an intertextual relationship with Jolobe's "Isiphoxo"<sup>19</sup>, Msingale (Ibid: 48) says:

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | Esatya ngendeb'endal' uXhosa,<br>Esandul' ukufik' umLungu,<br><u>Ingekho kuth' impucuko</u><br>Waphuma umf' othile<br>Ngeenjongo zokutyelela<br>Kwikhaya lesithandwa.<br>(emphasis mine) | When Xhosas still drank with the old cup,<br>Just after the arrival of Whites,<br><u>When we still had no civilization</u><br>A certain gentleman left home<br>With the aim of visiting<br>The home of his loved one. |
|----|--|---|

In this foregoing stanza the first three lines, which actually play an insignificant role in the development of this narrative poem, Msingale accepts that Blacks were not civilized before the arrival of Whites in South Africa. He seems to have internalised the postulate of the dominant ideology which conflates civilization with westernization. This has resulted in a distorted meaning of the concept civilization which, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982: 170), means:

making or becoming civilized; state reached in this process; stage exp.  
advanced stage, in social development; civilized States.

From the above definition it is beyond any doubt that civilization is not a preserve of certain races. All nationalities from the world over, have their own civilizations which can be developed to an advanced stage. From the definition there is furthermore no discernible evidence that the concept civilization is synonymous with westernization. Therefore Msingale's consciousness that in the olden days (*kusatywa ngendeb' endala*) the Xhosas were not civilized is unacceptable. As early as 1947 Lembede argued against the misconception that Africans were an uncivilized nation before colonization. Gerhart (Ibid: 59) says Lembede held that:

Civilization was a heritage of all mankind and not the exclusive attribute of people of any race or nation. Africa had been the cradle of civilization at the time of Egypt's glory: who could doubt that someday her time for greatness and world leadership would come around again?

Msingale's conception of civilization (*impucuko*) allows:

"...himself to be swamped by the tide of doctrines of inferiority" which are "...no more than a cunning fabrication of the white man, devised to facilitate his exploitation of the man of colour"<sup>20</sup>.

#### 4.4.3 Qangule (1970): INTSHUNTSHE (A long spear)

The voice of the alternative nationalistic ideology is heard in Qangule's (Ibid: 38-39) "*Inkabi kaBawo*". This poem is analysed and interpreted by Mda (Ibid: 53-68) who says that it "...represents the voice of dissension in Xhosa poetry". I consent to Mda's critical analysis of the poem. My analysis will however go further and locate the poem within its specific historical conjuncture.

Qangule, in "Inkabi kaBawo" took up the cause of the rural peasant whose exploitation was exacerbated by the Apartheid ideology. This observation is premised on Mda's (Ibid: 69) view, which I support, that the ox in this poem is "...used to articulate human suffering". The greatest merit of this poem is its authenticity in both its literal and metaphorical senses. Qangule, analysing the fate of Blacks in South Africa in materialist terms, says that the base of the exploitation of Blacks is the struggle for food/wealth. The desire of the oppressor for food deprives the oppressed of same. Qangule (Ibid: 38) says:

- |    |  |        |  |
|----|--|--------|--|
| 3. | Ubisi lokuqala awuliselanga wedwa,<br>Wasuka kuloo mibele ngesigqokro, | a<br>b | The first milk you did not drink alone,<br>You parted with the teat during the<br>first-two-days-milk, |
|    | Abelusi badla bahlutha bodwa,  | a      | The herdboys ate alone until their<br>stomachs were full up,   |
|    | Wanqina wazamla ngenxa yesikrokro.                                     | b      | You became lean and yawned in<br>discontent.   |

The above verse purports that Blacks in South Africa taste oppression from birth. The child starves because he is deprived by the oppressor of the wealth/food that is produced by the parent. The capitalist oppressor accumulates more and more wealth while the oppressed languishes in poverty and lack of basic human rights. The poet proceeds:

- |       |  |                      |   |
|-------|--|----------------------|---|
| 5.    | Awunalusini kambe buhlanti<br>bengxinano,<br>Uminxekile kuloo mxinwa neegusha.   |                      | You have no mercy, you cramped kraal.<br>You and sheep are pressed against one<br>another in a space that is narrow.                                |
| ..... |  |                      | .....   |
| 6.    | Niyimpi ephuma kude ezindle,<br>Nanihamba apho kuthe<br>gabalala,<br>Nanilala khona kuthe gengelele,<br>Izinto zonke zithe xazalala. | c<br>a<br><br>c<br>a | You are folks who come from afar,<br>You used to move free from restraints,<br><br>You used to sleep in the open air,<br>Everything was spread out. |
- (Ibid: 39)

The oppressor is not satisfied with the labour and production of the oppressed, he goes further and deprives him of access to the means of production. In the above stanzas Qangule clamours for redress of the land question. Both proletarian and peasant Blacks are deprived of their land and crammed in overpopulated and improper settlements. This does not take into consideration the fact that they require land to satisfy their basic needs, not to mention the fact that they are rightful owners of the land. Lodge (Ibid: 2) sheds lustre upon the

above stanzas when he gives a background to the founding of the ANC in 1912:

...in 1911 the Natives' Land Bill was drafted: it prohibited rural land ownership by Africans or occupation outside the 'reserves' (which comprised nearly eight percent of the area of the country), dispossessing many landowners and outlawing leasing or tenant-farming relationships between blacks and whites ...The Land Act of 1913 and complementary labour legislation were the legal tools employed to destroy a whole class of peasant producers, forcing them into already crowded reserves or driving them into new and arduous social relationships as farm workers, as mine labourers, and later in the least skilled and most badly paid positions in urban industrial, municipal and domestic employment. The group of men assembled at Bloemfontein in 1912 were well aware of the wider dimensions of the social tragedy being enacted around them.

By 1970 when Qangule's collection of poems was published, the 'tragedy' was complicated tenfold by the racial capitalism of the Apartheid regime. Qangule (Ibid: 39) sketches the impact of oppressive land 'reforms' on the rural peasantry:

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 9.  | Namhla nisela kumanzi amileyo,<br>Ithafa lenu libiyelwe ngeengcingo.<br>Ngekhe niye apho nithandayo,<br><br>Ekhaya yimivalo, ezindle ziingcingo.          | Today you drink stagnant water,<br>Your veld is fenced all round.<br>Your freedom of movement is<br>curtailed,<br>At home crossbars close the kraal, in<br>the veld are impediments. |
| 10. | Bulelani loo madama anzulu,<br>Akabhangi lula kunemilambo<br><br>engenzulu.<br>Iingcingo ezo zixhobeke amasela,<br><br>Kungapheli oko kutyiwa lokubalela. | Thank those deep dams,<br>They do not run dry quickly like the<br>shallow rivers.<br><br>The fences are a protection against<br>thieves,<br>To preserve food for times of drought.   |

In the above ninth stanza Qangule exposes the atrocities of the successive legislations of the Government that deprived Blacks of access to the land. Land was demarcated into small camps and fenced. Dams that were constructed brought new health hazards. Freedom of movement was curtailed. This holds true both in the literal and in the figurative sense. Lodge (Ibid: 265-266) clarifies the implications of the range of Apartheid law with a range of names that were intended to obscure their true meaning:

Acceptance of reclamation, betterment, rehabilitation or stabilization implied acceptance of the way land has been apportioned in the first place. And the injustice of that division was being compounded every day as more and more people were being forced back into the reserves: the squatters, the inhabitants of black spots, the urban unemployed;

between 1955 and 1969 the average population density in the reserves rose from 60 to 110...The final element of rural discontent was provided by the tightening of influx/efflux controls and the population resettlements of the 1950s and 1960s.

Qangule in this poem expresses this discontent by the rural peasantry. The tenth stanza attempts to balance the perspective into the issues that are raised in the previous stanza. But the positive aspects of these land 'reforms' are undercut by the negative aspects. By being objective in his presentation Qangule enhances the legitimacy of resistance by the alternative ideology. It is interesting to note that the issues raised by Qangule in the above poem correspond with issues that were raised at the Lobatse Conference of the ANC in British Bechuanaland in October 1962. A report to Conference on the situation inside South Africa according to Meli (Ibid: 152) indicated as follows:

Everywhere people were in revolt against government measures such as the introduction of the Bantu Authorities, stock culling and rehabilitation schemes.

The chronic shortage of land for the African peasants; forced removals of people from their homes; and the famine and starvation which had become endemic were also deplored.

In his closing couplet Qangule (Ibid: 39) juxtaposes brain and braun:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 11. Usahlaba <u>ngophondo</u> nkomo ndakuphatha,<br>Wakuhlaba <u>ngengqondo</u> nkabi sakuphatha. | Whilst you fight with the <u>horn</u><br>beast I shall rule,<br>When you fight with the <u>brain</u><br>ox we shall rule. |
|---|---|

He advises that the might of the oppressor is able to resist violent resistance. Diplomacy, therefore, is the key to freedom.

"Ingonyama" (is Qangule's vehement protest against the Apartheid ideology's Bantu Education, which he symbolises with a vicious lion that contemplates devouring a Black child:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Umntwana wayephandle edlelweni,<br>Ezamazama ezobazoba entlabathini,<br><br>Imigcana engecinywa nayimvula;<br>Imifanekiso engesuswa nayimifula. | The child was outdoors in the pasture,<br>Attempting to make drawings on the<br>sand,<br>Lines that even rain will never erase,<br>Pictures that even rivulets will never<br>obliterate. |
| 2. Ingonyama yayimile imjongile,   | A lion stood and stared at him,  |

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Igongqongqo leramncwa lixhaphile,<br/> Ngamagazi eegusha namatakane,<br/> Ngamathambo ezilo namaxhwane.</p> <p>3. Izinkcwe zazisehla ngemilenze,<br/> Amazinyo ebazele okuyintlonze,<br/> Eziifolokwe eziqhele ukuxhola,<br/> Bakhuze bonke bathi ngumhlola.</p> <p>3. Lasondela lihlatywa liphango,<br/> Ndacimela kusondela umphanga.<br/> Mayidede ingonyama konephango,<br/> Bophiwa nguye abangahluthanga,<br/> Masidede isilo Nkulunkulu,<br/> Emhlabeni bondleke abazukulu.</p> | <p>The ogre, the beast of prey, around its<br/> mouth.<br/> Having blood stains of sheep and<br/> lambs,<br/> Of bones of animals and lambs.</p> <p>Saliva dropped down the legs,<br/> Teeth were sharp ready to tear flesh,<br/> Sharp as forks that are used to<br/> picking,<br/> They were all astounded and said this<br/> is an evil spirit.</p> <p>It came nearer pressed by hunger,<br/> I closed my eyes anticipating the<br/> impending catastrophe.<br/> The lion must leave the starving child<br/> alone,<br/> Those who are hungry will be helped<br/> by him,<br/> The brute must go away Lord,<br/> On earth the grandchildren must be<br/> fed.</p> |
|---|--|
- (Qangule, Ibid: 50)

Qangule's narrative poem, at a superficial reading, appears to be lacking in coherence and cohesion. An indepth study of the poem unfolds the underlying meaning, and one is bound to appreciate Qangule's stylistic aptitude. According to Cirlot (1960: 45) the child is a symbol of the future. The lion, according to Cirlot (Ibid: 190), symbolises the "natural lord and master" or the possessor of strength and of masculine principle. Cirlot's interpretation of the above symbols sheds light on Qangule's poem.

The child that is depicted by Qangule in the first stanza of this poem is an African child. His association with nature and his looking after herds of cattle in the pasture attests to this fact. His preoccupation with making inscriptions and pictures on the sand evinces his desire for education. The child's writing on the sand, a natural object, underlines his inherent potential for creativity which can be developed to the maximum by exposure to educative resources and facilities. The last couplet of the first stanza makes reference to water. Cirlot (Ibid: 366) says:

Water is outstanding in doing good... And yet it has no equal in  
destroying that which is strong and hard.

Water, powerful as it is, according to Qangule, can never destroy the child's inscriptions. This means that no force however strong will destroy the African child's desire for self-actualisation, and his inherent potential for creativity. Gazing balefully upon the child, in the second stanza, is the lion, the ogre and the beast of prey which symbolises the Apartheid ideology. Egudu (1978: 45) concretizes the abstract Apartheid ideology by making use of the image of a beast, thereby confirming my postulation:

Apartheid is a hydra-headed beast, which more than its mentor,  
colonialism, has brutalized and dehumanised the black South Africans.

The lion has devoured sheep and their lambs, biblical symbols of innocence. This means that Apartheid leaves on its trail innocent victims, both young and old. The teeth of the Apartheid ideology, in the third stanza, are its draconian pieces of legislation, which astounded all and sundry because of their scant regard for humanity<sup>21</sup>. Of direct bearing to this poem is the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which was consolidated by the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. This is a weapon that would be used by Apartheid to destroy mentally, physically and spiritually the black child and generations to come (the future of Blacks in terms of Cirlot's interpretation of the child symbol). The daring lion with scant regard for the child's freedom is symbolic of the ruthlessness of Bantu Education which has no respect for the child's dignity. The child, a person with morals and values, fails to overcome his limited potential and become independent and self-reliant because Bantu Education (the lion) instead of aiding him, through a good quality subject matter, aims at destroying (devouring) him. The lion in the fourth stanza, advances towards the child. The ubiquitous poet cannot stand the impending catastrophe, and intervenes by praying to God. The poet in this stanza says that the delirious and detrimental Bantu Education is about to decisively annihilate intellectual development of the Black child. He deprecates Apartheid and its concomitant Bantu Education Act, and suggests that the underprivileged and deprived Black child must be allowed to develop his intellectual capabilities so that, in turn, he will impart his knowledge to the needy and generations to come. He proposes that the earth (emhlabeni), in this case his locale - South Africa, be purged of this undesirable ideology, for the sake of prosperity<sup>22</sup>.

Qangule was a patron of education. It is not in anyway coincidental that his next poem, after his rejection of Apartheid's Bantu Education, is an elegy in memory of Professor A.C. Jordan. With "Ingonyama" and "uProfesa A.C. Jordan", Qangule juxtaposes two essential components of a pedagogic situation - the child (educand) and the pedagogue (educator). The child is desirous of attainment of adulthood through education. On the other hand the pedagogue is desirous of making the child realize his goal by developing the child in his totality until he is intellectually independent. But both pupil and teacher find themselves in the same predicament. Their desires are frustrated because the third component of this pedagogic situation, which is as significant as the first two, has been mutilated beyond recognition by Apartheid's Bantu Education. This is the subject matter, the medium through which the pupil is supposed to attain adulthood. Having destroyed all prospects of educative teaching, Bantu Education is about to destroy the innocent child.

With "UProfesa A.C. Jordan" Qangule (Ibid: 50-52) resists the dominant Apartheid hegemony. The very selection of this figure of praise is ideologically laden. Jordan is presented by the poet as an epitome of the struggle for academic freedom, and an exemplification of a being who has been developed in his totality. Hence he, with gusto, resists the destructive Bantu Education. A brief profile of A.C. Jordan will shed light on this poem:

Archibald Campbell Mzolisa Jordan was born at Mbokothwana, in Tsolo, Transkei, on 30 October 1906. Having obtained a teachers diploma at St John's College in Umtata, he obtained a Junior Certificate at Lovedale. He passed Matric at Fort Hare, after which he pursued a BA degree which he also obtained in 1934. Jordan then assumed duties as a teacher at Kroonstad in the Orange Free State province. He privately pursued an MA degree with the University of South Africa which he obtained in 1942. In 1945 he assumed duties as lecturer in African Languages at the University of Fort Hare. In 1946 he moved to the University of Cape Town where he taught Xhosa to first and second language speakers. In 1957 he obtained a PhD in African studies from the University of

Cape Town. Jordan was a prolific writer. He published a novel Ingqumbo yemiNyanya in 1940, his Practical Course in Xhosa (1966), a number of poems in black newspapers, and his short stories, Kwezo Mpindo zeTsitsa, which were published posthumously in 1972. He took an active part in politics and became a member of the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) an affiliate of the All-African Convention. Mzimba in Kashcula (1992: 9) says about him:

Thus Jordan (Joe) as a CATA member, took part in the struggles of the oppressed, coordinated through the AAC and the Non-European Unity Movement.

In 1961 Jordan left South Africa for exile in the USA where he lectured at the University of California. He later moved to Wisconsin University in Madison where he was appointed as a full professor in the Department of African Languages and Literature. Jordan died of natural causes on 20 October 1968. (Mkentane, Rumsey, Scheub and Tindleni in South African Outlook Vol.98 No.1171 December 1968 (pp193, 194 and 200); Ntantala, 1992: 106-115; 217-223).

Qangule (Ibid: 51-52) extolls this nationalistic pioneer as follows:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>6. Ndithi imkile inqeberu yakwaXhosa,<br/>Kuthiwe kumnyama kwizwe labangekhoyo,<br/>Kudingwa izikhuthali ezidume ngomonde,<br/>Kucelwa amadoda agqumza ngeentonga,<br/>Amachule acheba acubungule nomsonto,<br/>Izinto eziphaka oko zikuphekileyo,<br/>Izinto ezisela isiselo senyaniso.</p> | <p>I say an honourable gentleman of the Xhosa nation has gone,<br/>It was announced that it is dark in the world hereafter,<br/>Diligent men with a reputation for patience are required,<br/>Men who hit hard with their sticks are called,<br/>Skillful people who investigate to the last detail,<br/>People who dish up what they cooked,<br/>People who take the drink of truth.</p> |
| <p>7. Umlomo woMxhosa waziwa ngokuqina,<br/>Imilebe yoMxhosa yaziwa ngokunqaba,<br/>Ulwimi loMxhosa laziwa ngokurabula,<br/>Amazinyo oMxhosa ahlala evungulwa,<br/>Izisini zoMxhosa zafunda ukuthufa,<br/>Zintsana izinto ezifana zithathe,</p>   | <p>The mouth of a Xhosa person is reputedly tight,<br/>The lips of a Xhosa person are reputedly fortified,<br/>The tongue of a Xhosa person is known for sipping/tasting,<br/>The teeth of a Xhosa person are always picked,<br/>Toothless gums of a Xhosa learnt to spit,<br/>Only babies just accept everything</p>   |

	Zizidenge zodwa ezisela intsipho.	indiscriminately, Only fools/mentally retarded drink beer-must/sediment.
9.	Isitya esihle asidleli, Kazi senzani ngesimdaka.	A beautiful dish is never made use of, What on earth are we going to do with a dirty one.
	Waphela umzi kaXhosa, Nafa nina baMhlophe: Unondle natyeba nabomvu,	The house of Xhosa faces extinction, Death unto you White people: He has fed you until you became fat and red skinned,
	Ingqabu (sic) wayisika lwasombuluka,	He removed the tongue ligament, freeing the tongue,
	Natsho makhwaza amaqqa, Natsho nabiza amagxem, Natsho nathetha ngengqaka, Namema nifuna amakroti, UJordan nathi uyagxiza.	And you started shouting "amaqqa", And you called "amagxem", You spoke about "ingqaka", You invited men of bravery, You said Jordan is a wealth of knowledge.

In the sixth stanza Qangule announces the passing away of Professor Jordan. He says that he is not dead, but alive, he has only passed from this world to the world hereafter, where his service is desirable. In the seventh stanza, in a philosophical discourse, Qangule says that Jordan was an example of a true Xhosa personality. Xhosa in this stanza also encompasses all Black South Africans and Africans<sup>23</sup>. He was an eloquent speaker, but he was not garrulous, he spoke when there was need for him to address real issues (line 2). He assessed the perennial value of anything with his analytical and extrapolative genius, be it a discourse, material or immaterial phenomenon, before accepting it (line 3). He was courageous and fearlessly pointed out faults and inadequacies in any situation, thereby incurring the wrath of his adversaries and a myriad of odds which he also confronted with courage (line 4). He rejected, with all the contempt it deserves, that which is trivial and worthless and accepted what is worthwhile for his people (line 5). Line 6 makes reference to Jordan's resistance of Bantu Education. As a matured adult nobody would make him accept a counterfeit. Only fools or mentally retarded people can accept Bantu Education whose quality is extremely poor (line 7). Hence Jordan's rejection of same. In Stanza nine the proverb "isitya esihle asidleli" means that people who are an asset in society die untimely. Line 4 divulges the fact that not only Blacks benefitted from Jordan's expertise, but Whites as well, especially in the teaching

of linguistics. Jordan was responsible for the acquisition of African Languages by many whites. Having mastered Xhosa phonetics they were able to articulate Xhosa clicks which are usually the most difficult speech sounds to Europeans. Nkamba (1981: 161) says:

Note that Qangule's subject of praise was not only of service to his nation or race or to his immediate community but to another race as well - the white people...

Mkentane in the South African Outlook Vo.98 No.1171 (1968: 193) explains why Jordan's service was not limited to his own race only:

As a non-racialist he worked hand in hand with all the so-called racial groups. He held executive positions in the Non-European Unity Movement which had as its members, groups affiliated from European, Coloured, African and Indian individuals. One cannot imagine that even his professional colleagues must have found him a very good man to work with.

The last line says that Jordan's academic qualities stimulated a search for other academics of his calibre.

Qangule's "UProfesa A.C. Jordan" is a subtle onslaught on the immanent racism in South Africa. The illtreatment of a humanist of Jordan's calibre, as depicted by Qangule, exposes the inhumanity of the racist Apartheid ideology. Mtuze (Ibid: 16) correctly asserts that Qangule is definitely a watershed in Xhosa poetry. The three poems we have analysed and interpreted corroborate this fact. Qangule's erudition and skillfull writing enabled him to traverse a terrain that was forbidden by the repressive Apartheid regime.

#### 4.4.4 Aesthetic Ideology and the second phase

The obsession of the writers of the period 1963-1973 with rhyme is incomprehensible. Gérard (Ibid: 93-94) observed from poetry of writers of 1950-1955 that:

The best Xhosa writers so far had experimented with European prosody, but they soon realised that it was not suited to the resources and poetic requirements of the Xhosa language. To them, modernisation had consisted of enriching traditional lore with new topics.

Projecting a return to indigenous prosody he continues:

The setting up of a semi-autonomous Xhosa Bantustan in the Transkei may well rejuvenate the traditional genres. Conversely, it is to be feared that the corresponding lowering of modern educational standards will encourage ritualistic imitation of Western forms by semi-literate poets - an unmistakable symptom of literary regression.

What is furthermore incomprehensible in Xhosa poetry is the fact that this fascination with the Western form does not discriminate between literate and semi-literate poets, as Gérard would expect. As early as 1961 the Xhosa Language Committee, a body that is generally perceived to be conservative, noted in its minutes of a meeting held in King Williams Town on 23-24 August<sup>24</sup>:

In the discussion of Xhosa under 5(b) above it was fittingly pointed out that Xhosa poetry lends itself most readily to blank verse, the Xhosa author would be well advised to stick to it in order to promote the easy flow of his poetic language rather than adopt forced rhyme.

Despite this latitude afforded by the Xhosa Language Committee, poets of the second phase of Apartheid in the majority of their poems stick to the Western model. This applies to the three poets we have discussed: Magona, Msingale and Qangule. The negative effects of constraints that are imposed by rhyme in the language and content have already been pointed out. Space limitation does not allow me to make detailed illustrations. Suffice it to say that where aesthetic ideology is not compatible with the socio-political ideology, this factor also contributes to the mute nationalistic voice.

