

**A CENTURY OF ISIXHOSA WRITTEN POETRY AND THE  
IDEOLOGICAL CONTEST IN SOUTH AFRICA**

**by**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**African Language Studies**

**At**

**RHODES UNIVERSITY**

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**DECEMBER 2014**

<b><u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u></b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DECLARATION</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>xi</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b>	 <b>1</b>
1.1 Introducing the problem	1
1.2 Objectives	3
1.3 Methodology and scope	5
1.3.1 Methodology	5
1.3.2 Scope	6
1.4 Significance of the study	9
1.5 Conclusion	10
 <b>CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS</b>	 <b>11</b>
2.0 Overview	11
2.1 Antonio Gramsci	12
2.2 Gramsci's Theory	13
2.2.1 Organic ideology	13
2.2.2 Culture	17
2.2.3 Hegemony	20
2.2.4 Notion of interpellation	23
2.2.5 Organic intellectuals	24
2.2.6 Reproduction of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses	25
2.2.6.1 Ideological State Apparatus	26

2.2.6.2 Repressive State Apparatus	27
2.2.7 Philosophy of Praxis	28
2.3. Support for Gramsci's Theory	28
2.4 Poetry and Ideology	29
2.5 Conclusion	32
<b>CHAPTER 3: FIRST PHASE OF SEGREGATION: 1912-1934.</b>	<b>34</b>
3.1 Introduction	34
3.2 Contending Ideologies	34
3.2.1 Segregation	35
3.2.2 Africanism/ African Nationalism / New African Movement	37
3.3. Linking the nineteenth and twentieth centuries	41
3.3.1. Wauchope/ Citashe / Dyobha	42
3.3.2. Ntsiko	44
3.3.3. The writer, the publisher and the notion of interpellation	46
3.4 Analysis and interpretation of texts	48
3.4.1. Mqhayi, S.E.K. (1914) <i>Ityala lamawele</i>	48
3.4.2. Jabavu, D.D.T.(ed) (1954) <i>Izithuko</i>	51