#### 4.5 RESUMÉ

In this chapter I argue that during its second phase the Apartheid ideology of the ruling class, through its direct intervention at the reception level effected decadence of the alternative ideology of African nationalism in Xhosa written poetry. First, the new criteria imposed by the censorship laws of 1963, resulted in a reduction of the number of poetry collections that were published during the second phase. For instance, in 1948-1963 twenty books were published as compared to six that were published in 1963-1973. Secondly, those works that passed the muster were those that shifted their focus from a predominantly social content to a predominantly religious, moralistic and nature-appreciation content. This means that the text they produced became silent on inter-personal,

particularly inter-racial, relationships of domination and subordination, and avoided or shielded their alignment with the alternative ideology. The slogans "Mayibuye iAfrika" and the national anthem "Nkosi sikelela", symbols of the alternative ideology which were popular in the fifties and early sixties, disappeared from Xhosa verse. Poetry which explicitly extolled to the skies leaders of the liberation movements ceased to exist. This is understandable when one takes into consideration the deluge of repressive measures, the absence of the ANC and PAC which were banned, and the galvanisation of Apartheid through the divide and rule policy of Bantustans. All these factors mediated the alternative ideology, and subsequently the Apartheid ideology became hegemonic.

Be that as it may, I nevertheless argue that to suggest that the alternative nationalistic ideology was absolutely dissipated during this period and any other period is travesty of truth. At the production level writers of the subordinate class in their criticism of the status quo resorted to creativity and innovation thereby emerging with ideosyncratic devices that were intended to evade the 'organic intellectuals' whose duty it was to boudlerize books, to eliminate any challenge to the ideology of the ruling class. Unfortunately, in their endeavour to evade the censor, the writers inadvertently eluded the consumers of their poetry. I argue that this factor muffled the alternative ideology in Xhosa written poetry during the second phase of Apartheid.

#### Notes

1. See Bunting (1986: 234-236)
2. See Davies et al (1984: 170)
3. Op. cit. (204)
4. See Pheko (Ibid: 148-159)
5. The Language Committees/Boards, because they are Government created, fit into Gramsci's category of 'organic intellectuals'. See Gramsci (Ibid: 5)
6. Minutes of the Xhosa Language Committee held in King Williams town on 21-25 August 1967 p2. The minutes are in the custodianship of the Centre for Cultural Studies, Fort Hare University.
7. According to the blurb of Ulundi lamaPhupha Magona was born at Tsolo in the

- Transkei. He received his secondary education at Langa High, Cape Town, and his tertiary education at the University of London.
8. See last paragraph of Umkhonto Manifesto in Karis and Carter Vol.3 (Ibid: 717)
  9. See The New Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol.26 (Ibid: 960).
  10. Rousseau's Social Contract was preceded by his "Second Discourse" which explained how men had lost their liberty in the past. His "Second Discourse" according to The New Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 26 (Ibid: 959) "excited later revolutionaries such as Marx and Lenin".
  11. I assume that "Intebe" is a flower. I am not able to find its English equivalent.
  12. Halisi's paper was presented at an International Conference on Academic Freedom that was held at the University of Fort Hare on 26-29 January 1993.
  13. See Post-Sharpeville Crisis 1960-1963, Chapter 3&4
  14. See Mkonto (1979: 7-9)
  15. See Karis and Carter, 1963 (Ibid: 360) and Meli (Ibid: 140-141)
  16. Ibid (716-717) and Ibid (145-149)
  17. "Umzi" (house) here is a euphemism for "isizwe" (nation)
  18. See Leatt et al (Ibid: 79-81)
  19. See Jolobe's Ilitha (Ibid: 31)
  20. See Gerhart (Ibid: 59)
  21. See Apartheid ideology in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.
  22. Six years later in 1976, the African child took to the streets and confronted Apartheid and its Bantu Education.
  23. My empirical investigation has confirmed the Xhosa often use the term Xhosas interchangeably with Blacks or Africans.
  24. Minutes of the Xhosa Language Committee that was held in King Williams Town on 23-24 August 1961 are in the repository of the Centre for Cultural Studies, University of Fort Hare.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE THIRD PHASE OF APARTHEID IDEOLOGY : 1973-1990

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

An outbreak of labour unrest in Durban in 1973 marked an end of post-Sharpeville quiescence<sup>1</sup> and ushered in a period of ideological contest that has never been preceded in the history of South Africa. Tomaselli (1988: 46) who concurs with this view, says:

Apartheid has always been a hotly contested set of ideological practices, but never more so than in the present stage of 'reform' begun in the later 1970s.

The ideological status quo during this third phase of Apartheid can be clearly illustrated with Therbon's (Ibid: vii) imagery:

The actual operation of ideology in contemporary society is better illustrated by the cacophony of sounds and signs of a big city street than by the text serenely communicating with the solitary reader, or the teacher or T.V. personality addressing a quiet, domesticated audience.

The 'cacophony of sounds' referred to (supra), in the South African situation, during the period under review, comprised the following ideologies: the Apartheid (including its homeland strategy), Black Consciousness (including AZAPO and the National Forum) and Charterist (through the United Democratic Front) ideologies. It is these contending dissonant ideologies that comprised 'complex social processes'<sup>2</sup> that during this period interpellated individuals, transforming them into their subjects. The pages that follow will evince how these ideologies permeated Xhosa written poetry of this period.

This chapter will first provide a historical contextualization of the literature of 1973-1990. I shall give a synopsis of the restructuring of the Apartheid ideology, including the homeland policy, during the above-stated period. Secondly I shall provide a concise exposition of the ideology of Black Consciousness which was consolidated in the early seventies. Thirdly I shall give a brief outline of the re-emergence of the Charterist ideology which was spearheaded by the United

Democratic Front. Fourthly I shall analyse and interpret poetry texts that are coterminous with the period under review. Lastly I shall draw from this chapter conclusions.

## 5.2 THE CONTENDING IDEOLOGIES

### 5.2.1 Apartheid ideology

Using our vantage point in terms of time, and taking a retrospective look at the two phases of Apartheid we have already discussed, we cannot but agree with Leatt et al (Ibid: 81) that :

The doctrine of apartheid in the 1950s was racist, but the doctrine of separate development which emerged in the 1960s marks a shift from racism to self-determination based on ethnicity.

The position that is taken by this study is that the new version of Afrikaner nationalism was still aimed at entrenching White domination and the exploitation of the subaltern racial groups. Another crucial question is who initiated the changes? The position of this study is that the changes that were introduced by the Nationalist Party government were not of its own initiative only, but also a response to the struggles of the masses which changed the balance of forces between the oppressor and the oppressed. The impetus of 'reforms'<sup>3</sup> to the Apartheid ideology was enhanced in the seventies and eighties by the pressure brought to bear by the intensification of the struggle by the masses.

The changed circumstances in the 70s both inside and outside South Africa resulted in a collapse of the structure that had resulted in capital accumulation in the 50s and the boom of the 60s. The resultant political, economic, intellectual and cultural crisis had to be addressed by the ruling class. According to Davies et al (Ibid: 37):

"...monopoly capitalist class forces have favoured a strategy aimed at combining increased repression with some attempt to restructure (or in their terms 'reform') some of the institutions of apartheid. Large sections of the white petty bourgeoisie and white labour have been opposed to all attempts to modify 'traditional apartheid', fearing that this is the first step in a process of sacrificing their privileges.

Despite these different ideological perspectives and the divisions they introduced,

the Nationalist Party government carried on its programme of 'reforms' from the seventies until the unbanning of all political movements in 1990.

#### 5.2.1.1 Political restructuring

From 1978 when P.W. Botha assumed the position of prime minister the 'total strategy' which aimed at protecting free enterprise from the 'total onslaught' of the 'Marxist threat' was introduced. The 'reform' measures and policies embodied in this strategy clearly marked the change in the ideology of the Nationalist Party government. According to Davies et al (Ibid: 38) the 'total strategy' put:

...forward a new constellation of economic, political and ideological policies; these seek to reconstruct the basis for a stable capitalist rule in South Africa in such a way as to defuse mass struggles and incorporate specific strata of the oppressed masses into a new "historical bloc"<sup>4</sup>, but in clear limits.

The appointment of the President's Council in 1982 which comprised Whites, Indians and Coloureds and whose duty was to advise government on a variety of issues is evidence of the foregoing fact. Further to this was the 1983 Constitution Act which made provision for an executive president and the establishment of three separate legislatures - White, Coloured and Indian. Inaccountability of the president to the legislatures made it possible for the president to proceed with new legislation even if that is contrary to the will of the legislatures. This arrangement was a semblance of representative government as it protected existing power relations against any challenge. Despite strong opposition from Blacks, spearheaded by the United Democratic Front, the state programme was implemented in 1984. The first Tricameral parliament met in January 1985.

Militarisation of the state grew, and concomitant with this was an upsurge of state terror. Deaths, detentions without trial, torture and other forms of violence perpetrated by the state became the order of the day<sup>5</sup>. Repressive state apparatuses guaranteed the survival of the Apartheid regime. These were, to name a few, the military, South African Police, National Intelligence Services,

Prisons Department, Courts, Pass Offices and Administration Boards. President Botha's twelve point plan on the other hand abolished 'petty' apartheid. Discriminatory signs were removed from public facilities. Petty Apartheid laws like Mixed Marriages Act and Pass Laws were abolished in 1985 and 1986 respectively. Nevertheless opposition to Apartheid by the masses never ceased. The situation became worse when President Botha failed to announce authentic changes from Apartheid at a National Party conference in Durban in August 1985. His failure to 'cross the Rubicon' led to more international sanctions and exacerbation of internal resistance. In 1989 President Botha was succeeded by FW de Klerk, with a new cabinet and new leadership style. In October 1989 eight long serving political prisoners were released. Before the end of the year the Separate Amenities Act was repealed. On 2 February 1990 when parliament resumed after recess, President de Klerk unbanned all political organisations.

#### 5.2.1.2 Economic Restructuring

Following reports of the Wiehahn and Riekert commissions of enquiry of 1979 laws regarding job reservation and pass laws were relaxed. Concessions were made to the emerging Black petty bourgeoisie in the economic sphere. Legislation was passed in 1986 granting freehold to urban Blacks. Free trading areas would be opened to all races and black enterprising would be encouraged. The state undertook to promote free enterprise by privatising some sectors of the economy it used to own.

#### 5.2.1.3 The Homelands

The Homelands/Bantustans/National states continued to implement the policies of Apartheid. The government was determined to grant more power to compliant Blacks in the homelands. In 1976 Transkei was granted independence, followed by Ciskei in 1981. These Xhosa speaking areas, by accepting independence, lost their South African citizenship. According to the S.A. government these 'nations' were granted their 'right to self-determination' in their 'traditional areas'. It is

clear that the independence of these homelands was imposed on unwilling people. The intensification of repression that followed their independence is clear evidence of this fact. It is beyond doubt that the regime aimed at using the homelands to cultivate effective alternative leadership to that provided by the popular mass organisations, particularly the ANC (Davies et al, Ibid: 211).

## 5.2.2 Black Consciousness Ideology

As already indicated the post-Sharpeville repression closed all channels for Blacks to articulate anti-apartheid ideology. The political inactivity that ensued was intolerable to politically-conscious students. Some of them had joined the multiracial National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) in the early sixties. In the late sixties NUSAS had proved to be an ineffective channel for the expression of Black political sentiments. Recognising this fact Black students from the majority of tertiary institutions in South Africa met in Durban in December 1968 to found an exclusively Black student organisation, the South African Students Organisation (SASO) which was formally inaugurated in July 1969 at Turfloop University where Stephen Bantu Biko, who was the most eloquent delegate, was voted president<sup>6</sup>.

### 5.2.2.1 South African Students Organisation (SASO)

From its inception SASO propounded an ideology of Black Consciousness. According to its Policy Manifesto, which was adopted at their second general students council that met in July 1971, as reproduced in part by Khoapa (1973: 40-41), Black Consciousness ideology was defined as follows:

- i) Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
- ii) The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.
- iii) The black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others.
- iv) The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by the black people of the

power they wield as a group, both economically and politically, and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness.

- v) Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the Black community.

SASO perceived the ideology of Black Consciousness to be the medium through which Blacks will undergo the process of 'conscientisation'<sup>7</sup>. Proponents of the ideology diagnosed psychological problems as stumbling blocs that must be removed before political mobilisation of Blacks can be realised. They argued that removal of these hurdles which have created an inferiority complex amongst Blacks was a priority before other steps can be considered. Blacks, according to SASO, had to rid themselves of the dependency syndrome and slave mentality. They had to strive for restoration of their lost self-identity and nationality. Because of its desire to inculcate amongst black people a positive self-image SASO aggressively promoted the use of the term "Black" to refer to Africans, Indians and Coloureds, instead of the then current term "non-white", which SASO perceived to be derogatory, and was subsequently associated with sell-outs or collaborators with the Apartheid system.

Blacks were defined as those people who are "by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations". Explaining this definition Khoapa (Ibid: 43) says:

In essence this definition carried with it a double set of criteria - first, those relating to oppression because of skin colour and, second, those relating to the willingness of the oppressed individual to identify with fellow oppressed people against the oppression.

The emergent ideology, above self-definition, also emphasised self-reliance. Pityana, a founding member of SASO, as cited by Gerhart (Ibid: 274), wrote:

The message is simple BLACK MAN YOU ARE ON YOUR OWN. Like Nyerere we must minimize reliance on external aid. No one in a position of power and prosperity can offer such aid as would threaten his own security.

Substitution of dependency with self-reliance would be afforded an opportunity to thrive through a momentary "jettisoning" of "any links between black

leadership groups and predominantly white liberal institutions"<sup>8</sup>. The preoccupation of the liberals with academic freedom, rule of law, civil liberties and so on, which were at the moment irrelevant to the oppressed masses which were concerned with fundamental freedoms, demonstrated that they do not identify fully with the black cause. Responding to accusations that the then nascent Black Consciousness ideology was racist, Biko as quoted by Gerhart (Ibid: 266) says:

[But] those who know, define racism as discrimination by a group against another for the purposes of subjugation or maintaining subjugation. In other words one cannot be racist unless he has the power to subjugate. What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in which they find themselves the objects of white racism...

SASO was also wary of Western cultural hegemony which it perceived to be responsible for the inferiority complex of Blacks. Western culture which for centuries was imposed on Blacks required a critical analysis that exposed ideological manifestations that are aimed at undermining indigenous African values, customs, traditions, religion and history. Humanity, the hallmark of indigenous culture, had to be reviewed and strengthened to displace the materialistic, individualistic orientations of Western capitalism. The good communalistic and socialistic aspects of indigenous culture which are equal and sometimes supercede Western culture should be promoted and integrated into the culture of the future free and democratic society.

#### 5.2.2.2 Black People's Convention (BPC)

SASO was basically a student movement. In 1971 an idea of establishing a non-student wing, to cater for the needs of the entire young and adult community, was conceived. Preparatory conferences which were held in April and December 1971 reached fruition in July 1972 when the Black People's Convention (B.P.C.) was formally launched in Pietermaritzburg. According to Gerhart (Ibid: 293) this "overtly political" organisation, under the leadership of Drake Koka, Mthuli Shezi, Saths Cooper and the Reverend A. Mayathula, in "its constitution and statement of purpose strongly echoed the language of SASO".

The aims of Black People's Convention according to Khoapa (Ibid: 12) were as follows:

- to liberate and emancipate blacks from psychological and physical oppression;
- to create a humanitarian society where justice is meted out equally to all;
- to co-operate with existing agencies with the same ideals;
- to re-orientate the theological system with a view of making religion relevant to the aspirations of black people;
- to formulate, apply and implement the principles and philosophies of Black Consciousness and Black Communalism;
- to formulate, apply and implement an education policy of blacks, by blacks for blacks.

At the concrete level, in order to realise its aims, B.P.C. would establish adult education centres, economic cooperatives, health projects, cultural and welfare institutions and a workers union which would be run by blacks for blacks. The principle of reducing dependency on white resources was adopted as a strategy for developing black self-reliance and subsequently self-confidence. By the end of 1973 B.P.C. could claim having set up forty-one branches inside the country<sup>9</sup>. BPC's period of operation free from repressive state apparatuses however, was very brief. In March 1973 SASO and BPC leadership were banned. Substitutes of this leadership were also banned by the state.

Black Consciousness had spread from tertiary to secondary educational institutions. By the end of 1972 high school students had commenced with their mobilisation. The South African Students Movement (SASM) formed by Soweto high schools and the National Youth Organisation (NYO), a federation of youth organisations from Transvaal, Natal, Eastern and Western Cape were formed. According to Gerhart (Ibid: 297) the above "welter of political youth organisations" would "provide the organisation impetus behind the township youth uprisings of 1976". Analyses of the 1976 uprisings by various political scientists are not unanimous regarding the role of the Black Consciousness ideology. Some highlight its role while others overshadow it<sup>10</sup>. This debate is nevertheless outside the ambit of this study.

### 5.2.2.3 Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)

Confronted by the crisis in and after 1976 the government intensified its

repression and banned all Black Consciousness organisations in October 1977. These bannings however failed to extinguish the fire of Black Consciousness. The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was founded at Roodepoort in April 1978. AZAPO immediately pledged its unequivocal support for the Black Consciousness ideology, and adopted a motto "One people, one Azania" (Lodge, Ibid: 344). The new AZAPO introduced class analysis into the Black Consciousness discourse<sup>11</sup>. According to Leatt et al (Ibid: 114) it "announced itself as 'the main black political organisation operating above board in South Africa..., and having taken black consciousness beyond the phase of black awareness into the class struggle".

AZAPO adopted the strategy of BCM of individualism (i.e. exclusive) and self-reliance. It therefore excluded whites in all its activities, arguing that they are directly or indirectly involved in the oppression of Blacks, and that equality was a sine qua non before meaningful integration can be realised. AZAPO took an active role in the establishment of the National Forum (NF) in June 1983, which was aimed at a united opposition to the new constitution which aimed at creating a tricameral parliament<sup>12</sup>. The National Forum adopted the Azanian Manifesto. A synopsis of the Manifesto is given by Marx (Ibid: 118):

According to the Azanian Manifesto, South African oppression is best understood as a unique form of "racial capitalism" in which the development of apartheid policies and capitalist exploitation have been complementary. By connecting apartheid and capitalism in this way, the manifesto tried to end the division within the opposition between those who preferred a racial and those who wanted a class analysis, and to ensure that opposition groups used the issue of economic exploitation in their criticism of continued oppression.

The National Forum like AZAPO and BCM excluded whites from their struggle. AZAPO carried on the struggle throughout the eighties until February 1988 when the Nationalist Party government banned the organisation and its allies.

#### 5.2.2.4 The fundamental tenets of Black Consciousness Ideology

The Black Consciousness movement rejected both the multiracialism and the non-racialism espoused by the older liberation movements : the ANC and the PAC.

It emerged with the notion of anti-racialism, a giant step towards reconciliation among all the oppressed groups, namely Africans, Indians and the so-called Coloureds. Biko (1978:90) argues :

The thesis, the anti-thesis and the synthesis have been mentioned by some great philosophers as the cardinal points around which any social revolution revolves ... The thesis is in fact a strong white racism and therefore, the antithesis to this must, *ipso facto*, be a strong solidarity amongst the blacks on whom this white racism seeks to prey. Out of these two situations we can therefore hope to reach some kind of balance - a true humanity where power politics will have no place.

According to Biko, his application of the Hegelian theory (supra), which represents the analysis of the South African situation by the BCM, "spells out the difference between the old and the new approaches".

The Black Consciousness Movement made use of the term 'Blacks' to make reference to Africans, Indians and Coloureds. The policy manifesto of the movement defined blacks as the people who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society, and identifying themselves as a unit in their struggle for liberation. According to Biko (Ibid) the BCM definition of Blacks illustrates that :

1. Being black is not a matter of pigmentation - being black is a reflection of a mental attitude.
2. 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.

The Black Consciousness Movement had a problem with the idea of intergration in the South African context. This consciously manoeuvred type of integration which according to BCM, is artificial and counter productive, was rejected. According to Biko (Ibid:21):

One does not need to plan for or actively encourage real intergration. Once the various groups within a given community have asserted themselves to the point that mutual respect has to be shown then you have the ingredients for a true and meaningful intergration. At the heart of true intergration is the provision for each man, each group to rise and attain the envisioned self. Each group must be able to attain its style of existence without enchoaching on or being thwarted by another. Out of this mutual respect for each other and complete freedom of self-determination there will obviously arise a genuine fusion of the life-styles of the various groups. This is intergration.

The group cohesion advanced by the BCM was evidently a strategy towards a single nation in South Africa. It was an attempt to steer clear of the racism of Apartheid ideology.

### 5.2.3 The Re-emergence of the Charterist ideology 1980-1990

The early 1980s were marked by refinements and readjustments of the Charterist ideology. This pragmatic process was an attempt at developing an effective strategy for resisting the apartheid ideology. The most significant step was according to Marx (Ibid: 107) the postponement of "the class struggle for economic justice until after the national struggle for democratic political rights, which was reminiscent of the ANC campaigns of the 1940s". Behind this process were local activists, who were adherents of the Charterist creed.

The process of evolution outlined above was enhanced by President P.W. Botha, when in May 1982, he announced the establishment of the Tri-Cameral parliament, comprising Whites, Coloureds and Indians<sup>13</sup>. Eager to mobilise support from the White, Indian and Coloured communities the state propagated its new reforms to the maximum. Confident of eliciting a positive response the state also encouraged amongst the said groups discussion of these proposals. The state therefore withdrew its repressive state apparatuses to create space for debate to proceed. But things did not go as anticipated by the state. The debates about the envisaged Tri-Cameral parliament afforded activists an opportunity to discuss and work out a strategy of resisting the government reforms. Indians from Natal and Transvaal and Coloureds from Cape Town and elsewhere played a significant role in mobilising a broad base resistance by all South Africans, Black and White, to resist the new Apartheid strategy. Opposition to perpetration of the "divide and rule" strategy was galvanised, and the outcome was the emergence of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an inclusive, non-racial and national movement. According to Leatt et al (Ibid: 102):

The affirmation of the principle of the 1955 Freedom Charter occurred

in 1983 with the founding of the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF), in opposition to the Nationalist government's constitutional proposals...

UDF rejected racism and sought to organise all population groups in South Africa to form a national resistance to racial domination which was entrenched by Botha's total strategy. When the UDF was launched in Cape Town in August 1983, its overwhelming support could not be doubted. It brought together South Africans of diverse classes, ideological persuasions and race groups who were determined to join forces to reject the reforms of the government and to strive for a non-racial democratic and unitary South Africa.

In 1984 the White electorate of South Africa ratified the new tricameral constitution. Subsequently the government implemented it, precipitating confrontation with opposition. Unrest broke out in the Vaal triangle. Reciprocation from the state was the bringing back of the repressive state apparatuses and the subsequent closure of the space for political activity that it had created. A state of emergency was declared. Political activism was prohibited and political leaders and activists were detained without trial.

Economic factors played a significant role in the crisis of the mid eighties. South Africa plunged into recession. Blacks became the victims in many ways. By 1985 unemployment became the order of the day, bringing living standards of Blacks to the lowest ebb. According to Marx (Ibid: 149):

Between 1981 and 1983, South Africa's G.D.P. fell by almost 3 percent, or by almost 8 percent per capita, and the price of gold dropped from \$850 per ounce in 1980 to under \$300 by 1985.

South Africa's financial problems were complicated by poor financial management in the homelands. Inefficient fiscal controls in these nominally independent states went deep into the coffers of the central government. This was an addition on an already heavy load of financing the eight homelands' administration machinery. Above this the total onslaught strategy had created a huge security apparatus both in South Africa and in the homelands. All these factors exacerbated Black suffering as the government failed to make any constructive interventions.

Failure of the government to alleviate suffering angered Blacks.

1985 was marked by an intensification of the armed struggle by the African National Congress. The internal masses were assured of the ANC support by President of the organisation, Oliver Tambo, who described the internal unrest in South Africa as an ANC strategy to make apartheid unworkable and to render South Africa ungovernable. Nelson Mandela as well reassured the masses of his full support for their struggle by rejecting President Botha's offer of release on condition that he renounces violence as a weapon of the struggle. These assurances coincided with the rise of ANC guerilla attacks in South Africa. Marx (Ibid: 157) says that they rose from 40 in 1984 to 136 in 1985 and to 228 in 1986. All these factors served as a motivation to internal ANC aligned activism, and also popularised the organisation internally.

The Apartheid regime responded to the ANC call for a mass uprising by declaring a state of emergency in July 1985. All political activism was prohibited, and the majority of UDF office bearers were detained without trial. These repressive measures seemed to exacerbate matters as angry blacks in townships engaged in popular revolt. Violence erupted in the majority of townships and continued unabated. A large number of people died. Some were shot dead by police while others were killed by other civilians who accused them of collaboration with the regime. Marx (Ibid: 162-163) provides the following statistics:

In August 1985 ...more than 160 people were killed in unrest, and by the end of that year between 650 and 879 people had died, including 371 killed by police ...By March 1985, the homes of 255 town councillors and policemen had been bombed, ... Over one hundred of these officials had been personally attacked, resulting in eighteen deaths, and over three thousand vehicles had been damaged... police opened fire on a crowd of mourners in the Langa township of Uitenhage, killing twenty. Less than thirty-six hours later, one of the few local councillors ...was brutally killed by a crowd. This was one of the first uses of immolation with a rubber-tyre "neck-lace" by means of which between 350 and 625 died during the next year and a half. The effects of this campaign of violence were evident by the end of 1985, by which time the continued killings and bombings of houses had resulted in massive resignations from town councils, leaving only three out of thirty four of them still functioning.

The government again responded to the large scale violence by declaring a second state of emergency in 1986. Restrictions on the UDF were stepped up. Publicity campaigns and meetings were banned. In October 1986, the state declared the UDF an "affected" organisation. The implications of this were that foreign funding of the organisation was forbidden. Despite these measures the UDF continued to operate albeit in a decentralised and unhierarchical fashion. Consultation for purposes of devising strategies was not possible. Notwithstanding these impediments in August 1987 the UDF officially adopted the Freedom Charter, openly declaring their allegiance to the African National Congress. Assessing the growth of the UDF Tomaselli (Ibid: 7-8) says:

The massive growth of the UDF since 1983 indicated the consolidation of counter-hegemonic cultures which moved from the discourse of resistance to the discourse of reconstruction.

However the state's repression and the loss of revenue impacted profoundly on the UDF. Lack of resources made mobilisation of the masses impossible and subsequently momentum was gradually lost. The situation was aggravated by the February 1988 ban of the UDF and various of its affiliates by the state.

### 5.3 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF TEXTS

#### 5.3.1 Nqakula (1974) : UKHANYO (The Light)

Xhosa written poetry has consciously or unconsciously contributed to the dissemination of historical myths. A historical myth, according to Naidoo (1989: 9):

...is a version of history set out by the victorious to grace their motives, to laud their actions and to exempt their crimes; in brief, it is the ruler's version of the past put together to justify and exonerate their oppression of the ruled.

Naidoo (Ibid) continues:

History, in almost every part of the world, portrays the defeated as having been wicked and the triumphant as having been righteous... In South Africa this good settler and bad native story of the past ... still constitutes the staple diet of school history lessons.

To illustrate this point I quote from Mocke and Wallis (1978: 197) who wrote

the 'new structure' Form III history for the Bantu Education department:

The Whites had a great influence on the Bantu farming methods. The missionaries were the first to teach them how to till the soil and not to limit themselves to livestock only; and that Christians should never be idle, they should be productively busy. The Bantu were made to realise that it was also man's duty to work on the lands.

The foregoing myth of a whole nation of irresponsible and idle people, which over the past three centuries was impressed upon the minds of pupils and students, by their missionary, followed by their Apartheid "organic intellectuals", has been internalised by a broad spectrum of Black people. It is no longer the white man alone who disseminates this myth, Blacks have taken over to convince their fellow Blacks that their forefathers were a nation of war mongers, alcoholics and indolents who shirked their responsibility of feeding their offsprings. Nqakula (1974: 30-31) writes:

Kudala kusabizwana ngeziduko,	Long ago when clan names were still popular,
Kukh' ooMawawa nooBhayi,	People addressed as 'Mawawa' and 'Bhayi',
Zazintath' izinto zamadoda:	Three things pervaded the lives of men:
Imfazwe, inqawa nengqayi.	War, the pipe, and the earthen-pot.
Indoda yayivuka kusasa	A man woke up in the morning
Ihlal' elangeni igcakamele,	And sit in the sun enjoying sunshine,
Kanti yayilandela ilanga lide litshone,	Changed his position to remain in a sunny spot until sunset .
Imana izaliselwa ingqayi ise;	His beer earthen-pot being constantly replenished;
Kanti sakutsho isigodlo semfazwe ubone!	But when the war horn is blown behold!
Ibe nguvumbululu, sithe, tshoniyane,	The quick rise, vanishing, disappearance,
Kuthi saa ngamadoda,	Men become dispersed all over,
Ukuya komkhulu kushiywane.	All rushing for the great place.
Lonke eli xesha umfazi wayesemasimini,	All this time the wife is in the fields,
Ebeleke umntwana emqolo ebeth' igaba ezi mini,	With her child on her back hoeing from morning to noon;
Ukubila ebunzi kuwe kungamathontsi,	Sweat pouring in drops from her forehead,
Kanti mihla le uza kwenza into enye,	Daily this is what she does,
Impilo esinokuthi thina yayinomdintsi,	A life that we can say was miserable,
Ungenakuphuma kwenye into ungene kwenye.	One would not change from one sphere to another.
Lalisithi lakufik' ixesha udlule loo mlemebele,	After some time that routine would pass,
Kuthuthwe umbona kuzaliswe izisele.	And mealies would be transported to fill up underground storage pits.

Nqakula seems to be one of the people who were successfully persuaded to believe that Black men used to bask in the sun idly, day in and day out,

smoking tobacco and drinking sorghum beer, to be woken up from that daze of indolence by a war cry. On the other hand the oppressed wives till and hoe the mealie-fields, on top of the demanding domestic chores. This is fiction which, because of its verisimilitude, has been perceived by many to be fact.

The missionaries who are the originators of the myth of "idle Bantus" failed to understand the economic life of the Black people. Their supremacist attitude resulted in myopism that limited their insight into the complex lifestyle of Blacks. Alternatively their ulterior motives which have been exposed by objective historians like Wilson (1982: 267) as follows:

Some critics, both African and White, see the missionaries as agents of the conquest, and interpret their preaching as activated by the 'expansion of capitalism', or 'cultural imperialism'.

might have made them to deliberately fabricate this myth. The portrayal of Blacks as war mongers who were bent on destroying one another, is a transparent attempt at justification of imperialism. Subjugation of Blacks by whites is depicted as an act by the philanthropic whites, of saving the violent blacks from self extinction. The portrayal of blacks as addicts of drugs and liquor is once more another method of mystification of enslavement and exploitation of blacks. Detribalization of Blacks by being drafted into mission stations and White settlements where their labour was exploited was justified as rescuing them from their lazy culture and teaching them new productive farming methods. Historical evidence has it that Blacks were skilful pastoral and agricultural farmers whose methods suited their time and space. Both men and women laboured in the fields. Men specialised in clearing forests and bush, tilling and sowing. Women specialised in hoeing the fields. Both men and women participated in reaping the fields and transporting grain to underground storages (izisele). Long before their interaction with Whites, Blacks were agriculturally productive and self-sufficient<sup>14</sup>. Nqakula also alludes to this fact in his self-contradictory statement, "Kuthuthwe umbona kuzaliswe izisele" (Maize would be transported from the fields to fill up underground storages at home). It is inconceivable that so much produce which fills storages might have been produced solely by women.

I conclude this discussion regarding Nqakula's poem by quoting Biko (Ibid: 29) who intimates as follows:

One writer makes the point that in an effort to destroy the African Society and to impose their imperialism with an unnerving totality the colonialists were not satisfied merely with holding a people in their grip and emptying the Native's brain of all form and content, they turned to the past of the oppressed people and distorted, disfigured and destroyed it. No longer was reference made to African culture, it became barbarism. Africa was the "dark continent". Religious practices and customs were referred to as superstition. The history of African Society was reduced to tribal battles and internecine wars. There was no conscious migration by the people from one place of abode to another. No, it was always flight from one tyrant who wanted to defeat the tribe not for any positive reason but merely to wipe them out of the face of this earth.

No wonder the African child learns to hate his heritage in his days at school. So negative is the image presented to him that he tends to find solace only in close identification with the White Society. (emphasis mine)

Nqakula's poem disseminates what Biko (supra) describes as 'distorted and disfigured' history of South Africa, which was recorded by the segregationist white imperialists, and inherited from them by the advocates of the racist Apartheid ideology. These historical myths are aimed at justification of white supremacy and Black inferiority. Blacks are persuaded to accept their inferior past, present and future, while on the other hand whites are persuaded to consent to their superiority and hegemony.

### 5.3.2 Nkuhlu (1974): ISIGIDIMI (The Messenger)

The apartheid ideology of the ruling class filters through Nkuhlu's poem "Umhla weRipabliki I, II ne III". The poem reflects on the historical event of the founding of the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961. The poem goes as follows in its first part:

Kwishumi leminyak' eyadlulayo	Ten years ago
Mzantsi Afrika kumhla wazinza wazuka;	South Africa you were consolidated and honoured;
Kub' ubukad' ugushw' ekhwapheni nguLiz'bethi,	For a long time you were under Elizabeth's arm,
Nyathikaz' elalis' umnye mhl' inyantsula emaThanga.	The great buffalo that never raises its mane when boldly traversing its Colonies.

.....	.....
Indoda kade yenziw' indoda yeny' indoda; Thethani kuhle ngoVelefutha nithi yindoda;	A man is made a man by another man: Commend Verwoerd and say he is a man,
.....	.....
Yindod' eyathunyw' isigidimi yasibik' eBandla; Yindod' ezwi linomfutho nefuthe; Yindod' emyolel' uphilis' imilowo namaXhosa.	A man sent an errand which he delivered at the Assembly; He is a man with a powerful and influential voice; He is a man whose dying charge benefits his people and the Xhosas.
Wafik' eBritani waxoxa waxhaph' ubuchopho; Esithi, "Ethe Lizibeti, eth' ubuzwe bethu nesidima sabo!" Waphum' engqiyaza kwezo nkundla zaseAbbey; Wabeth' iqamp' ukusik' umsinga wakwaNgesi; Wafik' exhakazela kwelo zibuko likaSmuts; Ngazibin' exhakamful' uMbuso wobuRipabliki;	He arrived in Britain and debated until his brain foamed through his mouth; Saying, "Elizabeth give us our self- determination and return the dignity of our nation!" He came out of the courts of Abbey walking proudly; He swam across the English current; His hands were full when he arrived at Smuts' port; With both hands holding a Republican Government;
.....	.....
Yithin' uVelevutha nguMesuli-nyembezi: Othe usapho lukaXhosa malukhulul' ezokuzila; Othe usapho lukaXhosa malukhululwe ligoduke; Othe usapho lukaXhosa maluye kuvus' amanxow' okhokho; Othe usapho lukaXhosa malwambathisw' ingub' eyashiywa nguyise; Othe usapho lukaXhosa malubhalw' eMqulwini wezizwe; Othe usapho lukaXhosa maluqhutyisw' ithole xa lugoduka; Ze luthi lwakufika kulo magquba lusengel' usapho; Kuba kakad' uXhos' ebengenanza namaBhulu; Kuba kakad' uXhos' ebephakelana namaBhulu; Ngeemini zoLubisi nooZanzolo kaKhawuta.	You must all say that Verwoerd is the wiper away of tears: Who said that the Xhosa nation must take off the mourning attire; Who said the Xhosa nation must be released to go home; Who said that the Xhosa nation must go to rebuild their forefather's deserted villages. Who said that the Xhosa nation must be covered with the blanket that was left by their father; Who said that the Xhosa nation's name must be inscribed in the Roll of all other nations; Who said that the Xhosa nation must be presented with a calf when going back home; So that when they arrive at the place where their homes used to be, they can milk for their family; Because the Xhosa nation in actual fact were never at loggerheads with the Boers; Because the Xhosa nation shared food with the Boers; During the days of Lubisi and Zanzolo of

Khawuta.  
(Nkuhlu, Ibid: 21-23)

In the foregoing lines Nkuhlu commemorates the founding of the Republic of

South Africa in 1961<sup>15</sup>. The poem is written ten years after the event. He says that by taking this step South Africa freed itself from colonial domination, under Queen Elizabeth. The poet hails Dr H.F. Verwoerd for this heroic deed. He commends him for his attributes of integrity, wisdom and honesty. He says he demonstrated his immeasurable intellectual capabilities in the debates in Britain, out of which he emerged victorious and returned home to declare South Africa a Republic. Nkuhlu perceives Verwoerd as the saviour of the oppressed Blacks in South Africa. According to him Afrikaners are on record as friends of the Xhosas. He says they never took part in the subjugation and oppression of the Xhosa nation by the British. The 'wiping of tears' of the Xhosa is, in my view, the granting of self-government to the homelands through the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Bill of 1959. This programme was the introduction of what is today the independent homelands of Transkei and Ciskei.

Nkuhlu's poem reproduces the Calvinistic moralising rhetoric of the Apartheid ideologues. He presents the homeland concept as "decolonisation" and tries to find moral justification for this "divine task"<sup>16</sup>. What is remarkable about the first part of Nkuhlu's "Umhla weRipabliki" is the disjuncture between its content and historical evidence. Nkuhlu chooses to overlook the massive resistance throughout South Africa that welcomed South Africa's Republic. Karis and Carter (Ibid: 361) says:

Dozens of multiracial rallies were held throughout South Africa during April and early May. Typical of their militant tone was an "Africa Day" message by Luthuli, who said that "defiance" should be "even more granite-like" than the posture of Verwoerd.

The content of Nkuhlu's poem is deliberately manipulated to improve the image of the ideology of Apartheid. Part two of the poem proceeds as follows:

<p>.....</p> <p>Lizwendini lamaphupha ndiyakunqwenela!! Ngath' unguMboniso weAfrika; Ngath' uliqhayiya leNtshonalanga; Ngath' ulixhala leMpumalanga.</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>You country of dreams I long for you!!  You look like a microcosm of Africa; It seems as if you are the pride of the West; It seems as if you are the threat to the East.</p>
<p>(Nkuhlu, Ibid: 25)</p>	

Nkuhlu perceives South Africa as a country that will be exemplary to the whole of Africa. It will be the pride of the West (Europe), that is the capitalist bloc, and be envied by the East (Asia), that is the communist bloc. Nkuhlu's anti-East sentiments evince that he has internalised the anti-communism/socialism Apartheid propaganda. Part four of the poem proceeds as follows:

Zanyondl' izinyanya zikaXhos' eNyangweni;	Xhosa ancestors peeped from the world hereafter;
Yambombozel' imilondekhaya yomzi kaXhosa:	The ' <i>lares et penates</i> ' of the Xhosa house grumbled:
"Ripablikindin' uluphatheleni n'usapho lukaPhalo?"	"Republic what have you brought for the house of Phalo?"
Sathi besinethemba safa namthanyana;	We were hopeful but seemingly we do not benefit;
"Minyaka yoMdibaniso ibinentlutha kweziny' iintlanga, Kodw' uXhosa yen' uthungelwe ngoFephiwe".	The years of the Union brought wealth to other races, But the Xhosa's share was poured into the smallest of beakers".
"Xa sitshoyo sicamagusha kuwe Sholog' eloyis' imishologu!"	"With those words we are praying to you God who defeats all gods!"
"Khumbul' imigudu yooMgolombane noNgxow' inemilenze,"	"Remember the struggles of Mgolombane and Ngxow' inemilenze,"
"Kungabi ngekrele, mkrolo, nekrwane;	"It must not be with the sword, the stick and the assegai;
Kube ngoCebano, mvumelwano nomnqophiso;	It must be negotiations, agreements and a covenant;
Kuphil' iRipabliki kanti noXhos' aphile".	The Republic must survive and also the Xhosas".
.....	.....
ZeZ' inkosi zam namhla zinqashele; Zivela kuhlangua kumahlath' olwagcibe lweKapa; Zivela kuhlangua kumageduk' anemvomvo aseTswani. Zeza zipheth' ubukhosi: zipheth' ubu-Rhulumente Zeza zinxib' imixhaga: zithwes' ubu-Phathiswa; Zeza zipheth' ubuzwe: zipheth' neVoti.	My chiefs came back today wearing anklets; Returning from sucking honey from the forests of the Cape coast; Returning from sucking honey from Cape aloe flowers in the hillsides of Pretoria. They came carrying chieftainship: carrying government They came wearing ivory rings: honoured with ministership; They came carrying nationhood; carrying the vote.
Waqandusel' uMthatha ngokuwis' imithetho;	Umtata exceled in passing legislation.
(Nkuhlu, Ibid: 26-27)	

Nkuhlu says that Xhosa ancestors and *lares et penates* expressed their concern regarding what the Xhosas will benefit from the Republican government. He prays to God to remember the struggles of Xhosa chiefs like Sandile. He says that through negotiations a fair dispensation for both the Republic and the

Xhosas will be realised. Nkuhlu, then, presents what he wants the reader to believe to be the reply of the ancestors and God: chiefs from the Transkei return home from a visit to Cape Town and Pretoria where the Transkei was granted self-government by the South African government.

What is interesting in Nkuhlu's poem is his shrewd presentation of the ideology of Apartheid. His conjuring of ancestral spirits and his references to Deity in the foregoing extract is an attempt at legitimising the Bantustan/Homeland system. He gives the impression that the system was a response to the initiatives of Black South Africans. The truth is that the homeland system was presented cut and dried by the Apartheid government to those who were willing to accept it<sup>17</sup>. Again Nkuhlu makes reference to Xhosa chiefs like Sandile (Mgolombane) who died in the battlefield against colonialists. This is another strategy of making Bantustans acceptable to people, i.e. making them perceive homeland leaders as successors of the erstwhile gallant chiefs. The fact of the matter is that the genuine successors were deposed, undermined or relegated by the Apartheid government for their refusal to cooperate in oppressive programmes of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1957<sup>18</sup>. In the foregoing poem Nkuhlu has proved to be an able ideologue of the doctrine of Apartheid, and its strategic homeland system which was first announced in the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill of 1959.

### 5.3.3 Ngcangata (1976): UKUPHUMA KWELANGA (Sunrise)

Ngcangata's poem "Sicela inguqu" (We appeal for transformation) articulates the grievances of the Black proletariat. Using a symbol of an ox-span that pulls an overloaded waggon, Ngcangata (Ibid: 66-67) says:

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | Zenjenjeya ukunkantsaza ukunyuk' eqhineni,<br>linkabi zomfo osinunza-nunza sesihandiba,<br>Zirhuqa umhohoma wenqwelo ezeleyo;<br>Umninizo ehamb' ecaleni ebhexesha.<br><br>Tyam! Saman' ukutsho isabhokhwe | They struggled up the ascending road,<br><br>Oxen of a wealthy and eminent man,<br><br>Pulling an abnormally loaded waggon;<br>The waggoner walking along urging them on with a whip.<br><br>Whip! The whip struck the body. |
|----|--|--|

esikhumbeni.

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 8. | Eyona nto yaba lusizi ngakumbi<br>Kukuba zisakukhululwa zaqhutyelw'<br>eb'hlanti.<br>Zavinj' amalungelo zancitshwa isondlo. | What became more pathetic<br>When they were outspanned they were driven<br>into a kraal.<br>They were deprived of their rights and<br>livelihood. |
|    | Zathi zisakukhalaza 'suka<br>zakhalinyelwa,<br>Vutyu! Satsho isithonga segalelo<br>esikhumbeni.                             | When they complained they were reprimanded,<br>Lash! sounded a blow on the body.  |

In the first stanza Ngcangata underlines the economic power (sisinunza-nunza sesihandiba) of the owners of the means of production in South Africa. Despite this the capitalist employs a few labourers to do work that is double their capacity. Overworked as the workers are, the capitalist is never satisfied, he demands more production. He uses all sorts of harsh methods to pressurise the worker to produce more. Working conditions however never improve and workers suffer (benyuk' eqhineni). In the eighth stanza the poet states that after all the hard work the worker is deprived of freedom. The kraal he refers to is probably the hostels or the compounds where South African labourers are forced to stay under squalid and humiliating circumstances. They are in these residences deprived of their basic human rights, and nutriment. Their protestations incur the wrath of the masters who mete out severe punishment to the protesters.

Ngcangata's collection of poems was published in 1976, thus coinciding with the revival of the mass movement in 1973-1977. The economic boom to which we have made reference in Chapter 4 never benefited South Africa's Black workers, whose wage levels remained extremely low. Pampallis (1991: 247) says:

From about 1970 prices of basic commodities (e.g. goods, clothing and transport) had risen sharply, thus making it very difficult for workers to survive on their incomes.

At the beginning of 1973, a spontaneous outbreak of strikes in Durban area heralded the revival of the black workers' movement in South Africa. The strikes started on 9 January 1973 at the Coronation Brick and Tile Company where the entire workforce of almost 2 000 workers went on strike, demanding an increase in their minimum wage from R8,97 to R20 per week.

It is against this background of growth of workers's resistance that Ngcangata's

poem may be viewed. From Durban workers' resistance spread all over South Africa. By 1977 there were twenty seven unregistered trade unions for black workers which challenged the oppressive labour laws, forcing the government to review its labour legislation. In 1977 the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation was appointed by the government. The positive response by the government and the investors of capital who cooperated was a positive response to Ngcangata's (Ibid: 68) candid exhortation in the last stanza:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 9. | Baphathi babaqeshwa, sicela inguqu.<br>Ubungakanani bomvuzo mabulingane<br>nobomsebenzi.<br>Izandla zenu maziyeke' ukuba gadalala,<br>Ukuze Ophezulu anandisel' iintsikelelo.<br>Makube camagu, chosi, kube hele. | Employers, we appeal for transformation.<br>Remuneration must correspond with work.<br><br>Your hands must not be harsh,<br>So that God will increase his blessings on you.<br>Let there be propitiousness, alleviation,<br>clemency. |
|----|---|---|

In this verse Ngcangata moves out of his cocoon of metaphoric language and explicitly addresses the employer. Ngcangata's economic demands cannot be isolated from the overall political struggles of the seventies.

#### 5.3.4 Dikana (1979): IMPEFUMLELWANO (Sharing of ideas)

In "Ukufa kowe-1961" Dikana (Ibid : 10-11) also alludes to the occasion of the founding of the Republic of South Africa. He says:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Awu! wadlul' umnyaka wethamsanqa,<br>Wadlul' ushiy' uncumo kwizizwe neentlanga,<br>Wadlul' uzibonakalise kunene,<br>Wancumis' amadoda kweloMzantsi.   | Woe! Gone by is the year of fortune,<br>It left a smile on the face of nations and races,<br>It left having done wonders,<br>Men in South Africa were left smiling.   |
| Uthe usaqala wanenkqubela,<br>Umfo obevel' esitsha akazang' onwabe;<br>Umfo ovelevutha engacengi luxolo,  | From the beginning it had great progress,<br>A man 'who appeared burning' never relaxed;<br>A man 'who appeared in flames' did not care<br>for peace,<br>He was persistently looking forward,<br>Intending to make history during this year of<br>progress. |
| Ubesoloko ekhangele phambili yena,<br>Eza kwenza ibali ngalo nyaka wenkqubela.<br><br>.....   | He was persistently looking forward,<br>Intending to make history during this year of<br>progress.<br><br>.....   |
| Simbonile k'u1961, nyan' omhle;<br>Simbonile ntw' ekuhlakanipha yaseHolani;<br>Udlule ebonis' ubuchopho bakho, Velevutha,<br>Kuba namhla siqhayisa ngeRipabliki,<br>Elibhongo nesikhumbuzo sobuntu bakho. | We have seen 1961, you beautiful son;<br>We have seen it, you brilliant Holander;<br>It demonstrated your intelligence, Verwoerd,<br>Because today we boast about a Republic,<br>Which is pride and a memorial of your<br>humanity.                         |

In my analysis and interpretation of Magona's "Ikhaka noMkhonto" and the previous poem "Umhla weRiphabliki" by Nkuhlu, I have provided a historical background to the founding of a Republic on 31 May 1961 under the leadership of Dr H.F. Verwoerd. It will therefore suffice to say that Dikana in the above poem seems to be interpellated by the dominant Apartheid ideology. He presents Verwoerd as a hero who 'saved' South Africa by his intensification of the Apartheid onslaught.

Again Dikana (Ibid :12-13) laments the end of the year 1966 in "Ukufa kowe-1966"

Mnyakandini mna ndinesingquku,  
Intlungu oze nayo kubantu bakowethu,  
Intlupheko obuyithwalele abaNtsundu;  
Mna, ngokwam andinazwi lakuthetha,  
Koko nje kambe ndinemihlali,  
Wang' ungadlula ungaze ubuye.

You bad year have left me grieved,  
The pain that you brought to our people,  
The suffering that you brought to Blacks;  
I, lack words of expressing it,  
But I am excited,  
My you go forever.

.....  
Yizani, bantu nonke, sithethe;  
Lo mnyaka ubuthwel' izidumbu;  
Udlule nazo zonke iintandane,  
Wayishiy' imbong' ithwel' izandla,  
Wayishiy' ikhal' idandatheka  
Kazi ke mnyakandini bekungani na!

.....  
Come people let us talk;  
This year carried corpses;  
It has passed away with all loved ones,  
It left the poet holding his head,  
It left him crying painfully  
Why are you doing this you bad year!

Dikana in "Ukufa kowe-1966" alludes to the tragic death of amongst others Dr H.F. Verwoerd, "the Afrikaner who was born in Holland". Verwoerd was murdered with a sharp instrument by a parliamentary messenger Dimitri Tsafendas, who was later diagnosed insane and declared a State President's prisoner. He was hired as a parliamentary messenger less than a month before his carrying out of the bloody murder on 6 September 1966.

While Dr Verwoerd's tragic death at the hands of an assassin deserves the strongest condemnation by any civilized human being, it is regrettable to note that Dikana exploits the incident to promote Apartheid ideology. He says 1966 has brought suffering to Blacks. The truth of the matter is that it is the introduction of Apartheid in 1948 that exacerbated the oppression and suffering of Blacks. As Egudu (Ibid: 46) would say:

Apartheid (or apart-hood) is therefore the highwater mark of the colonial movement, comprehending in one breath oppression, discrimination, exploitation, enslavement and estrangement. In South Africa strangers have become landlords, as it were, and forced the owners of the land into cultural and physical exile.

While all South Africans at the level of humanity were shocked by this tragedy and naturally might have expressed condolences to the bereaved family, at the political level Verwoerd's passing away was meaningless to the oppressed Black majority. His role as an engineer of Apartheid and its cruel and fraudulent legislations: The 1953 Bantu Education Act, the 1959 Bantu Self-Government Bill and many other oppressive pieces of legislation, does not make him a martyr as far as Blacks are concerned.

Dikana contradicts his initial perceptions about the Apartheid ideology in his poem "Si!! Ndiyamkhumbula umama!!". In this poem an orphan relates a sad story of the death of his sister and mother. The sister received capital punishment after being accused of seducing her white employer. The mother died of intense pneumonia and heart problems probably resulting from heartbreak and depression. Dikana (Ibid: 35) writes:

Langenwa kukungcola iBhulu  
Lamqhath' udadethu  
Baba nomntwana bobabini  
Yamangala ke inkosikazi  
Lachotshelwa ke ityala  
Latyatyekwa kumsakwethu  
Lakhululeka ke iBhulu.

Corruption overwhelmed the Boer  
He seduced my sister  
She subsequently bore their child  
His wife litigated against her  
The law suit was contested  
My sister was found guilty  
The Boer was acquitted.

Wagwetyelwa intambo  
Waza ke waxhonywa  
Saxhaywa thina liBhulu.  
Mna nomama sizintsizana  
Singenandawo yokufudukela  
Sahamba sincathama sifuna  
Sicela indawo ebantwini.

My sister was sentenced to death  
She was then sent to the gallows  
The Boer sacked us.  
My mother and I were left destitute  
Having no place to relocate to  
We went about seeking refuge  
Asking for an asylum from people.

Mdaka (1992: 68) in his analysis of the above poem comments:

One of the most evils of the colonial labour system was the virtual enslavement, by contract, not only of the men, but also of their wives, children and livestock. Through this system labourers' wives and children are physically and sexually assaulted by their masters and their overseers as there is "no provision made to protect them against molestation, while at work, by the employer or his overseers" (Gicaru

1958: 58).

Mdaka's observations about colonialism are also relevant to its successor, Apartheid, which adopted many of its segregationist laws and rendered them more draconian. As recently as 1985 sexual assaults of black women by white males were still prevalent in South Africa. Meli (Ibid: 197-198) cites an account by a lady who was raped by two white soldiers who had picked her up with their hippo during the state of emergency. According to Meli (Ibid: 196) there are sworn affidavits which support the woman's allegation. But up to this day no police investigation of this and other crimes that were perpetrated against innocent victims, particularly women, was ever conducted, and subsequently the offenders were never punished. Dikana's "Si!! Ndiyamkhumbula umama!!" therefore gainsays his initial positive perception of Apartheid and his hero-worshipping of Verwoerd as contained in his poem "Ukufa kowe-1961".

### 5.3.5 Mema (1980): UMNXEBA WOBOMI (The life line)

Some writers have subtly or indirectly promoted Apartheid hegemony. This they have done through their promotion of the notion of White supremacy over Blacks. These writers who in their works portray Blacks in a negative light and Whites in a positive light, inculcate amongst the former feelings of inferiority and amongst the latter feelings of superiority. These attitudes enhance Apartheid. Mema's poem "Zaba Muncu" is a case in point. The poem narrates the story of a Black boy who went to steal peaches from a neighbouring white farmer's orchard. The thief was betrayed by the farmer's dog which barked and charged at the intruder, thereby alerting its owner. Mema (Ibid: 38) describes the boy as follows:

Yay' ingumqukunya wenkwenkwe yomXhosa, Owabawela iipesika zomfama oMhlophe.	He was a muscular but grotesque Xhosa boy, Who craved for the peaches of a White farmer.
Yarhala yazincama yachwechwela umyezo,	Unable to restrain his greed he sneaked into the orchard,
Ngethemba lokuphekuza loo mqal' ugqubayo.	Hoping to be able to satisfy his desire.

The boy is described with negative depreciatory copulatives (ingumqukunya) which convey an impression of a person whose physical development does not

correspond with intellectual development. The boy is imbued with undesirable traits of gluttony and lack of self restraint. The white farmer on the other hand is spared from disparaging language. As a result the reader from the very onset gets a negative impression about Blacks and a positive impression about Whites.

I recollect the thread of the story when the farmer is alerted by his dog. He jumps, arms himself with a whip rushes in hot pursuit of the thief. He gets hold of him and without asking a single question unleashes the whip. Mema (Ibid: 39) depicts this whip-wielding adult white male flogging this black child:

<p>Yazingis' imvubu isihla okwemvula, Yaxhaxha phezulu igawula ezantsi; Ihlis' imihlubulo ikhukhuz' iimbambo;</p> <p>Igqazul' iintethan' ezi nemithwibilo. Yagxwala yaphumelisa isanya imvubu, Iqothaqotha yayinqakula yayinkonya, "Leave it!" yabharhumla loo nqeberhu. "Hayi, nkosi, ayilovithi yimvubu le!"</p> <p>Yayanya kwasizungu, ngelingeni yaphuncula; Izinja zayikhaphela ziyixoxa ziyigxwala. Ladamba amabhongo ichule lechelesi; Zamuncw' iziqhamo zinganganyulwanga.</p>	<p>The whip persisted coming down like rain, It chopped above and cut below; It slashed vertically along back muscles and horizontally along the ribs; It struck the upper and lower thigh backs. He wept aloud but the whipping continued, He struggled and grabbed the whip firmly, "Leave it!" shouted the gentleman. "No, Sir, this is not tinder but a whip!"</p> <p>The whipping persisted, at last he broke free; Dogs chased him barking and mocking at him. Whims of the tactful ratel subsided; Fruit became sour before being tasted.</p>
--	--

Whenever there is physical combat between a Black and a White in South African literature the Black is always on the receiving end and is always the one who suffers humiliation. My argument here is that this is not a true reflection of reality. Above this the psychological effect of these scenes, be it in literature, films, or theatre, is preparation of a fertile ground for the abundant and luxuriant growth of the ideology of white supremacy.

Coming back to Mema's story, the boy weeps painfully while the white farmer continues to inflict pain on him. The boy unintentionally grabs the whip, aggravating the anger of its wielder. He shouts "leave it". Unfortunately the young boy apparently never had an opportunity to learn English. While Mema's sense of humour is appreciated it is regrettable that it is at the expense of the underprivileged black child who is a victim of circumstances. The writer ridicules him for his being unable to understand or express himself in English. Viewed

from another perspective it is abstruse that a farmer who definitely employs a number of Blacks cannot speak even elementary Xhosa. It was arrogant for him to communicate through the medium of English.

At last the boy manages to set himself free and flees. The poet again adds injury to pain when he reduces his character to a level below that of dogs, (inferior animals). Dogs bark (ziyixoxa) and mocked (ziyigxwala) at him. Mema's poem would give a balanced perspective if it answered amongst others the following questions: Why is the thief/villain black and the innocent hero white? Why is the black thief starving while the white adult has plenty, including a farm while his black neighbours apparently lack arable land? Why is the boy not able to receive education? Answers to these questions may illuminate Mema's poem. In its present form the poem enhances hegemony of the white ruling class.

### 5.3.6 Jordan (1981): IGAMA LAM (My Name)

Jordan's book is named after the title of his poem "Igama lam". In this poem Jordan (Ibid: 60) reflects on the naming of children by their parents. He asks his parents who gave him his name:

Okuqulathwe leli gama phofu nikuqondile?      Do you really understand the meaning of this name?

Jordan indirectly censures those parents who are less careful about the names they give to their offsprings. The second stanza is ironic. Jordan pretends to be accepting the English name given to him by his parents. His justification for acceptance of the 'wish of the parents' is however undercut by his probing question in the previous stanza. In actual fact he is questioning the notion of the so-called "Christian name". Jordan (op.cit.) says:

Mandizazise kuze ndithi ndakumk' ekhondweni  
Nikhalime, - ndingu "Theodore", ngokwaseNkonzweni.

Let me introduce myself so that you can correct me if I depart from the right track,  
My Christian name is "Theodore".

Jordan's "Igama lam" goes further than a discourse on onomastics. It is a quest for self-identify and national identity that challenges the missionary notion of 'Christian names' which makes one to undermine his language, his culture, his self and ultimately his nationality, a situation that enhances and facilitates subjugation. Mnguni (Ibid: 72), expressing the role of missionaries in the conquest of the Cape, says:

The final role of the missionaries after conquest and subjugation, was to run "Native Education". They believed in separate schools for White and Black. ...They believed in the racial inferiority of the Africans. Said Philip on 1st December 1948 (sic), to the L.M.S. "To speak of a mixture of the various classes of society... is to use expressions... which are most deceptive. ...Before that mixture can take place without destruction to the weaker party, he "(the African)" must be elevated to near the same level in intellect and feeling ...separation not mixture saved, them". (my emphasis)

Part of this process of elevation of the inferior Africans was cultural imperialism. A case in point is the renaming of all converted heathens, and pupils who were admitted to missionary schools. Their heathen names, which were obviously African and therefore inferior, had to be substituted with christian names which were English and therefore superior. This divided the Xhosa nation into Christians (Amagqobhoka) and non-christians or "pagans" (Amaqaba), with the former feeling superior to the latter<sup>19</sup>. The Black Consciousness ideology rejected the notion of Western cultural superiority which was first introduced by the missionaries. Biko (1978: 92-93) addresses himself to this question:

In all aspects of the Black-white relationship, now and in the past, we see a constant tendency by whites to depict blacks as of an inferior status... It was the missionaries who confused the people with their new religion... People had to discard their clothes and their customs in order to be accepted in this new religion... This cold and cruel religion was strange to the indigenous people and caused frequent strife between the converted and the "pagans", for the former, having imbibed the false values from white society, were taught to ridicule and despise those who defended the truth of their indigenous religion. With the ultimate acceptance of the Western religion down went our cultural values!

The ideology of Black Consciousness permeates Jordan's poem "Black is Beautiful" (Ubumnyama buhle). The very title of the poem is ideologically laden. Leatt et al (Ibid: 108) say:

Black Consciousness takes the one symbol which historically has had a fundamentally negative meaning - the symbol black and challenges the

deeply rooted alienation which it entails with such slogans as "Black is beautiful", 'Black man, you are your own'. (my emphasis)

Jordan adopts this slogan in the very medium of English which was appropriated by SASO and BPC as their lingua franca. This initial utterance of this poem is apparently aimed at not only arousing and arresting the readers attention, but at furthermore reviving the spirit, tradition and culture of BCM. Gerhart (Ibid: 276-277) traces the origins of the foregoing slogan as follows:

The impact of American ideas in the 1960s on the language of the Black Consciousness movement comes through clearly in the popularity of slogans like "Black is Beautiful" and the frequent use of such terms as "relevance" and "power structure" in SASO literature. (my emphasis)

Jordan's (Ibid: 38) poem goes as follows:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Ndimnyama, ndimnyama ndinje ndaye<br/>ndimhle ngaphezulu,<br/>Ubuhle yinyaniso, undileko<br/>lokuziphatha, nokuhloniph' abantu,<br/>Andicatshulwanga mntwini, ngoko<br/>ndineemfanelo zikawonke-wonke</p> <p>Andinakhaya limbi lakubalekela<br/>ngaphandle kweli lam lemvelo.<br/>Yolul' isandla Sombawo,<br/>Sikelel' izwe loobawo!</p> | <p>I am black and black as I am, I am<br/>exceptionally beautiful,<br/>Beauty is truth, self-respect and respect for<br/>other people,<br/>I am not a limb dismembered from somebody<br/>else, I therefore deserve to enjoy like<br/>everybody else all human rights<br/>I have no other home to escape to except my<br/>natural habitat.<br/>Stretch your hand Father<br/>Bless our father's land!</p> |
| <p>2. Ungathi ndingongemhlophe,<br/>andisosichasi somnye umntu,<br/>Ndikuchasile oko kuba, ndaweni yaloo<br/>nto ndiyiyo<br/>Suke ndichazwe ngentw' endingeyiyo,<br/>ukunik'iingqondo<br/>Yokokuba bekufanele ukuba ndiyiyo,<br/>zendibe nokubekwa.</p>  | <p>Refrain from addressing me as a non-white,<br/>I am not somebody else's antonym,<br/>I am against being described in terms of<br/>what I am not<br/>Instead of what I am, giving the impression<br/>That I am supposed to be that thing, in<br/>order to be accorded respect.</p>  |

Stanza 1 of Jordan's poem is both assertive and affirmative. Repetition of the copulative "ndimnyama" emphasises the pride of the poet at being black. In line 2 he intimates that his external beauty reflects his internal beauty. In line 3 the poet says that he is a complete human being who is entitled to all fundamental human rights. These statements echoe Biko's (Ibid: 68) words:

The philosophy of Black Consciousness, therefore, expresses group pride and the determination by the blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by the Blacks that 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. Hence thinking along lines of Black Consciousness makes the black man see himself as a being, entire in himself, and not as an extension of a broom or additional leverage to some machine. (my emphasis)

In the fourth line the poet claims his inalienable birthright to his motherland, which is his only home. The penultimate and last lines constitute a refrain that is a prayer inviting God to intervene in the South African problem. In stanza 2 the poet rejects being addressed as a 'non-white'. His argument reverberates SASO's position in this regard. SASO newsletter of September 1970, as quoted by Gerhart (Ibid: 278) reads as follows:

The term (black) ...must be seen in its right context. No new category is being created but a "re-Christening" is taking place. We are merely refusing to be regarded as non-persons and claim the right to be called positively...

According to Khoapa's (Ibid: 43) review of 1972:

The argument that people must be referred to in a positive manner and not as negatives of others seem to have been received well by most blacks. To date (1973) all well-known political, educational and most sports groups use the term 'black' and reject the tag 'non-white'.

Jordan (Ibid: 38-39) continues:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>4. Ewe, nox' ufele lulukhozo lomya,<br/>son' isazela sam likhephu<br/>Kuba andifunanga nto ingaphezulu<br/>kweemfanelo ezizezam<br/>Akukho namnye unokuthi ndahlula-<br/>hlule kabini indlu kayise;<br/>Yintsimi kabani endiyidlise yaphela<br/>nya ngeenkomo zikabawo?<br/>.....</p> | <p>Yes, though the skin is pitch black, my<br/>conscience is as white as snow<br/>Because I am not demanding what is beyond<br/>my rights<br/>Nobody can claim that I have divided into two<br/>halves his father's house;<br/>Whose fields have I allowed to be grazed on<br/>by my father's cattle.<br/>.....</p> |
| <p>6. Unced' ozincedayo kutshiwo - sifundis'<br/>ukufuna ukuwaxhamla<br/>Amalungelo ethu asisipho sakho<br/>njengeendlalifa zeZulu<br/>Masingathembiselani ekufuneni<br/>inyaniso, ukholo noxolo.<br/>Inkwenkwe eqhiths' amanye imem'<br/>ingqumbo kayise.<br/>.....</p>                 | <p>It is said that you help those who help<br/>themselves - teach us to seek to enjoy<br/>Our rights which are your gift, as Heavenly<br/>heirs<br/>Let us not shirk our responsibility to seek<br/>truth, religion and peace.<br/>A boy who illtreats other boys incurs his<br/>father's anger.<br/>.....</p>      |

In stanza 4 the poet again emphasises his internal innocence and purity. His pitch black skin is juxtaposed with a snowwhite conscience because he is not a monopolist who has plenty while others have nothing (line 2). He never disunited

and scattered people of the same nation (line 3). He never deprived and exploited other people (line 4). Stanza 6 is a prayer to God who helps those who help themselves. The poet here again alludes to a basic tenet of Black Consciousness, "self-reliance". People, according to him, must not remain idle and hope that God will solve their problems. They must take the initiative and God will help them through.

Jordan's "Ndimi ndinkqonkqoza" is allegorical. In the literal sense the poet who is the protagonist of the drama, is a stranger who knocks at the door of his would be host, who refuses to welcome him in. Frustrated and dejected, he, in vain, persuades him to open the door. Exposure to the elements, the pitch-dark night, and rejectful insults from the man inside infuriates the poet. He nevertheless continues persuading him to open the door to let him in, so that they can know and understand one another. The poet notices evidence of the fact that a number of people have attempted to enter this house, but perished in the process. At the figurative level the allegory depicts the South African situation. The poet represents Blacks, while the man behind the closed door and thick walls, represents the white oppressor. Jordan's poem exhorts the Nationalist Party government to dismantle Apartheid and open all political economic, educational, social and cultural scenarios to Blacks. Jordan (Ibid: 65) says:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | <p>Lid'el' ithuba ndim' apha,<br/>vula-vula wethu, vula<br/>Ndicand' amathafa, ndenyus'<br/>iintaba, ndawel' imifula<br/>Nditshizwe ziingqele, ngathi<br/>ibiseza kuzifikisela nemvula<br/>Indlel' awundibonisanga,<br/>ubusithi andisokuze ndifike?<br/>Udenzela engaka inkohlakalo<br/>ulindel' ukuba ndihleke?<br/>Ndithwabaz' ebumnyameni,<br/>andikhange ndide ndidle.</p> | <p>I have been standing here for a long time,<br/>open-open please, open<br/>I have crossed plains, climbed mountains,<br/>and crossed streams.<br/>I have been bitten by cold, rain was about<br/>to fall on me<br/>You never showed me the way, did you think<br/>that I shall never find my destination?<br/>After doing so much cruelty to me, do<br/>you expect me to laugh?<br/>I have travelled in darkness,<br/>I never had food.</p> |
| 3. | <p>Awulalanga kub' ukhanyisile<br/>kanti nentshukum' iyavakala.<br/>Ukhohlakel' unje andinakuzi-<br/>khohlisa ndithi uyathandaza<br/>Iziqalekiso nezithuko ezimanyu-<br/>mnyezi ndiv' uzisasaza.<br/>Ungoyena obefanel'ukuba kobu</p>   | <p>You are not asleep because the light is on<br/>and I can hear your footsteps.<br/>Cruel as you are I cannot mislead myself<br/>and think that you pray<br/>I can hear your unbearable curses and swearings.<br/><br/>You are the one who is supposed to be in this</p>   |

bumnyama ngenxa yaloo ntliziyo  
 Kudal' usenzelwa imvuselelo  
 kanti aluncedanga nto nohlaziyo.  
 Uth' iphethwe bubuyatha noku-  
 nyoluka yonke le ntlaninge?

darkness because of your heart  
 A number of revival meetings have been held on your  
 behalf, spiritual renewal meetings also failed to help.  
 Do you think all these multitudes are filled with  
 stupidity and greed?

In stanza 1 line 1 the poet says that for a long time the Apartheid divide has excluded Blacks from the socio-politico-economic life in South Africa. He urges the Apartheid regime to abandon its racist and discriminatory ideology. Blacks have suffered from oppression and exploitation (line 2 & 3). Whites' monopoly of knowledge and skills is aimed at subjecting Blacks to perpetual servitude (line 4). Blacks are very angry at the cruelty and deprivation (line 5) which has subjected them to suffering, poverty and starvation. In stanza 3 the poet alleges that black suffering is a deliberate act, it is not inadvertent (line 1). Therefore the White oppressor's claim that he is a christian is not convincing (line 2). Because of his cruelty the oppressor is supposed to be the one who is suffering (line 4). A number of overtures were made in an attempt to negotiate an end to Apartheid (line 5). The demands of the oppressed multitudes in South Africa are legitimate and justified. They are not motivated by stupidity and greed as the oppressor would like Blacks to believe (line 6). Jordan (Ibid: 65) continues:

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 4. | Ndikhokelwe ngumzila wegazi ukuza<br>kuthi ngxi apha<br>Baninzi abangaphambili abagazi labo<br>kule ndawo lopho<br>Uhleli ethembeni elimnandi lokuba<br>sonke apha siya kufa<br>Inceba yaxhatshwa yinja nje ngoko<br>kuye nalow' ungenayo,<br>Uluvala mba ucango ngathi kufike mnt'<br>uphambanayo.<br>Uyaqonda ngale ndlela ukhulisa<br>isixhiba kweli chibi lisezayo? | Blood stains have led me to this<br>place<br>There are many people whose blood was<br>spilled in this place<br>You are hoping that we shall all die here<br><br>You are merciless, and whenever somebody<br>tries to enter,<br>You close the door as if it is a mad person<br>who is arriving.<br>Do you understand that by doing this you<br>invite vengeance from those who are still<br>coming? |
| 5. | Okwenzek' apha phandle intw'<br>ebuhlungu, akukwazi<br>Kub' ufukamele amaqand' abolileyo<br>phantsi kwaloo mnyazi<br>Awusokuze ubone ufikelwa njengabany'<br>abantu likhazi.<br>Mn' ophandle yima mandikuxelele,<br>kweli gazi kukhula umthana.<br>Unik' ithemba kwinkquleqhu zam   | What is happening outside here you do<br>not know<br>Because under that basket you are brooding<br>rotten eggs<br>You will never, like other people, receive<br>bride-wealth/lobola.<br>From me who is outside listen, from this blood<br>a young plant is growing.<br>It gives hope to my struggles, it seems as if one   |

ngathi ngeny' imini sokwazana.  
Tyhini andibonanga nalaph' ecaleni  
kwendlu kukhw' isivivana!

day we will know one another.  
What's this! I did not see this heap of stones  
next to this house!

Stanza 4 suggests that blood of those who challenged Apartheid was spilled by the defenders of the ideology (line 1 & 2). The outside in this stanza seems to be a reference to the homelands where millions of people were dumped to starve and die, and the poverty-stricken urban townships where unemployment leads to dearth of food, moral degeneration and a high crime rate which results in blacks maiming and killing one another. Apartheid is consistent in its denial of basic human rights to blacks (line 4 & 5). The poet warns that by delaying the realisation of a peaceful resolution of the conflict in South Africa the Apartheid regime allows the spirit of vengeance amongst Blacks particularly the younger generation (kweli chibi lisezayo) to build up.

Stanza 5 implies that by isolating themselves, the white ruling class, has become ignorant of development in the Black community (line 1). The conservative and outdated Apartheid also isolates its people from the international community (line 2 & 3). The poet puts it to the Apartheid regime that the blood of fallen African heroes is paving the way towards liberation (line 4). Jordan also entertains the hope that the struggle for liberation will one day usher in democracy, and all people will interact freely as equals and thereby 'know one another' (line 5). The "isivivane" (heap of stones)<sup>20</sup> symbolises the presence of Qamata (God) in the midst of the oppressed masses. This closing line therefore gives hope of victory for the struggle for liberation and freedom to the oppressed. Jordan's words are reminiscent of the old adage that "The tree of freedom is watered with the blood of the martyrs". These words were re-engraved into the consciousness of the oppressed masses by Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu, an ANC cadre who was arrested inside South Africa and executed on 6 April 1979. Meli (Ibid: 190) says about this young revolutionary:

Solomon Mahlangu - a hero of the revolution - represented this young generation who has moved to the forefront of the revolution and was already to pay the supreme sacrifice for liberation. He wrote his own epitaph when he said: "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people I love them and that they must continue the struggle". (my emphasis)

Jordan's poetry definitely diffuses the alternative ideology of the Black Consciousness and Charterist movements of South Africa. It calls for the immediate dismantling of Apartheid and the ushering in of non-racial and non-sexist democracy.

### 5.3.7 Skei (1985): UMSOBOMVU (The daybreak)

Poems that laud praises at anti-apartheid activists, which had disappeared from Xhosa written poetry during the second phase of apartheid, re-emerged during the third phase. Skei's "Zamukulungisa! (uG.M. Mxenge)" an elegy dedicated to the civil rights lawyer and anti-apartheid activist who was brutally murdered in Durban in 1981, is a case in point. Skei (Ibid: 35) says:

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 8.  | Lihlokomil' ihlabathi lihlwahlazela;<br>Lalila ligix' ezegazi;<br>Lath' okaMxeng' ibingusoma-lungelo,<br>Lath' okaMxeng' ibinguma-<br>khwekhwetha wegqwetha. | The world clamoured vigorously;<br>It cried painfully;<br>Saying Mxenge was a civil rights lawyer,<br>Saying Mxenge was a veteran<br>lawyer.           |
| 9.  | Ebeyindoda kumadod' eAfrika,<br>Elithemba kwabanteth' isisiZulu,<br>Ebeyimbunguzulu kumaXhos'<br>asemaXhoseni.<br>Isitya esihle asidleli.                    | He was a man amongst men in Africa,<br>The hope of the Zulu speaking<br>Endeared by the Xhosa speaking<br><br>A beautiful dish is never made use of.   |
| 10. | Iyakhal' imiDaka iyantywizisa,<br>Ithi namhla silahlekelwe.<br>Esi sikroba siya kuvuleka naphakade,<br>Uya kuhlal' ehleli kwiimbali zeAfrika.                | Blacks are crying,<br>They say today we have lost.<br>This hiatus will never be closed,<br>He will remain forever in the annals of African<br>history. |

The poet bemoans the death of Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge. Addressing him in an endearment term "Zamukulungisa", he lauds praises at him for his benevolence and unassuming character, which is confirmed by the world outcry at his tragic death (stanza 8). The poet mourns and thinks over the life's work of the deceased. From Stanza 9 we discern that Mxenge's ideological disposure transcended ethnical divides. The poet perceives him to be an African, who is loved and trusted by both Zulu and Xhosa speakers. This is also an allusion to the fact that the assassins of Mxenge were not motivated by an 'inherent black on black violence', but by other reasons, one of which might be his ANC

connections. Davies et al (Ibid: 290) says:

Large numbers of ANC and non-ANC political prisoners have died in police detention. Other activists with ANC connections, such as Griffiths Mxenge, have died in mysterious circumstances.

The suspicion that the 'White minority government' was involved in Mxenge's mysterious death is subtly hinted by this stanza. This suspicion was later confirmed when three ex-policemen: Nofemela, Tshikalange and Dirk Coetzee, confessed that they were involved in death squads which murdered anti-apartheid activist<sup>s21</sup>. In the last line of Stanza 9 we "find resignation and acceptance of the inevitable"<sup>22</sup>. But this will never stop Black South Africans from lamenting the death of their hero, who sacrificed his life for righteousness (stanza 10).

Skei's poem "Zamukulungisa" diffuses the Charterist ideology which is personified by his figure of praise, Mxenge.

### 5.3.8 Masiko (1985): UKUTYA KOSAPHO (Food for the family)

Masiko's "Inkululeko yeCiskei (Independence) kowe-1981" subtly advances the ideology of Apartheid. In this poem he announces the imminent independence of the said homeland from South Africa. Masiko (Ibid: 44) says:

Ze nigqale niqike koba nkululeko;	Observe attentively and comprehend there shall be independence;
Ngeengqondi namasiko	Through intellectuals and customs
Koba mchankatho.	There shall be stepping stones.
Ningabubhangis' ubukhosi bezwe;	Do not destroy the nations' chieftainship;
Ezayo niyifanise nobulunga;	What is coming should be perceived to be like a dowry beast;
Nixhwithelane ne-Afrik' eMnyama.	Together with Black Africans pluck hair from it.
EmaBritan' emaMelika novakala;	You will be heard in Britain and America;
Nizivez' emaJamani niyiloo nto;	And you will appear like that in Germany;
Niyiloo nt'imbal' uMhlophe naMnyama.	Being that Black and White object.
EzomBindi-Afrika nezinye ngolo hlobo;	Those countries of Mid-Africa and others;
Ukuze ndith' aba yi-Afrik' exutyiweyo.	So that I can say this is integrated Africa.
Ngobukhalipha bengqondo ubulali kwizigalo.	With mental bravery and physical meekness.

Masiko says that the coming independence is similar to "inkomo yobulunga", a sacred cow or heifer that is given to a woman by her parents to take with her

when she marries. Hair that is plucked from the tail of this cow is used to make a necklace for a sickly family member. By putting on this medicinal necklace the sick person is asking for recuperation from ancestral spirits. Use of this simile of the venerated "inkomo yobulunga" gives me the impression that Masiko has a high esteem for the Ciskei independence he announces. Masiko also raises expectations of Ciskeians by predicting that Ciskei will be accorded international recognition and encourages them to maintain non-racialism. He commends Ciskei for achieving independence through negotiations instead of violence - "ngobukhalipha bengqondo ubulali bezigalo". This statement was also uttered by Nkuhlu in his "Umhla weRiphabliki III"<sup>23</sup> which celebrates the granting of self-government to Transkei. This is probably a counter statement to the policy of the South African Liberation Movements, namely PAC and ANC, which at this point in time engaged in an armed struggle with the Apartheid regime. Masiko (Ibid: 45) continues:

Loo nt' izayo maze ibhonxele isizwe;  
 Ngemboniswano elo likhubalo;  
 Yondle kwizisu iphangalalise kwingqiqo;  
 Isengel' eluNtwin' ingasengeleki kuphela;  
 Ibe mbizane nakubachasi  
 Kuqulunqwe kusakhiwa ithung' elinye.

What comes should benefit the nation;  
 Through negotiations that is the medicine;  
 It should fill up the stomachs and broaden  
 perception;  
 It should benefit the people and not only  
 deprive them;  
 It should be attractive to its opponents  
 Everyone should work towards a common goal.

Eyedini yibingeni;  
 Ngokunyuka kwesisi  
 Ndith' ilaph' inkululeko.  
 Yibambeni ke ngophondo  
 Naantso niyiniwe;  
 Nithathe ngokuwisa  
 Sel' irhintyelwe.  
 Yokhala kube chosi  
 Kube licamagu...

Slaughter the beast of sacrifice;  
 With the going up of smoke  
 I say independence is here.  
 Hold it with its horn  
 There it is you are given;  
 Tackle it  
 It has already been caught for you.  
 It will bellow, and all will be well  
 Propitiously will prevail...

Masiko again underlines his perception of independence as something that will bring sustenance to the life of the Ciskeians. He says it is a medicine (ikhubalo). He also perceives it as a solution to poverty and the resultant starvation. He advises Ciskeians to share the booty with the critics of Ciskei so as to win them over. Masiko furthermore applies the metaphor of a sacrificial beast "inkomo yedini", which is slaughtered to propitiate departed ancestors. The aim is usually to restore health to an ill person in the family.

Masiko in this poem encourages Ciskeians to go for independence. He manipulates language to suit his aims. His use of "inkululeko" as an equivalent of "independence" makes him guilty of immoral use of language. This is an example of politico-bubble, a situation where politicians manipulate language to make it serve their own interests. Use of "inkululeko" is intended to confuse independence (uzimele geqe) with freedom (inkululeko). The two concepts are distinct, but those who want independence to sound authentic and subsequently acceptable, deliberately confuse the two. A University of Stellenbosch brochure on language ecology states<sup>24</sup>:

Language is often deliberately used to deceive, defraud, rob, or injure people, or to ridicule, degrade, oppress, or incite them. (emphasis mine)

Mtuze (Ibid: 18-19) also points out another omission in Masiko's "persuasive and sombre" poem:

The first major issue that Masiko refrains from addressing even in passing is the fact that in terms of Section 6(2) of the Status of Ciskei Act 1981, Ciskeians lost their South African citizenship despite pre-independence intimations that, unlike Transkeians, Ciskeians will enjoy dual citizenship...

I therefore propose that Masiko's promotion of the homeland policy is promotion of the ideology of Apartheid.

### 5.3.9 Mtuze and Satyo (1986): UYAVUTH' UMLILO (The fire rages)

Mtuze's elegy, dedicated to Canon James Arthur Calata, embodies the Charterist ideology which re-emerged in the early eighties. The poem re-incarnates the spirit of the fifties of immortalising through the text, heroes of the struggle for the liberation of Blacks in South Africa. A brief profile of Canon Calata will illuminate Mtuze's poem.

**Canon James Arthur Calata** was born in 1895 at Debe Nek, Middledrift. He received his education at St Mathews College, where he was trained as a teacher and a priest of the Anglican church. Calata who is recognised as the veteran of the African National Congress<sup>25</sup> held the position of Secretary-General of the organisation, under President General Z.R. Mahabane, in 1936-1940. He again

held the position for a second term, under President General Dr A.B. Xuma, in 1940-1949. In 1936-1939 Rev. Calata and Rev. Mahabane toured the entire South Africa with the aim of finding first hand information about problems encountered, and addressing those problems. Meli (Ibid: 87) accounts:

From 1939 onwards the ANC underwent a gradual process of revival, rejuvenation and re-emergence as the central body coordinating and expressing the views and opinions of Africans in South Africa.

Concurring with Meli, Karis and Carter (Ibid: 687) concede that Rev. Calata "was selfless in his efforts to pull the ANC together in the 1930s". The annual conference of the ANC in 1949 adopted the Programme of Action. Rev. Calata served in the new Executive Committee of 1949 which confirmed its willingness to implement the above stated programme. He also acted as the speaker of the Congress.

Calata was one of the most prominent figures from the South African clergy who played a significant role as a champion of the oppressed majority. He was the first president of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF), a religious organisation that was progressive<sup>26</sup>. In 1950 he was elected as Senior Chaplain of the ANC. Calata was in 1952 banned by the government from attending gatherings. He was however allowed to engage in his ecumenical work, but this did not stop police surveillance over him. Calata died in Cradock in 1983.

Mtuzze (Ibid: 38) extols Calata as follows:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 2. Yingc'enentswane yeenkomo<br>zakwaXhosa,<br>Yigolid' elubhelu yokwananis'<br>ezizweni,<br>Yindod' emnyama yokumel' iAfrika,<br>Ukuze omhlophe nomyama beme<br>kunye,<br>Ukuz' iinjoli zilicekis' ixanasi,<br>Ingahlinzwa calanye, liphoswe kud'idolo. | He is nutritious grass for the<br>Xhosa cattle,<br>He is the yellow gold for trade with other<br>countries,<br>He is a black man for representing Africa,<br>So that white and black can stand together,<br>So that the rulers may refrain from being<br>jealous,<br>So that partiality and favouritism can be<br>rejected. |
|--|---|

The first three lines of Mtuzze's second stanza bring back the symbol of the

African National Congress with its green (line 1), gold (line 2) and black (line 3) colours<sup>27</sup>. This is the ANC flag which, based on the conventions of the organisation, is generally perceived to symbolise prosperity (green), and wealth (gold) that will be enjoyed by Africans (black). Malan (1993: 16) explains the black colour further:

These symbols which a nation considers most important often have close connections with a particular worldview, such as the one characterised by the **ubuntu** concept ("people become persons through other persons"). Symbols deemed important by the blacks in South Africa, such as the colour black in the flags of various freedom movements, are frequently explained with reference to "the people of Africa". One of the reasons the concept of "the people" became in itself such a powerful symbol during the freedom struggle is probably because it connotes "**ubuntu-ism**" and not only basic concepts of democracy and Marxism/socialism.

Malan's postulation is to me plausible. It explains the representative function of symbols, which is to provide a concrete form to the abstract and complex ideas. The fundamental tenet of Charterism, non-racialism, which in the early eighties was propagated inside South Africa by the United Democratic Front, emerges in line 4 (omhlophe nomnyama). The values of equal rights for all national groups, sharing of the country's wealth including land, racial equality, basic human rights for all and rejection of all forms of oppression, which are enshrined in the Freedom Charter, are the sense and tenor conveyed by lines 5 and 6. This perception becomes plausible if we take into consideration what Marx (Ibid: 95) says:

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the ANC's seminal document, the Freedom Charter, had been allowed to drift into obscurity. By the early 1980s, the ban on this document was largely ignored, as copies of it began to circulate in the townships.

Mtuzze (Ibid: 39) continues as follows:

Lala phumla khwezi lezwe lala; Kad' uphuthelwa uphulaphul' izingqi.	Sleep rest morning star of the nation sleep; For a long time you spent sleepless nights listening to footsteps.
Ubizwe nguVelile umRharhabe, wavuma,	You were called by Velile, the Rarabe, and you heed the call,
Ubizwe nguAkena akuvuthulul' uthuli,	You were called by Akena who wants to brush off dust from you,
Kwangqina noMamowu - injojeli yenjoli	And Mamowu - the distinguished stewardess concurred.
Mayibuy' eAfrika kwabiw' izitya ngoku.	Let him return from Africa, the dishes must be distributed now.

Line 1 of the foregoing stanza pertains to Calata's leading role in reviving the ANC, and in the church, which is poignantly pointed out by Karis and Carter (1977b: 16) as follows:

Religion and politics were inseparable concerns in Calata's life, for he believed that Christianity would never develop genuine roots in South Africa until African grievances were dealt with politically.

Line 2 reveals Calata's life since he joined the ANC in 1930. During the Defiance Campaign of 1952 he was banned from attending gatherings. These measures were later relaxed allowing him to carry out church work only. His home was constantly raided and searched by police, hence the author's sentiments that he deserves an uninterrupted rest after sleepless nights of anxiety and disturbance by the footsteps of police who harassed him until his burial.

In the style of African elegiac poetry Mtuze intimates that Calata heeds to the call of the Rarabe king, Archie Velile Sandile, and his colleague, Akena. He is therefore not dead but "setting out on a journey" to the world hereafter to join ranks with other national heroes (Finnegan, 1970: 157). This association of Calata with ancestors and the Deity not only elevates his status but emphasises the fact that he will always be remembered for his indelible contribution to his family, friends, colleagues and the nation. Mtuze concludes the stanza by bringing back to the Xhosa text, albeit in disguised form, the popular slogan which is a hallmark of the struggle for liberation in Africa, 'Mayibuy' iAfrika', meaning 'let Africa be restored to its rightful owners'. The distribution of dishes is restoration of all fundamental human rights which are outlined by the Freedom Charter. I therefore propose that Mtuze's "uCanon James Arthur Calata" disseminates the Charterist ideology of the African National Congress, which in the early eighties was spearheaded by the United Democratic Front.

#### 5.3.10 Zide (1987): EZASEKUHLALENI (The Social)

Zide's collection of poems is socially oriented. Small wonder that he gave his book the title Ezasekuhlaleni. The influence of Black Consciousness ideology is discernible in the poem "Ndimnyama nje ke ndimnyama" (For I am black, so am

I black). Zide (Ibid: 42) says:

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | Ndinesidima, ndinesithozela,<br>Ndinebhongo, ndinegugu, ndineqhayiya<br>ngesiqu sam,<br>Kuba andingxengwanga, andixutywanga,<br>Ndintsundu, ndinomkhith' okwenkabi<br>yehashe ndiyathandeka,<br>Kuba ndimnyama nje ke ndimnyama! | I am dignified, respectable,<br>I am proud, boastful, haughty about myself,<br>Because I am not diluted, not a mixture<br>I am brown, graceful like a horse, comely,<br>Because I am black, so am I black!          |
| 2. | Andisayi kuzenza ngakumbi<br>Ndenziwe, ndidaliwe,<br>UQamat' uthandil' ukuba ndibemhle,<br>ndingabimbi,<br>Ndizidela ngani na ke?<br>Kuba ndimnyama nje ke ndohlala<br>ndimnyama!  | I shall never change myself<br>I have been made, I have been created,<br>God wanted me to look beautiful, not ugly,<br>Why do I undermine myself?<br>Because I am black and so will I remain black!                 |
| 3. | Andizimisele kuthandisa mntu<br>ngobumnyama bam!<br>Ukuba ubani akandifuni kuba<br>ndimnyama;<br>Yeyakhe leyo;<br>Mna ndohlala nobumnyama bam;<br>Kuba ndimnyama nje ke ndimnyama!   | I do not intend to please anybody about my<br>blackness!<br>If one does not want me because I am black;<br>That is his own business;<br>I shall remain with my blackness;<br>Because I am black, and so am I black! |

Zide in Stanza 1 expresses the findings of his self-examination. His perception of himself is positive and confident (line 1). From that high point it moves up to a level higher and more confident (line 2). His internal strength emanates from his acceptance of his outside appearance which ranges from brown<sup>28</sup>(line 4) to black (line 5). Zide's self assertion is probably aimed at restoring his dignity as a human being, rejecting a degenerate status, and enhancing the validity of his claim for all human rights.

In stanza 2 the poet expresses his contentment at what God made him to look like, an outlook he does not wish to change. Gratitude to God for his beautiful creation is tacitly expressed. The poet does not find any tangible reasons why he should question God's will. Zide's words echo the words of Biko (Ibid: 49) who says:

It (Black Consciousness) 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 themselves 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.

In stanza 3 Zide expresses his pride and respect of himself as a person. The first line apparently rejects the notion that Blacks have to rely on other people's prescription of good or bad standards. He declines any external influence on his perceptions about himself (line 1). He refuses to be dehumanised by discrimination, thus exhibiting symptoms of a liberated mind (line 2). The poet again emphasises his acceptance of himself as a human being, as he is. The ideas expressed by the poet are compatible with the words of Pityana, quoted by Woods (1978: 34):

Black Consciousness can therefore be seen as a stage preceding any invasion, any abolition of the ego by desire: The first step, therefore, is to make the black man see himself, to pump 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 misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is what we mean by an inward-looking process. This makes consciousness, Black Consciousness imminent in our own eyes.

The poem continues:

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 4. | Ndinebhongo, ndiyazidla<br>ngobumnyama bam;<br>Kuba andicuntsulwanga mntwini<br>kakade <sup>29</sup> ;<br>Andinguye 'ongemhlophe' ndimnyama<br>mna;<br>Yaye andiziva ngobumnyama bam;<br>Kuba kakade ndimnyama nje ke<br>ndimnyama!  | I am proud, I am conceited about my<br>blackness;<br>Because I am certainly not a limb<br>dismembered from somebody else's body;<br>I am not a 'non-white' I am black;<br><br>And I am proud of my blackness;<br>Because certainly I am black, so am I black!   |
| 5. | Sizwendini esintsundu,<br>Sizwendini esimnyama,<br>Sizwendini se-Afrika,<br>Sizwendini sakowethu,<br>Simnyama sinje sibahle,<br>Simnyama sinje sinesidima,<br>Simnyama sinje sinesithozela,<br>Simnyama sinje sinesihomo,<br>Simnyama sinje siyathandana,<br>Simnyama sinje sibantu-banye,<br>Kuba silukhozo lwe-Afrika,<br>Simnyama nje ke simnyama!!!! | You brown nation.<br>You black nation,<br>You African nation,<br>You nation of ours,<br>Black as we are we are beautiful,<br>Black as we are we are dignified,<br>Black as we are we are respectable,<br>Black as we are we are honourable,<br>Black as we are we love one another,<br>Black as we are we are one,<br>Because we are the seed of Africa,<br>For we are black, so are we black!!!! |

(Zide, Ibid: 42)

Zide again affirms his pride at his blackness (line 1) and his totality and completeness as a human being (line 2). He rejects the designation "non-white". Zide seems to have internalized the lessons by SASO and BPC, of a positive self and national image. The fifth stanza emphasises all the important issues raised

in the previous stanzas. In line 1 the poet makes reference to the brown nation. The qualificative "ntsundu" is usually used interchangeable with "mnyama" to describe black people. The poet may also have decided to use "ntsundu" here to make reference to the coloured people who have a lighter skin pigmentation. The Black Consciousness Movement in its membership, embraced Coloureds and Indians. The repetition of "Sizwendini" and "simnyama" enhances the exhortation of Blacks as individuals and as a nation to heed the call of the Black Consciousness ideology. Having been 'conscientized' by the ideology of the Black Consciousness, Zide in turn 'conscientises' his readers.

### 5.3.10 Pambo (1987): IKHUBALO LIKAXHOSA (Xhosa's charm)

Up to the late eighties Apartheid ideology remained a strong contender in the ideological contest in South Africa. Pambo's (1987: 15-17) "Uzimele-geqe eTranskei" diffuses and popularises the homeland policy of Apartheid. Pambo (Ibid: 15) says:

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 2. | Yinkokel' uDaliwonga,<br>Yimbunguzul' umntak' aMhlobo,<br>Ukuhlanganis' imihlamb' eyalanayo,<br>Ukudibanis' iintlanga.<br>Ubumb' ubuzwe buqine,<br>Uthand' abantu bakhululeke. | Daliwonga is a leader<br>The son of Mhlobo is a hero,<br>He has brought together disparate groups,<br>He has united different nations.<br>He unites the nation and makes it solid,<br>He wants people to be free. |
| 6. | Luyaphuhl' ulimo,<br>Zenz' umngcelel' iiteletele,<br>Bayaququzel' ooGqirha,<br>Bayong' abongikazi,<br>Zibil' iititshala ziyafundisa,   | Agriculture is developing,<br>Tractors constitute a convoy,<br>Doctors are busy,<br>Nurses attend to patients,<br>Teachers are sweating teaching,   |

Pambo perceives Chief Daliwonga Matanzima to be a man of vision whose leadership skills deserve emulation. Because of his leadership style which is beyond reproach, he has been able to unite 'nations' into a single free nation. Pambo's conception of a 'nation' is that of the Apartheid ideology. The different ethnic groups in the Transkei are perceived to be nations. The Transkei, and not a united South Africa, is perceived to be a nation of Xhosas. Pambo's portrayal of Chief Matanzima as a lover of freedom is refuted by historical evidence. Davies et al (Ibid: 232) say:

Following the 1960 peasants' resolve in Pondoland (which forms part of the Transkei), emergency repressive measures were granted to the Bantu authorities under the notorious Proclamation R400. The chiefs were given the right to ban meetings and detain persons without trial. These powers were widely used by the Matanzima regime prior to 'independence', when Proclamation R400 was replaced by the even more Draconian Transkei Public Security Act.

From what Davies et al say I get the impression that Matanzima's rule was maintained through repression rather than the will of the people. In stanza 6 Pambo (Ibid: 16) depicts a positive scenario of booming economy in the Transkei, and an effective health and education service. Empirical research by Streek and Wicksteed (1981: 134) however refutes Pambo's perceptions:

The massive subsidization of the Transkei government is evidence that the Transkei does not have an economy of its own, but is an integral part of the South African economy... Inescapable, too, is the ineptitude and naivete displayed in the development planning of the region, and in the implementation of this planning. The history of Transkei since independence also shows the sensitivity of both Pretoria and Umtata to scandals, corruption and wastage of money.

Pambo (Ibid: 16-17) continues:

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 7.  | Ndibonil' ibhanile yeTranskei,<br>Iliqhayiy' ezitolongweni,<br>Bayayibuk' ooMantyi,<br>Bayayijonga-jong' ooNongqayi,<br>Kub' iqaqambil' eluntwini,<br>Ilithamsanqa elizweni. | I see the banner of Transkei,<br>It is proudly hanging in prisons,<br>The magistrates envy it,<br>The police admire it,<br>Because it is popular amongst people,<br>It is a blessing to the nation. |
| 8.  | Usik' inxaxheb' uDaliwonga,<br>Kule nkomo yaseAfrika,<br>Wapheph' uMphephu,<br>Suka watyhuthul' imiphunga,<br>Wavonya-vony' irhorh' uSebe,<br>Wasaba nalw' esebeza.          | Daliwonga cut the chief's share,<br>From the African beast,<br>Mphephu evaded,<br>Only to snatch the lungs,<br>Sebe grabbed the hip-bone meat,<br>And escaped with it whispering.                   |
| 13. | Siyazingca ngozimele   | We are proud of the independence.   |

Pambo sees the repressive state apparatus like prisons, magistrates and police, and the symbol of the homeland government, its flag, as the pride of Transkeians. It is interesting to note in stanza 8 that Pambo perceives Daliwonga to be the wisest of all other homeland leaders. He, according to him, got a lion's share while Mphephu was robbed and Sebe got a minor share in their respective homelands. The first line of stanza 13 reaffirms the poet's pride about the Independent Transkei. Pambo, in "Uzimele-geqe eTranskei" chooses to be an

ideologue of the homeland policy and by implication of Apartheid ideology. As a result his poem lacks objectivity and a balanced view of reality.

### 5.3.12 Mgenge (1987): INTSINDE (*Randia rudis*/Bee-bread)

Mgenge's satiric verse "Imfene" pokes fun at the oppressed and subjugated black man who is co-opted by the white oppressor. Because of a light skin pigmentation the oppressed man becomes convinced that he is superior to other members of his own class. The superiority complex is enhanced by the material rewards from the oppressor that makes the co-opted wealthy. These are of course used to placate the black man and buy him to the oppressors camp. He is also provided with limited skills to enable him to carry out his duties proficiently. He then enthusiastically assists the ruling class in exercising its hegemony over the black race. What the co-opted man fails to come to grips with, is the fact that he also needs freedom from subjugation, and that the white ruling class that he aspires to be associated with, does not accept him as an equal. The attempt of the light-skinned man to escape from the humiliation of belonging to an undermined black race proves to be futile as he finds himself being exposed to the worst humiliation of being rejected and undermined by the white ruling class despite his hard work for same. Mgenge (Ibid: 4) says:

Umfo omhlophe ehlathini Uzuze zantlan' iimfene.	A white man in the forest Got five baboons.
Wagqiba uzozifuya Uzozifundisa kuthile.	He decided to rear them And teach them some lessons.
Enye yazo uyichongile Inokukhanya mayincedise	He selected one of them Which was lighter than the others
Ukuphatha ezinye Yafunda nokubala.	In exercising control over the others It also learnt how to count.
Yankulu, ngabula Yona mna... yankulu.	It perceived itself to be great I am telling you... it became great.
Nantso ngeny' imini Ibala ezinye, zane.	There it was, one day Counting others, one to four.
Yakhal' emlungwini ngelahleko yenye	It reported to the white man the loss of the fifth baboon

Yath' impendulo zibale  
naw' uyiyo.

The reply said count yourself as well,  
you are one of them.

Mgenge's satire ridicules a vice that became prevalent particularly during the third phase of the Apartheid ideology. His aim is obviously to expose and discourage this folly which militates against the struggle for liberation of Blacks in South Africa.

The meaning behind this simple and trivial looking poem of seven couplets becomes more profound when one locates it within its historical conjuncture. Mgenge wrote his poem during the turbulent eighties. The most relevant historical event during this decade was the establishment of the ethnically separated tricameral parliament. The 1983 Constitution Act which was passed by parliament, made provision for the establishment of three separate legislatures - White, Coloured and Indian. This programme, which according to Marx (Ibid: 114) "signalled that the political status quo was subject to change, even though the specifics of the change by the state were far from that sought by the populace", was implemented the following year: The tricameral parliament held its first meeting in January 1985. The co-option of the Coloured and Indians by the Apartheid regime was a direct challenge to the Black Consciousness ideology which perceived these ethnic groups to be members of the oppressed black community. Marx (op cit.) states:

Responding to the B.C.'s success in combining, as blacks, these groups together with the Africans, the state's proposals were in part designed to separate and win back these two population groups from their growing involvement in the popular opposition. The state attempted in this way to pursue on a grand scale its long-standing "divide and rule" strategies.

The state's attempt to undo the gains of the 70s of the Black Consciousness ideology was met with resistance. First to emerge was the National Forum which was followed by the emergence of the United Democratic Front, both in 1983. Both coalitions were aimed at resisting Apartheid albeit with different strategies. While the National Forum was a clear offshoot of the B.C.M., the U.D.F. was Charterist.

Despite the concerted extraparliamentary resistance by the oppressed Black masses, the state carried on with the implementation of its programme of the tricameral system. Despite all attempts by their black brothers and sisters, the Indian National People's Party and the Coloured Labour Party jumped on the bandwagon of the state tricameral system. The former party was led by Mr Rajbansi while the latter was led by Reverend Hendrickse. The situation is vividly captured by the Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (1992: 472).

While Hendrickse and Rajbansi were feted in parliament, opposition to Apartheid moved more determinedly than ever outside it.

Despite all this resistance, these "leaders" according to Mgenge "zaba nkulu ngabula zona". Perceiving themselves to be above the level of their own people, they attempted to come closer to the white world which is a "preserve" of the whites in terms of the Nationalist Party Policy. The outcome was the reply, "zibale naw' uyiyo", which was the worst humiliation. This moment came to Rev. Hendrickse who in 1987, in defiance of discriminatory legislation by his parliament, went for a swim on a whites only beach near his home in the Eastern Cape<sup>31</sup>. The action which was given maximum publicity by the media incurred the wrath of President P.W. Botha who not only censured him but forced him to apologise. The moment would later come to Rajbansi who despite his track record of close cooperation with the Nationalist government and his membership of parliament became a victim of the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) on the occasion of their invasion of the World Trade Centre on 25 June 1993. The event was beamed internationally and the world saw an AWB member unleash an insulting and rebuffing slap on Mr Rajbansi's face, forcing the gentleman who had confidently come forward to intervene in the disruption, to retreat and save himself from further humiliation. The encoded message was simple, "naw' uyiyo". Mgenge's poem, in a subtle manner, "conscientises" the reader, thereby advancing the ideology of the Black Consciousness Movement, particularly AZAPO whose class analysis is well illustrated by this short poem. Leatt et al (Ibid: 115) elaborate on this point as follows:

AZAPO's policy extends the black consciousness philosophy in two ways. Firstly, it recognises that some blacks collaborate with the system

because it is in their class interest to do so. 'Black' therefore means 'oppressed' yet some blacks belong to the 'oppressor' class.

### 5.3.13 Mbambo (1987) : UCANZIBE (Canopus)

Mbambo's "Isililo ngowe-1985" is at disjuncture with the Apartheid ideology. Mbambo's poem is explicitly nationalistic, and it disseminates the alternative ideology of Charterism. He denounces the enslaving, oppressive and morally and mentally degenerating Apartheid and calls for non-racial democracy. The issues he raises are compatible with the popular struggles of the eighties that were championed by the Charterist U.D.F. The poet is taken aback by violence which assumed alarming proportions during a year which according to him was unilaterally declared 'The Year of the Youth'. Mbambo (Ibid: 21) declares:

Sayawaxakeka thina basebuXhoseni. Kub' akukho nto ibuzwe kuthi.	We Xhosas were surprised. For we were never consulted.
Yintlaba zahlukane kwelakowethu. Sel' ichaphazela thina ngoku. Yini na le midaka yakowethu? Yini na le Mzantsi Afrika? Ngubani n'uBholomane ke? Ngubani n'isizekabani? Kule nkcithakalo kulo mbhodamo. Siya kutshona phi na thina? Mayiphuml' ingqanda nengcola. Kade sibhovu-bhovuzana ngekrele.	There is disunity in our country. It also affects us now. What is the problem black compatriots? What is it South Africa? Who is the instigator? Who is the cause? Of this scattering of this confusion. Where shall we hide? The assegai and spear must cease piercing. We have for a long time stabbed one another with a sword.
Kade usitshisa nomlilo kaloku. Kade kuphalazwa amagazi amsulwa.	We have for a long time burned in the fire. For a long time blood of innocent people was spilled.

The poet focuses attention on the disunity and conflicting interests of South Africans in 1985. Successive questions draw attention, sustain and underpin the writer's postulation that there is a force (uBholomane, isizekabani) behind the black on black violence. The scattering and confusion that ensues creates a conducive climate for a sustained internecine violence. The poet calls for an end to this senseless killing of innocent people. Mbambo (Ibid: 22) continues:

Njomborha yabo ooHleliqinga thetha. Kungawe duna lakwaBhot' amagunya ngawakho.	You leader of all the cunning-tricksters speak It is your turn son of Botha the powers are in your hands.
--	---

Yek' izavece intlalo ibhukuqekile.  
 Lawula dun' elidume ngokulawula.  
 Magonana namagunya nomthetho.  
 Lawula sibone kaloku mfondini.  
 Kodwa ngath' inkal' ixing' etyeni.  
 Yini n' ukunxonxothela kwivamhla?  
 Lid' ithuba awakwantu etyobana.  
 Kuthuthel' engcwaben' umhla nezolo.

Stop empty verbalisation the situation is upside down.  
 Take control you man who has a reputation of governing.  
 He who clings to power and law.  
 Govern man we are watching.  
 But it seems as if you are stuck.  
 Why gulp incessantly the new drink?  
 Blacks have been destroying one another for a long time.  
 Daily people are taken to their graves.

Lamla Mzantsi Afrika kaloku.  
 Amagunya nokutya kukuwe.  
 Thetha nomthetho usesandleni kuwe.  
 Intlalo eMzantsi Afrika ibhukuqekile.  
 Ikhona njani n' inkululeko kwezopolitiko?  
 Kungakhululekwanga kwezemveliso.  
 Amagunya akuwe Mzantsi Afrika lamla.  
 Bayatyobana benyokan' ebuXhoseni.

South Africa intervene.  
 Power and wealth is with you.  
 Speak, the law also is in your hands.  
 The situation in South Africa is upside down.  
 How can there be political freedom?  
 When there is no economic freedom?  
 Power is in your hands South Africa intervene.  
 Xhosas kill and backbite one another.

NgooHleliqhinga abaphos' igada.  
 Bethlekis' umntu nomntakwabo.  
 Bejingis' inqatha lichininika.  
 Ngoku oonyana baxhelana nooyise.  
 Wakuqwalasela akukho kwanto leyo.  
 Wamsa kuthi magongoma ndigqume  
 Amanqath' eli lizwe siwafuna sonke.

It is the Cunning-tricksters who stimulate conflict.  
 They instigate war between brothers.  
 They use material benefits to coax people to fight.  
 Now sons are slaughtering their fathers.  
 A closer scrutiny of the situation fails to reveal the cause.  
 Do not be self-centered.  
 We all want to enjoy the wealth of this country.

In the preceding extract the poet calls on President Botha, the leader of the white minority Nationalist Party government to intervene and redress the crisis. From him the writer demands a concrete and decisive action instead of empty politico-bubble (izavece). In lines 2 and 5 the poet makes reference to the president's extraordinary powers. This is certainly an attack on the new constitution that was part and parcel of the "Total strategy" of President Botha. According to Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (Ibid: 469) the new Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, which became law in August 1983, and which established a South African Parliament comprising three legislative houses for Whites, Coloureds and Indians:

...effectively made State President P.W. Botha both formal and the executive head of state and commander-in-chief of the South African Defence Force.

This new dispensation gave Botha more powers. In November 1983 a referendum empowered him to proceed and implement the new constitution. In January 1985 the first Tricameral Parliament met. It is probably this power that the poet alludes to. In line 8 the poet alludes to the fact that the President is failing to resolve the conflict because of his obsession with his new constitution (ukunxonxothela kwivamhla). The implication here is that the new Tricameral Parliament is the fountain-head of the destructive current that engulfs the entire country. But it is Blacks who incur the greatest suffering and the most casualties<sup>32</sup>.

Mbambo entreats the South African government, which holds power and capital to address the problem that confronts the country. A stinging attack on the Homeland governments is purported by line 15 which asks how political freedom can be realised by a country that has no economic freedom. This statement rules out the possibility that the homelands can contribute towards the resolution of the conflict. Above that it exposes the fact that real power even in the homelands is in the hands of the South African Government. In line 22 the poet accuses the Apartheid government of being the force behind the violence. He says that they are, behind the scenes, using material benefits as an incentive, fanning the flames of conflict and coaxing the warring parties to carry on with the carnage. The poet in the penultimate and last line of the foregoing extract urges the Nationalist Party government to refrain from self-centredness and distribute the wealth of South Africa equitably to all the legitimate citizens of this country.

Mbambo turns to the Almighty and makes a devout supplication to him, beseeching him to respond positively to the cry of Blacks in South Africa. Mbambo's (Ibid: 23) prayer is as follows:

Wena Lonyus' amafu sive.  
 Isikhalo sethu sikhul' emhlabeni  
 Hay' ubukrakra bentlalo yokuthinjwa  
 Intloko zethu zithwele intshuntshiso.  
 Sitheng' amanzi neenkuni zethu.  
 Ilukhun' ingalo yooFikizolo.

Lungqwabalala ulawulo lwabo.

You Who is in the clouds hear us.  
 Our cry here on earth is great.  
 How bitter it is to be enslaved  
 On our heads oppression is heavy.  
 We buy water and our fire-wood.  
 The hand of Those-who-arrived-Yesterday is  
 heavy.  
 Their government is oppressive.

Akukho ban' ukuvayo ukuncwina kwethu.  
Badla batyekez' ezweni loobawo bethu.

Sithenga nomgquba weenkomo zethu.  
Iintyatyambo zethu azinaxabiso yindlala.  
Kuhleliwe nje zambathisana naba hleliqhinga.  
Kufunwa iqhosh' elingenamthunja kubo.

Oobawo bafa ngex' elingaphambili.  
Besif' iintliziyo zingamahlwili.  
Intambo yobukhoboka idyokhwe yobunzima.  
Baf' ikrakra okwencindi yekhal' imiphefumlo.

Le ntshutshis' itshabalalis' iingqondo zethu.  
Buxhomis' amehl' obungaka uburhalarhume.  
Wena ke Naphakad' uhlel' eBhotwe.  
Uyazibon' ezi mpungutye ziphezu kwethu.  
Ungasilibali imihla emide kaloku.  
Siyancwina yiva ukukhala kwethu.  
Bharhuml' ezi zirhalarhume zigxekane.  
Uligwiba lethu wena Qamata.

Nobody hears our groaning.  
They eat so much that they cast up food in our  
fatherland.

We buy even the manure of our cattle.  
Our flowers have no value because of poverty.  
They sleep with these cunning-tricksters.  
They want money from them.

Our fathers have passed away.  
Their hearts were aching  
The rope of slavery the yoke of hardship.  
Their souls were as bitter as aloe juice when  
they died.

This oppression destroys our brains.  
This rate of thuggery is alarming.  
You the Everlasting who is at the Palace.  
You can see that these jackals are upon us.  
Do not forget us for a very long time.  
We are groaning please heed our call.  
Roar and make these fierce animals disagree.  
You are our protection you God.

Mbambo prays for God's intervention in South Africa to alleviate the suffering of the oppressed, enslaved and persecuted. The oppressive "those-who-arrived-yesterday" are the Nationalist Party government supporters who are descendants of Dutch and other races who arrived in South Africa in and after 1652, hence they are referred to by the poet as new arrivals. The poet says that the foreign oppressor has superfluous wealth, while the indigenous inhabitants are forced to pay for the natural resources of their motherland. Moral degeneration, particularly with women, has become the order of the day due to poverty. The oppression leads to mental degeneration as well, which results in ruthless thuggery. The oppressor is likened with a jackal, an animal with a reputation for cunning, treachery and selfishness in Xhosa folklore. Mbambo prays for God's will to disunite the ideologues of Apartheid in their inhumane cause.

#### 5.5.14 Mbovane (1989): ISAGWEBE (A Short hunting stick)

Mbovane's poem "Ubumnyama" (blackness) acknowledges and highlights the gains of Black Consciousness ideology. Mbovane approaches his task by isolating only one single aspect which was a manifestation of an inferiority complex amongst Blacks: the use of skin lightening creams. He then argues why in terms of the

ethics of the Christian religion and also indigenous African religion the practice in question, which manifests ignorance or darkness is not acceptable. Black Consciousness, which according to the poet had God's blessings, absolved Blacks of the inferiority complex which was a direct result of ignorance or darkness.

Mbovane (Ibid: 41) says:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Yintlekisa konebala<br/>Ad' ahlek' acicitheke<br/>Akujonga loo ntsikizi<br/>Izixakekise njalo<br/>Ngomgudu wokujika<br/>Elo bala lesidima.<br/>Buhle kum ubumnyama.</p> | <p>It is ridiculous to the white person ,<br/>He giggles with laughter<br/>When he witnesses the ground hornbill<br/>Keeping itself busy<br/>Attempting to transform<br/>That dignified colour pigmentation<br/>To me black is beautiful.</p> |
|---|---|

In the foregoing stanza Mbovane states that whites view as objects of derision those blacks who use skin lightening creams in order to make their colour pigmentation to resemble that of whites. Application of skin lighteners is viewed by the poet as self-negation and a vain attempt of soliciting acceptance by the white world. Mbovane is appalled by the low self-concept of those blacks who engage in this condemnable act of defacing their natural and comely black skin. By conjuring up the popular slogans "black is beautiful" in the last line, Mbovane professes his allegiance to the ideology of Black Consciousness. Mbovane reflects Biko's reply to Advocate David Soggot, his defence lawyer in the SASO/BPC Trial in May 1976. The conversation is as follows:

- Soggot : When you have phrases such as "black is beautiful", now would that sort of phrase fit in with the Black Consciousness approach?
- Biko : Yes, it does.
- Soggot : What is the idea of such a slogan?
- Biko : I think that slogan has been meant to serve and I think is serving a very important aspect of our attempt to get at humanity. 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 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. (Biko, Ibid: 103-104)

Mbovane's (Ibid: 41) poem continues:

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 3. | Kwakumnyama elizweni<br>Kulawula ubumnyama<br>Lingaziwa elo liZwi<br>LikaThixo onguMdali.<br>Waz'uThixo wakhanyisa<br>Ilizwi lakhe lalawula<br>Bacel'indlel'ubunyama.      | It was dark in the world<br>Darkness reigned<br>That Word was not known<br>The Word of God the Creator.<br>And God brought light<br>And his word ruled<br>And darkness departed.  |
| 4. | Ubumnyama abuthandwa<br>Abufunwa naziingqola<br>Zibuchil'okomshologu<br>Kumasiko amakhaya,<br>'Mabudede ubumnyama<br>Kuze kulawul'ukhanyo'<br>Siyibon'indlel'esiyihambayo. | Darkness is not loved<br>Even traditionalists do not want it<br>They reject it like an evil spirit<br>In the ceremonies of their homes,<br>'Darkness must give way<br>For light to reign'<br>So that we can see the path we thread. |

In the above two stanzas, Mbovane associates the Black Consciousness Ideology with the Word of God, and a traditional ceremony that is aimed at propitiation of ancestors. Use of this associative device is double pronged. First is obviously evades direct reference to B.C.M. thereby avoiding possible censorship. Secondly it elevates the ideology, for this implies its endorsement by God and by the ancestors. The implication is that B.C.M's struggle for humanity was God's, and the ancestor's plan for saving Blacks from darkness/ignorance, which made them to undermine their Creator, who made them black. In the last stanza Mbovane (Ibid) says:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 5. | Bumkile ubumnyama<br>Nomnyama akazidubi<br>Ngokutyabula ulusu.<br>NeVangeli sesiyiva<br>Ezinkonzweni naseziyolweni<br>Kuba iingqondo zikhanyile<br>Bumkile ubumnyama. | Darkness has departed<br>And the Black no longer worries himself<br>By lightening the skin<br>We hear the Evangel/Gospel<br>In churches and places of recreation<br>Because the minds are enlightened<br>Darkness has departed. |
|----|---|---|

In the same poem "Ubumnyama" Mbovane employs the qualificative "-mnyama" which denotatively means black or dark and connotatively means ignorant, evil, heathen and so on. He nonetheless emphasises that "ubumnyama" in the negative sense has departed and "ubumnyama" in its purified form, is beautiful. This point is illuminated by Biko's reply to Judge Boshoff who presided over the SASO/BPC Trial:

Judge Boshoff : Yes but then you put your foot into it, you use black which really connotates 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 are 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, Ibid: 104-105)

#### 5.4 AESTHETIC IDEOLOGY OF THE THIRD PHASE

What is most remarkable about the majority of poets of the last phase of Apartheid is their move away from the Western Victorian aesthetics. For instance out of the corpus of twenty two poems selected from repertoires of thirteen writers, which is analysed and interpreted in this chapter, only one poem, "Ndimi ndinkqonkqoza" by Jordan has attempted to achieve rhyme. In the previous chapters I have explained in detail the reductive effect of an aesthetic that is not compatible with the content of a poem. The majority of Xhosa poets of this period seem to have realised the strangulating effects of this western technique, and have discarded it in favour of free verse. The immediacy of the experience with which Xhosa poetry writers of the last phase dealt, and the urgency of their socio-politico-economic oriented message might have been the motivation behind preference of the indigenous model. Their revolutionary content which yearns for change, condemns injustice and oppression and demands all fundamental human rights, might have influenced their choice of techniques that derive from African oral traditions. A significant outcome of this aesthetic ideology is freedom from the extraneous constraints, and unearthing of creativity and innovation. This made it possible for poets to subtly air the alternative ideology. Mtuze's (Ibid: 38) "uCanon James Arthur Calata" illustrates this point:

5. .... Athethe noQamata akhanyis' ubumnyama,  Arhol' <u>ummangaliso</u> umanyano <u>lwabantu</u> .	..... And ask God to dispel darkness with light, And bring out <u>wonders</u> , unity amongst <u>people</u> .
--	---

(emphasis mine)

Use of the words "ummangaliso" and "-bantu" in the above extract is double pronged. It conveys the explicit meaning of a "wonder" and "people", while simultaneously invoking the first names "Mangaliso" of Robert Sobukwe, the PAC stalwart; and "Bantu" of Steven Biko, the BCM ideologue. The word "arhol"

is presumably an allusion to "Rolihlahla" the first name of Nelson Mandela, while "umanyano" might be conjuring up the United Democratic Front whose stated mission was to forge "unity" of all Black liberation movements in South Africa. This is a device that is aimed at evading censorship in a manner that does not degenerate to empty verbalisation.

Pambo's (Ibid: 16-17) humorous play with words in his poem "Uzimele-geqe eTranskei" also illustrates this point:

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 8.  | <p>.....<br/> <u>Wapheph' uMphephu,</u><br/>         Suka watyhuthul' imiphunga<br/>         Wavonya-vony' irhorh' <u>uSebe,</u><br/>         Wasaba nalw' <u>esebeza.</u></p> | <p>.....<br/>         Mphephu evaded,<br/>         Only to snatch the lungs,<br/>         Sebe grabbed the hip-bone meat,<br/>         And escaped with it whispering.</p> |
| 11. | <p>.....<br/> <u>IiNzule ziyazula,</u><br/>         Zisakhand' imithi,<br/>         Khon' ukuze zizilungise,<br/>         .....</p>  | <p>.....<br/>         Zulus are wandering,<br/>         Seeking medicinal plants,<br/>         In order to cure their ills,<br/>         .....</p>                         |
- (emphasis mine)

The foregoing stylistic devices which evince the richness of the Xhosa language, are only possible when the poet discards the Western mould, and exploits to the maximum indigenous style and idiom. Fresh and original imagery is also the hallmark of the poetry of the third phase in its expression of the vicissitudes of the Apartheid epoch.

## 5.5 RESUMÉ

The argument of this last chapter is that during the last phase of the Apartheid regime, Xhosa written poetry continued to be influenced by the "cacophony" of contending ideologies. The most impactful ideologies during this period were, first the Apartheid ideology, which is the ideology of the ruling class. Class is used here in a sense that transcends skin pigmentation, as the restructured apartheid system co-opted some blacks into its ranks. The second ideology, the Black Consciousness Movement, is the ideology that attempted to mobilise the oppressed blacks. The third ideology, the Charterist Movement, which is

espoused by the African National Congress, is the alternative ideology of the subordinate class. Here also class is used in a sense that transcends colour, as this ideology propounds non-racialism and non-sexism.

The impact of the abovestated social processes of interpellation or address is acknowledged. I concur with Nkosi's (Ibid: 169) view that "in Africa as elsewhere the development of poetry is closely bound up with the social, economic and political development of society". I however argue further that these ideologies were not equally impactful. As Therbon (Ibid: VII) would say they overlapped, competed and clashed, drowned or reinforced each other. Xhosa written poetry of 1973-1990 is living evidence of this fact. A close study of the data we have analysed and interpreted evinces that Apartheid ideology dominated poetry of 1973-1980. My speculation of the reason behind a successful Apartheid hegemony is that the repressive apartheid apparatuses which were consolidated in the sixties to monitor the production of Xhosa literature, though they had begun to disintegrate in other spheres, still held a firm grip as far as production of Xhosa literature is concerned. Consequently texts that explicitly challenged the dominant ideology were expurgated or never allowed to see the light. A few writers who disguised themselves with imagery managed to air the alternative view. But, as we have indicated in the previous chapter their voices are muted by this attempt to evade censorship. Conspicuous by its absence during this period is the Black Consciousness ideology, which was responsible for a cultural renaissance in the seventies, making Khoapa (Ibid: 44-45) to comment:

"A new generation of poets is coming up... A new notable feature is attachment developed by blacks to poetry written by their own poets and also the apparent increase in sensitivity by poets to real issues affecting the black world. No longer are blacks apologetic when they write about the township and slum areas, about crime and murder in their areas, about new pride in self-rediscovery.

Khoapa makes reference to literature that exploited the English medium. Expression of the "self-rediscovery" referred to above, through the indigenous medium, Xhosa, was delayed for almost a decade.

The poetry of the early eighties saw the re-emergence of the Charterist ideology

which was simultaneous with the emergence of the deferred Black Consciousness ideology. Though the two ideologies are distinct, the data at my disposal evinces that Xhosa poets perceive them as being complementary. For instance they seem to accept black consciousness as a necessary step towards Charterism. This is in line with the following observation by Marx (Ibid: 131):

...the Front's leadership acknowledged that they were building on the achievements of the B.C. movement in the 1970s. As Allan Boesak declared at the UDF's inauguration, his generation had not been "brainwashed" by "the tranquilizing drugs of apathy and fear" but had become after 1976 "the most politically conscious generation of young people determined to struggle for a better future". That consciousness was B.C.'s legacy to the UDF.

But on the crucial question of race, writers of the eighties make a clarion call for non-racialism and inter-racial coexistence to be realised forthwith, not after liberation has been achieved (as B.C.M. would say). It is my view that the Black Consciousness ideology reinforced the Charterist ideology which re-emerged to dominate the eighties. The censorship mechanism of the Apartheid regime seems to have lost its firm grip of the previous two decades. Xhosa poets emerged one after another extolling the ideologues of the alternative Charterist movement. Symbols of the alternative ideology were depicted, and some writers went as far as explicitly condemning the politically dominant Apartheid ideology and its ideologues. A few writers indirectly defended Apartheid by arguing for the validity and legitimacy of the homeland system. But in my view their voices were "drowned" by the ideologically dominant Charterism. I therefore conclude that Xhosa written poetry evinces that during the third phase of Apartheid though the Nationalist Party government was politically dominant, the Charterist Movement was ideologically hegemonic.

#### Notes

1. See Lodge (Ibid: 326).
2. See Therbon (1980: 77-81).
3. 'Reforms' and restructuring are used interchangeably.
4. See Gramsci (Ibid: 137, 168, 366, 377 and 418).
5. See Marx (Ibid: 147-188), Meli (Ibid: 194-201) and Readers Digest Illustrated

History of South Africa (Ibid: 468-489).

6. See Gerhart (Ibid: 261).
7. The concept 'conscientisation', probably coined by B.C.M. means making aware or raising awareness/consciousness.
8. See Lodge (Ibid: 323).
9. See Gerhart (Ibid: 293).
10. See Lodge (Ibid: 330-339).
11. See Leatt et al (Ibid: 115) and Marx (Ibid: 80).
12. See 5.2. Apartheid Ideology.
13. See 5.2 and 5.3 of this chapter.
14. See Wilson, in Wilson and Thompson (eds) (Ibid: 109), who writes  

The Portuguese survivors from wrecks speak of 'crops of millet' (sementeiras de milho) in 1554, in Natal, and in 1593 about the Mthatha. Portuguese 'milho' is doubtless one or other variety of sorghum, which is repeatedly called 'millet' by later writers. Melons, calabashes and beans are mentioned in 1593, 1622, and 1635. In 1686 there were 'beans, pumpkins, water melons, and such like, 'in abundance' among the Xhosa, and other survivors from the Stavenisse reported: 'They cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumpkins, water melons and beans, much resembling the European brown beans; they sow annually a kind of earth nut, and a kind of underground bean, both very nourishing... Tobacco grows there wild...' The 'three sorts of corn' perhaps included maize, to which there is a probable reference in 1635 and which was seen growing in Pondoland in 1790, but sorghum was still the main crop in 1821. Tobacco is reported at the Cape in 1601, and at least by 1800 it was cultivated 'in great quantities' by the Xhosa.
15. cf Magona (Ibid: 5) and Chapter 3 of this study.
16. See Davies et al (Ibid: 204-205).
17. Op. cit.
18. See Lodge (Ibid: 272-278) and Davies et al (Ibid: 202).  
One of the victims was Chief Albert Luthuli.
19. See Mnguni (Ibid: 72), and Majeke (Ibid: 36).
20. Kropf (Ibid: 454) defines isivivane as follows:  

A heap of stones thrown together by travellers at certain steep and dangerous passes on a difficult, tiring journey, a small stone being added by every passerby... whereby the traveller asks for help to accomplish his enterprise or errand.
21. See Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (Ibid: 497) and Pampallis

(Ibid: 292).

22. See Finnegan (Ibid: 148).

23. See Nkuhlu (Ibid: 27) who says:

Kungabi ngekrele, mkrolo, nekrwane;  
Kube ngocebano, mvumelwano nomnqophiso;  
It must not be with the sword, the stick and the assegai;  
It must be negotiations, agreements and a covenant.

24. See Linguistics for the Language Professions Brochure, University of Stellenbosch, Area of Study No.7.

25. See Karis and Carter (1977a: 70).

26. See Karis and Carter (1977b: 16)

27. See Meli (Ibid: 199-200) who says:

The armed operations of the ANC inside South Africa have a crucial psychological impact as well as military one. They instill self-confidence in the people and transform the latent hostility of the people to the government into open mass confrontation; they intensify the sense of unease and insecurity among the enemy forces; they increase the conviction among the struggling people that victory is certain; and they popularise armed struggle - the term "armed propaganda" has gained popularity within the ANC circles. This, and much more explains why the ANC flags, symbols, slogans and freedom songs are sung everywhere, especially at the funerals of those gunned down by the enemy. (my emphasis)

28. I assume that Zide uses "brown" to encompass Coloureds and Indians in terms of B.C.M. philosophy. See Biko (Ibid: 52) and Gerhart (Ibid: 277-281).

29. Zide's poem exhibits intertextual relationship with Jordan's (Ibid: 38) poem which says "andicatshulwanga mntwini".

30. See Apartheid Ideology in 5.2 of this chapter.

31. See Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (Ibid: 485).

32. Amongst the many people who were murdered in 1985 were Nonyamezelo Mxenge, a human rights lawyer who is the wife of Griffiths Mxenge, the human rights lawyer who was also brutally murdered in 1981. Eastern Cape activists Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were also mysteriously murdered. According to confessions of two ex-policemen Nofomela and Dirk Coetzee, Griffiths Mxenge was murdered by government sponsored hit squads. Mrs Mxenge's killers are still unknown. A commission of inquiry is

currently investigating the murderers of the latter group. Police are strongly suspected of having committed the crime.

## CHAPTER 6

### GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study concurs with the broad range of scholars who have exposed the counter-productive impact of Apartheid ideology on South African literature. The most articulate of these scholars is Brink (1983:236) who avers that :

If there is one fundamental aspect of censorship that has to be grasped before any of its effects on literature can be discussed, it is the fact that it never operates in isolation ... Hence, in South Africa, censorship is only one part of an overall strategy which also expresses itself in such forms as detention without trial, arbitrary bannings, job reservation, the Group Areas Act, those clauses of the Immorality Act which prohibit miscegenation or any form of "love across the colour bar", influx control, the frustration of black solidarity and stripping of 9 million black South Africans of their citizenship through the creation of a mosaic of "independent" homelands, the web of legislation controlling the press, and all the awesome activities of the secret police.

The study, nevertheless, moves further than these scholars, who account for the dominant forms only. "Since every dominant form elicits alternative forms" the study also accounts "for this counter-movement 'from below'" (Muller et al in Tomaselli, Ibid:21).

Central to this thesis, therefore, is the argument that Xhosa written poetry of the Apartheid epoch (1948-1990) has been informed by both the dominant Apartheid ideology and the subordinate alternative ideologies, namely : Africanism, Charterism, Pan Africanism and Black Consciousness. This argument concurs with the thinking of a wide spectrum of scholars, particularly Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981:2) who argues as follows :

...a writer has no choice. Whether or not he is aware of it, his works reflect one or more aspects of the intense economic, political, cultural, and ideological struggles in a society. What he can choose is one or the other side in the battle field : the side of the people, or the side of those social forces and classes that try to keep people down. What he or she cannot do is to remain neutral. Every writer is a writer in politics. The only question is what and whose politics? (emphasis mine).

The study has however moved further than Ngugi's observation, in the sense that it supplements his view that textual significations either exhibit impact of the dominant ideology or the subordinate ideology. It acknowledges the possible complex existence within the same text, repertoire or oeuvre of the dominant

and/or subordinate ideology. This disjuncture manifests itself in the socio-political and/or aesthetic ideology within the same text, repertoire or oeuvre of an artist.

In support of its hypothesis that Xhosa written poetry is a terrain of the struggle for hegemony between the dominant Apartheid ideology and the subordinate alternative ideologies, this study heeds Wolpe's (1988:3) advice which is as follows:

... an understanding, in any given period, of the political conjuncture requires an analysis which, on the one hand, is historically specific and, on the other hand, is not reduced solely to a descriptive account of struggles and events. To achieve this, it is necessary to analyse not only the prevailing struggles but also the structural conditions which mark the character of a period and provide the specific context against which the content and direction of political conflicts can be understood.

Guided by the above-stated principle I have employed the model of periodisation of the Apartheid era, whose authenticity is proven by its support by a broad range of scholars, amongst them Wolpe (Ibid:61) who contends :

Three phases or periods... of the apartheid political system can be identified. Each of these is characterised by specific political and economic structural conditions and struggles. The existence of the structural conditions can be explained by the changes and struggles which occurred under the conditions of the preceding period.

The three periods referred to above have been identified in this study as the first phase of Apartheid (1948-1960) including the post-Sharpeville crisis (1960-1963), the second phase of Apartheid (1963-1973), and the third phase of Apartheid (1973-1990).

This thesis develops its central argument by arguing further that Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990 has been shaped by the afore-stated major structural transformations of the political terrain. Expressed differently the argument advanced is that variations of the contestation on the political terrain have impacted profoundly on the literary terrain. Hence the following findings regarding the socio-political ideology and Xhosa written poetry of the Apartheid epoch:

- I. While the influence of the politically hegemonic Apartheid ideology during the first half of the first phase (1948-1955) cannot be denied, it is beyond doubt that the alternative Africanist ideology was ideologically hegemonic. Each and every collection of poems that was published during this period contains a range of poems that disseminate the Africanist ideology and popularise its ideologues.
- II While the impact of both the politically dominant Apartheid ideology and the alternative PAC ideology is discernible in Xhosa written poetry of the second half of the first phase (1955-1963), ANC ideology seems to have been hegemonic. Poetry that emphasises multi-racialism and interracial co-existence and harmony even before freedom is achieved; and the fact that South Africa belongs to all, dominates this period.
- III The politically dominant Apartheid ideology asserted its ideological hegemony in the absence of formidable opposition during the second phase (1963-1973). Evidence of this fact is silence on the part of literature of this period, concerning issues pertaining to interracial relations of domination and subordination, and its silence about leaders of the liberation movement. Censorship silenced all dissenters from the norm that was stipulated by the state: which was total abstinence from "political tendencies". A reasonable focus has been given to the few writers during this period whose ingenuity enabled them to elude the censor, albeit an inadvertent obscurity of their message from their consumers.
- IV The third phase (1973-1990) began with discernible Apartheid hegemony. From 1981 onwards a transformation in the balance of forces surfaces and an ideologically hegemonic Charterism emerges. Poetry that hails leaders of the liberation movement, and denounces Apartheid ideology appears. Also of profound impact during this phase is the Black Consciousness ideology with its self-assertive and affirmative poetry.

By its very nature this study is content oriented. Be that as it may, because of my subscription to the dialectical conception of the form and content relationship, a brief discussion of the former aspect could not be eschewed. Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990 is living evidence of the validity of this dialectical form - content relationship. The following are findings regarding aesthetic ideology and Xhosa written poetry of the Apartheid epoch:

- I During the first and second halves of the first phase (1948-1963) the majority of Xhosa poems were produced in the indigenous style of oral poets who produced 'izibongo'. The aesthetic ideology of these poets is compatible with the socio-political content of their poems. There are however some writers who imitated the Western aesthetics. The effect of this aesthetic ideology is the mediation of the authorial socio-political ideology.
- II The second phase of Apartheid (1963-1973) is marked by a significant interpellation of poets by the dominant Victorian aesthetic ideology. Evidence of this fact is the obsession of the majority of poets of this phase with rhyme; their emphasis on a content that focusses on nature and abstractions like love, religion and so on; and their de-emphasis on socially oriented poetry within the contemporary context, eg. praises in respect of political figures and events and so on. The dominant aesthetic ideology of this phase is thus evidence of Apartheid's cultural hegemony.
- III During the first half of the third phase of Apartheid (1973-1980) profound influence of the dominant aesthetic ideology is discernible. This is attributable to an overlap by the second phase which left remnants of the outgoing aesthetic ideology. During the second half of the third phase (1981-1990) there is an observable move away from the Western form towards an African form that draws heavily in its styles and techniques from the indigenous oral forms. This fact is confirmed by Kaschula (1991:226) who says :

... the oral forms of the imbongi continue to survive today. Even in written Xhosa poetry we find the use of oral techniques.

This aesthetic ideology becomes compatible with the subordinate alternative socio-political ideology and affirms its cultural hegemony.

The foregoing findings validate Eagleton's (Ibid:101) postulation that :

Literature, ..., is the most revealing mode of experiential access to ideology that we possess. It is in literature, above all, that we observe in a peculiarly complex, coherent, intensive and immediate fashion the workings of ideology in the textures of lived experience of class-societies.

Because literature is an aspect of culture, the study has furthermore validated Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural construction, which emphasises the indispensable role of culture and ideology in the process of asserting hegemony. Both the dominant Apartheid ideology and the alternative ideologies seem to be cognisant of this significant political role of culture. Xhosa written poetry of 1948-1990 is testimony of the struggle by the Apartheid ideology to appropriate African culture to serve its own political interests, and the resistant struggle by the alternative ideology for the control over its heritage resources.

This study exposes how Apartheid's Bantu Education, through its laws that control literary production, and other forms of coercion, has struggled "to assimilate and to conquer 'ideologically' "some Xhosa writers who originally might have been classified under Gramsci's category of "traditional intellectuals", transforming them into Apartheid's "organic intellectuals". This study further evinces how literature (Xhosa written poetry in particular) that has been appropriated by Apartheid's Bantu Education, has been an effective tool in this struggle of the dominant Apartheid ideology to elaborate its intellectuals through its primary, secondary and tertiary schools. These writers who have chosen to carry out the functions of Apartheid's "organic intellectuals" utilize Xhosa written poetry as a medium for imparting the ideology of Apartheid to these pupils and students. According to Gramsci (Ibid:10) :

One of the most important characteristics of any group that is developing towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and to

conquer "ideologically" the traditional intellectuals, but this assimilation and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own organic intellectuals.

Gramsci (Ibid) emphasises that the school plays a significant role in this respect.

I however argue that in the same vein, the subaltern classes have also engaged themselves in the struggle against the ruling class, by elaborating their own "organic intellectuals" through utilization of the medium of culture (in this instance Xhosa written poetry). It may therefore be concluded that Xhosa poets have, consciously or unconsciously, carried out the functions of "organic intellectuals" either for the dominant hegemony or for the alternative hegemony. As 'functionaries' of whichever 'fundamental social group' which exercises hegemony throughout society, they have enhanced and facilitated 'the spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group..." (Gramsci, Ibid: 12).

What in the final analysis, emerges from this study, is that Xhosa written poetry in particular (and therefore culture in general) has been an effective divide and rule tool in the process of subjugation and domination. By the same token it has been an effective uniting force in the process of resistance to plunder and exploitation. The lesson from this struggle is that Xhosa written poetry (and therefore culture in general) can play a significant constructive role towards reformation of people's consciousness during the current process of transformation to a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. TEXTS

- Dikana, A.M  
1979  
*Impefumlelwano*,  
Educum, Johannesburg.
- Jolobe, J.J.R  
1959  
*Ilitha*,  
APB, Johannesburg.
- Jordan, T.M  
1981  
*Igama Lam*,  
Lovedale Press, Alice.
- Magona, J  
1965  
*Ulundi lwamaphupha*,  
Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- Mama, S & Mbebe, A.Z.T  
1950  
*Amaqunube*,  
Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- Manyase, L.T  
1960  
*Umlu kaPhalo*,  
APB, Johannesburg.
- Masiko, G.V.M  
1985  
*Ukutya kosapho*,  
Educum, Johannesburg.
- Mbambo, M.N.  
1987  
*UCanzibe*,  
Shuter and Shooter, Umtata.
- Mbovane, W.N.  
1989  
*Isagweba*,  
Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.
- Mema, S.S.M.  
1980  
*Umnxeba wobomi*,  
Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town.
- Mgenge, M.N  
1987  
*Intsinde*,  
Educum, Johannesburg.
- Msingale, D.D.T  
1966  
*Amathontsi*,  
Educum, Johannesburg.
- Mtuze, P.T & Satyo, S.C  
1986  
*Uyavuth'umlilo*,  
Via Afrika, Pretoria.
- Ngani, A.Z  
1952  
*Intlaba-mkhosi*,  
Lovedale Press, Alice.

- Ngcangata, L.S.  
1976  
*Ukuphuma kwelanga,*  
Van Schaik, Pretoria.
- Nkuhlu, W.  
1974  
*Isigidimi,*  
Educum, Johannesburg.
- Nqakula, C.V  
1974  
*Ukhanyo,*  
Educum, Johannesburg.
- Ntloko, P.M.  
1962  
*Zonwabise,*  
Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- Nyoka, M.E.M.  
1962  
*Uhadi,*  
Maskew Miler Longman, Cape Town.
- Pambo, M L  
1987  
*Ikhubalo,*  
Educum, Johannesburg.
- Qangule, Z.S.  
1970  
*Intshuntshe,*  
Van Schaik, Pretoria.
- Sinxo, G.B.  
1959  
*Thoba Sikutyele,*  
Lovedale Press, Alice.
- Skei, R.M.  
1985  
*Umsobomvu,*  
Educum Publishers, Johannesburg.
- Tshaka, R.M.  
1953  
*Iintsika zeNtlambo yeTyhume,*  
Lovedale Press, Alice.
- Yali-Manisi, D.L.P.  
1952  
*Izibongo Zeenkosi ZamaXhosa,*  
Lovedale Press, Alice.
- .....  
1954  
*Inguqu,*  
Khundulu Methodist Press, Bolotwa.
- Zide, G.N.  
1987  
*Ezasekuhlaleni,*  
Educum, Johannesburg.

## B. REFERENCES

- Althusser, Louis  
1965  
*For Marx,*  
Verso, London.
- ...  
1971  
*Essays on Ideology,*  
Verso, London.

- Althusser, L & Balibar, E  
1970  
*Reading Capital*,  
Redwood Burn Limited, London.
- Anyidoho, Kofi  
1989  
*The Pan African Ideal in Literatures  
of the Black World*, Ghana University Press,  
Accra.
- Arnold, Stephen, H (ed.)  
1976  
*Annual Selected Papers of ALA*,  
Three Continents Press, Inc, Washington,  
D.C.
- Barrell, Howard  
1990  
*M.K. the ANC's armed struggle*,  
Penguin Books, London.
- Barrett, Michele;  
Corrigan, Philip; Kuhn  
Annette; & Wolf, Janet  
(eds) 1979  
*Ideology and Cultural Production*,  
Croom Helm, London.
- Behardien, E.  
1981  
*The Bantu Education Act of 1953, Origin  
and Response*, Unpublished B.A (Hons)  
Dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- Bengu, S.M  
1975  
*Chasing Gods not our Own*,  
Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.
- Bernstein, Hilda  
1978  
*No 46 Steve Biko*,  
International Defence and Aid Fund, London.
- Biko, Steve  
1978  
*I Write What I Like*,  
The Bowerdean Press, London.
- Bozzoli, Belinda  
1981  
*The Political Nature of the ruling class:  
Capital and Ideology in South Africa 1890-  
1933*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Brink, André  
1983  
*Writing in a State of Siege*,  
Summit Books, New York.
- Bunting, Brian  
1986  
*The Rise of the South African Reich*,  
International Defence and Aid Fund for  
Southern Africa, London.
- Butler, C.  
1984  
*Interpretation, Deconstruction and Ideology*,  
Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Cabral, Amilcar  
*Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of*

- 1973 *Amilcar Cabral*, Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Chaphole, Sol  
1985 "The Effects of Bantu education Act of 1953 on the Literatures of indigenous Languages of South Africa", Paper presented at an Africa Seminar, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.
- Cirlot, J.E.  
1962 *A dictionary of symbols*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, London.
- Cornwell, G.  
1979 *Protest in fiction : An Approach to Alex la Guma*, Unpublished M.A Thesis, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- Cronin, J.  
1987 "Ideology and Literary Studies in South Africa" in Van Straaten, Z (ed) *Ideological Beliefs in the Social Sciences*, H.S.R.C, Pretoria, pp110 to 133.
- ...  
1990 "'Even under the Rine of Terror...': Insurgent South African Poetry", in *Rendering Things Visible*, Trump, M(ed) Ravan Press, Johannesburg, pp295-306.
- Davies, Rob; O'Meara, Dan & Dlamini, Siphosane  
1984 *The Struggle for South Africa, A Reference Guide*, Vol.1 and 11, Zed Books Ltd, London.
- Eagleton, Terry  
1976 *Marxism and Literary Criticism*, Methuen and Co. Ltd, Bristol.
- ...  
1978 *Criticism and Ideology*, Verso, London.
- ...  
1983 *Literary Theory*, Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited, Oxford.
- ...  
1984 *The Function of Criticism*, Verso, London.
- Egudu, R.N.  
1978 *Modern African Poetry and the African Predicament*, MacMillan Press, Ltd, London.

- Emenyonu, E.N. (ed) *Critical Theory and African Literature*  
Heinemann Educational Books Limited, Ibadan.
- Ewels, Allison  
1981 *Is there a Voice Protest in Xhosa Poetry?*  
Working Paper No 7. Department of African Languages, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- Eyerman, Ron  
1981 *False Consciousness and Ideology in Marxist Theory*, Aluquist and Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Fanon, Frantz  
1963 *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Books Ltd, London.
- Finnegan, Ruth  
1970 *Oral Literature in Africa*, Oxford University Press, London.
- Gane, Mike (ed.)  
1989 *Ideological Representation and Power in Social Relations*, Routledge, London.
- Gérard, A.S.  
1971 *Four African Literatures*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Gerhart, Gail M.  
1978 *Black Power in South Africa, The Evolution of Ideology*, University of California Press, California.
- Giliomee, H & Schlemmer, L.  
1989 *From Apartheid to Nation -building*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- Goodwin, K.L.  
1982 *Understanding African Poetry*, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, London.
- Gould, A.F.  
1979 "How to Write Poetry", in *The Writers manual*, ETC Publications, Palm Springs, California.
- ...  
1971 *Selections From the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- Gramsci, Antonio  
1973 *Letters From Prison*, Jonathan Cape, London.
- Halisi, C.R.O  
1993 "Antinomy and Innovation in Black South African Political Thought." A Paper

- presented at the International Conference on Academic Freedom, on 26-29 January 1993 at the University of Fort Hare, Alice.
- Hall, S.; Hobson, D.;  
Lowe, A and Willis, P (eds)  
1980
- Hutchinson, London, in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Hall, S.; Lumley, B &  
McLennan, G., 1978
- "Politics and Ideology: Gramsci",  
in *On Ideology* by Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Hutchinson, London.
- Irele, Abiola  
1981
- The African Experience in Literature and Ideology*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Jordan, A.C.  
1973
- Towards an African Literature*,  
University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Julien, Eileen; Mortimer, M.  
and Schade, Curtis (eds)  
1986
- African Literature in its Social and Political Dimensions*, African Literature Association and Three Continents Press, Inc, Illinois.
- Karis, T. & Carter, G.(eds)  
1972
- From Protest to Challenge, A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964*, Vol 1 Protest and Hope 1882-1934, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford.
- ...
- 1973
- From Protest to challenge, A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964*, Vol 2. Hope and Challenge 1935-1952, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford.
- ...
- 1977a
- From Protest to Challenge, A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964*, Vol 3 Challenge and Violence 1953-1964, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford.
- ...
- 1977b
- From Protest to Challenge, A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964*, Vol 4 Political Profile 1882-1964, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, Stanford.

- Kaschula, R.H  
1991  
*The Transitional Role of the Xhosa Oral Poet in Contemporary South African Society*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- Kaschula, R.H (ed)  
1992  
*A.C Jordan : Life and Work*, Occasional Papers No.2 Bureau for African Research and Documentation, University of Transkei, Umtata.
- Khoapa, B.A (ed)  
1973  
*Black Review 1972*, Black Community Programmes, Durban.
- Klopper, D.  
1990  
"Ideology and the Study of White South African English Poetry", in *Rendering Things Visible*, Trump, M (ed) Ravan Press, Johannesburg, pp257 to 294.
- Kropf, A.  
1915  
*Kaffir - English Dictionary*, Lovedale Mission Press, Lovedale.
- Kunene, D.P  
1971  
*Heroic Poetry of the Basotho*, Clevendon Press, London.
- .....  
1981  
"Ideas under arrest: Censorship in South Africa", in *Research in African Literatures Vol 12 No 4*, University of Texas Press, Texas.
- Kuse, W.F.  
1977  
*The Form and Themes of Mqhayi's Poetry and Prose*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Laclau, Ernesto  
1977  
*Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*, Verso, London.
- Larrain, Jorge  
1979  
*The Concept of Ideology*, Hutchinson & Co (Publishers) Ltd, London.
- Leatt, James; Kneifel, Theo & Nürnberger Klaus (eds)  
1986  
*Contending Ideologies in South Africa*, David Philip, Cape Town.
- Legassick, Martin  
1974  
"Legislation, Ideology and Economy in Post - 1948 South Africa", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol.1 Number 1, Oxford University Press, London, pp5 to 35.

- Lenake, J.M.  
1984 *The Poetry of K.E. Ntsane*, Van Schaik, Pretoria.
- Lodge, Tom  
1983 *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Mahlasela, B.E.M  
1973 *Jolobe - Xhosa Poet and Writer*, Working Paper No 3, Department of African Languages, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- Majeke, N (Dora Taylor)  
1952 *The Role of Missionaries in Conquest*, Johannesburg
- Malan, Charles  
1988 "The role of ideology and textuality in determining the boundaries of literary systems in South Africa". Paper presented at Xiith Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, Munich.
- ...  
1993 *Present National Symbols of the Republic of South Africa*, Human Science Research Council, Pretoria.
- Mandela, N.R  
1988 *The Historic Speech of Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela at the Rivonia Trial*, Learn and Teach Publications, Johannesburg.
- Mapanje, Jack  
1988 "Censoring the African Poem: Personal Reflections", in *Criticism and Ideology*, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.
- Marx, A.W.  
1992 *Lessons of Struggle, South African Internal Opposition: 1960 - 1990*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- Mda, T.V  
1979 *The Use of Some Animal Characters in the Articulation of Protest in Xhosa Poetry*, Unpublished B.A Hons dissertation, University of Fort Hare, Alice
- Mdaka, S.S.  
1981 *The Vein of Tribalism in Xhosa Prose and Poetic Works laying emphasis on Burns-Ncamashe's Masibaliselane*, Unpublished B.A Hons dissertation University of Fort Hare, Alice.

- ....  
1992
- Images of Africa : A selective Comparison and Contrast of Themes and Preoccupations between Xhosa and other African Writers,* Unpublished M.A thesis. University of Fort Hare, Alice.
- Meli, Francis  
1988
- South Africa Belongs to Us : A History of the ANC,* Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare.
- Mkentane, C; Rumsey, F.J;  
Schueb, H and Tindleni, S.M  
1968
- "A.C Jordan - A tribute, in  
*The South African Outlook*  
Vol.98 No 1171, Lovedale, Alice.
- Mkhize, J.J.T  
1991
- Politics and Ideology in Black South African Literature 1969-1989,* Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Mkonto, B.B  
1979
- Guybon Budlwana Sinxo as a Satirist,* Unpublished B.A Hons dissertation, University of Fort Hare, Alice.
- .....  
1988
- Satire and Humuor in G B Sinxo's works: A critical Perspective,* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- "Mnguni"
- Three Hundred Years, A History of South Africa,* New Era Fellowship, Cape Town.
- Mocke, H.A and Wallis, H.C.  
1978
- New Structure Form III History,* Via Africa Limited, Goodwood.
- Morris, Pauline  
1981
- A History of Black Housing in South Africa,* South Africa Foundation, Johannesburg.
- Motlhabi, Mokgathi  
1984
- Black Resistance to Apartheid,* Skotaville Publishers, Johannesburg.
- Mphahlele, E.  
1970
- Thought, Ideology and Literature in Africa,* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Denver, USA.
- Mphahlele, E. & Couzens,  
T (eds) 1980
- The Voice of the Black Writer in Africa,* University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Mqingwana, V  
1992
- "A C Jordan's Bulal'abaThakathi!: Some Historical Observations," in Kaschula,

- R.H. (ed) *A C Jordan : Life and Work*, Occasional Papers No.2, Bureau for African research and Documentation, University of Transkei, Umtata, pp51 to 59.
- Msimang, C.T.  
1986  
*Folktale Influence on Zulu Novel*, Via Africa, Pretoria.
- Mtuze, P.T.  
1985  
*Xhosa Modern Poetry: A critical Analysis of its Nature, Quality and Expression*, Unpublished B.A Hons dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- ...  
1990  
*A Feminist Critique of the Image of Woman in the Prose Works of Selected Xhosa Writers (1909-1980)*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.
- .....  
1991  
"The Muted Voice of the Modern Xhosa Poet" in *South African Journal of African Languages Volume 11 Number 1*. Bureau for Scientific Publications, Pretoria.
- .....  
1993  
"A preliminary annotated bibliography of Xhosa prose, drama and poetry, 1909-1990", in *South African Journal of African Languages*, Volume 13 Number 2. Bureau for Scientific Publications, Pretoria.
- Muller, J., Tomaselli, K & Tomaselli, R.  
1989  
"The lineage of Contemporary Cultural Studies: A brief Historical examination", in Tomaselli K(ed) *Rethinking Culture*, Anthropos Publishers, Bellville.
- Mzamane, M.V.  
1979  
"Literature and Politics among Blacks in Southern Africa", in *Pula*, Vol.1. No.2, pp42-58.
- ....  
1984  
"Uses of Traditional Oral Forms in Black South African Literature", in *Literature and Society in South Africa*. by White, L and Couzens, T (eds), Maskew Miller Longman (Pty) Ltd, Pinelands, pp123 to 145.
- ....  
1991  
"A writer in a fragmented Society", Paper presented at the New Nation Writers Conference, Wits University, Johannesburg.

- Naidoo, Jay  
1989  
*Tracking Down Historical Myths*,  
A.D. Donker (Pty) Ltd, Houghton.
- Nazareth, Peter  
1974  
*An African View of Literature*,  
Northwestern University Press, Illinois.
- Ndebele, N.S.  
1973  
*The Theme of Oppression in the poetry  
of Oswald J. Mtshali*, Unpublished  
B.A.(Hons) dissertation, University of  
Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, Roma.
- ...  
1984  
"Turkish Tales and Some Thoughts  
on South African Fiction", in *Staffrider* Vol.6  
No.1, pp24-48.
- Ngara, Emmanuel  
1985  
*Art and Ideology in the African  
Novel*, Heinemann, London.
- ....  
1990  
*Ideology and Form in African Poetry*,  
James Carrey, London.
- Ngugi wa Thiong'o  
1972  
*Home Coming*, Heinemann, London.
- ....  
1981  
*Writers in Politics*,  
Heinemann, London.
- .....  
1986  
*Decolonising the Mind*,  
James Currey, London.
- Nkamba, N.T.T  
1981  
*A Classificatory and Comparative  
Study of Xhosa Poetry*, Unpublished M.A  
Thesis. University of Fort Hare, Alice.
- Nkosi, Lewis  
1981  
*Tasks and Masks: Themes and Styles of African  
Literature*, Longman Group Ltd, Essex.
- No-sizwe (Neville Alexander)  
1979  
*One Azania, one nation, The National question  
in South Africa*, Zed Press, London.
- Ntantala, Phyllis  
1992  
*A life's Mosaic: The autobio-  
graphy of Phyllis Ntantala*, Mayibuye Centre,  
Bellville.
- Ntuli, B.D  
1984  
*The Poetry of B W Vilakazi*, J.L.  
Van Schaik, Pretoria.

- Odendaal, André  
1984  
*Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*, David Philip, Cape Town.
- Omond, Roger  
1989  
*Steve Biko and Apartheid*, Hamish Hannilton, London.
- Opland, Jeff  
1983  
*Xhosa Oral Poetry, Aspects of a Black South African Tradition*, Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg.
- Opland, J. and Fivaz, D.  
1977  
Foreword to *Inkululeko* by D.P Yali-Manisi, ISER Xhosa Texts, Grahamstown.
- P.A.C Information Bureau  
1978  
*Speeches of Mangaliso Sobukwe 1949-1959*, Maseru, Lesotho.
- Pampallis, John  
1991  
*Foundations of the New South Africa*, Zed Books Ltd, London.
- Pan Africanist Congress  
*Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe.*  
(no place of Publication)
- Peterson, H.K (ed)  
1988  
*Criticism and Ideology*, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.
- Pheko, Motsoko  
1984  
*Apartheid: The Story of a Dispossessed People*, Marram Books, London.
- Poulantzas, Nicos  
1975  
*Political Power and Social Classes*, .  
NLB, London.
- Punter, David (ed)  
1986  
*Introduction to Contemporary Cultural Studies*, Longman Group Limited, Harlow, Essex.
- Qangule, Z. S  
1972  
*A Study of Tshaka's Poem "Igqili"*, Unpublished B.A dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Readers Digest  
1988  
*Illustrated History of South Africa, The Real Story*, Readers Digest Association, South Africa (Pty) Ltd, Cape Town.
- Rose Innes, L.L.  
1985  
*"The blues in the screeches of the censor's pen" The Political Censorship of Creative Literature in South Africa*, Unpublished BA (Hons) Dissertation, University of Cape Town.

- Ryan, Rory & Van Zyl, Susan (ed) 1982  
*An Introduction to Contemporary Literary Theory*, A.D. Donker (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg.
- Satyo, S.C  
1977  
*Traditional Concepts and Literary Conventions in Sinxo's Works*, Unpublished M.A Thesis University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Saule, N  
1989  
*A Consideration of S.E.K. Mqhayi's Contribution to Umteteli waBantu under the Pseudonym 'Nzululwazi'*, Unpublished M.A.Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Selepe, T.J.  
1991  
"A Concise Survey of Marxist Literary Theories and their Relevance to African Literature". *South African Journal of African Languages*. Vol.II Supplement 1, pp94-103, Bureau for Scientific Publications, Pretoria.
- Shava, P.V  
1989  
*A People's Voice : Black South African Writing in the Twentieth Century*, Zed Books Ltd, London.
- Sirayi, G.T.  
1985  
*A Study of some aspects of J.J.R Jolobe's Poetry*, Unpublished M.A Thesis, University of Fort Hare, Alice.
- .....  
1991  
"The African Perspective of the 1856/1857 cattle-killing movement", *South African Journal of African Languages*, Vol II Number 1, pp40-45, Bureau for Scientific Publications, Pretoria.
- Streek, B. & Wicksteed, R.  
1981  
*Render Unto Kaiser, A Transkei Dossier*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Swanepoel, C.F  
1990  
*African Literature : Approaches and Applications*, HAUM. Publishers, Pretoria.
- The Concise Oxford Dictionary 1982  
Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1992  
Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc. Chicago.
- Therbon, Goran  
*The Ideology of Power and the Power of*

- 1980 *Ideology*, Verso, London.
- Tomaselli, Keyan  
1988 *The Cinema of Apartheid, Race and Class in South African Film*,  
Smyrna Press, New York.
- Tomaselli, Keyan (ed)  
1989 *Rethinking Culture*,  
Anthropos Publishers, Belville.
- Tomaselli, Keyan and  
Tomaselli, Ruth  
1981 "Ideology/Culture/Hegemony and Mass Media  
in South Africa : A Literature Survey".  
*Critical Arts* Vol 2 No 2, pp1 to 25.
- Tomaselli, Keyan;  
Tomaselli, Ruth  
and Muler Johan (eds)  
1987 *Narrating the Crisis, Hegemony and the  
South African Press*, Richard Lyon & Co.  
Johannesburg.
- Trump, Martin (ed)  
1990 *Rendering Things Visible*,  
Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd, Johannesburg.
- Van Straaten, Zak (ed)  
1987 *Ideological beliefs in the Social Sciences*  
Human Sciences research Council, Pretoria.
- Vaughan, M.  
1982 Ideological Directions in the Study of  
Southern African Literature, in *English in  
Africa* Vol 9, No.2, pp41 to 43.
- Vilakazi, W.B.  
1945 *The Oral and Written Literature in Nguni*,  
Unpublished D.Litt Thesis, University of  
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Walshe, Peter  
1982 *Church versus State in South Africa*,  
C. Hurst Co (Publishers) Ltd, London.
- ....  
1990 "South Africa : Prophetic Christianity and  
the Liberation Movement", in *Journal of  
Modern African Studies*, Vol 29 No1, pp27 to  
60, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- White, L. & Couzens,  
Tim (eds) 1984 *Literature and Society in South Africa*  
Maskew Miller Longman (Pty) Ltd, Pinelands.
- Williams, Raymond  
1963 *Culture and Society 1780-1950*,  
Penguin Books, Hammondswoth, Middlesex.

- ....  
1977
- Wilson, M. & Thompson, L.  
1982
- Winkler, W.G  
1970
- Wolpe, Harold  
1988
- Woods, Donald  
1978
- Marxism and Literature*,  
Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- A History of South Africa to 1870*,  
David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd, Claremont.
- Poetry of Conscience : A study of Poetry as  
Social Criticism in the England' of 1660 to 1893  
with particular emphasis on the Eighty Years  
from 1763 to 1843*, Unpublished D.Litt et Phil  
Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Race, Class and the Apartheid State*,  
James Currey, London.
- Biko*. Paddington Press Ltd,  
London.

### C. ARTICLES FROM NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

- "Africa for Africans?"  
by Malcolm M.Z. Dyani
- "Johnny Clegg - Standing on  
uneasy middle ground"  
by Paul Raeburn.
- "Keeping the thought of Biko  
Alive" by Mthobeli Mxothwa
- "Nkosi sikelel' - the play"  
by Molefe, Z.B
- "Rather correct and alone  
than... Lone Wolves Azapo  
may be small but believes  
history will vindicate them"  
by Themba Molefe
- "Recognise our African  
Culture - Mazrui"  
by Titus Pemba
- "Renewal of a salute to a
- Daily Dispatch*, 26/02/93:  
Dispatch Media Ltd, East London.
- Daily Dispatch*, 28/9/93:  
Dispatch Media Ltd, East  
London.
- Daily Dispatch*, 12/09/93:  
Dispatch Media Ltd, East London.
- City Press*, 15/03/92 :  
Nationale Media Limited, Johannesburg.
- Sowetan*, 01/02/92:  
Argus Publishers,  
Johannesburg.
- Weekly Mail*, 13-19/09/91:  
Weekly Mail Publishers,  
Johannesburg.
- Daily Dispatch* 12/09/92:

brilliant leader" by  
Donald Woods

Dispatch Media Ltd, East London.

"Sobukwe : the man who  
could not be free"  
by Marietjie Myburg

*Daily Dispatch*, 26/02/93:  
Dispatch Media Ltd, East London.

"Towards a liberating  
theory of culture"

*New Nation* 24-30/01/92:  
New Nation Publishers, Johannesburg.

"We Blacks"  
by Steve Biko

*Tribute*, 11/87:  
Enosi Publishers, Parklands.

"When is an African an  
African?" by Malcolm  
M.Z Dyani

*Daily Dispatch*, 25/02/93:  
Dispatch Media Ltd, East London.

#### **D. OTHER REFERENCES**

...  
1977

*Good News Bible*,  
Bible Society of South Africa  
Cape Town.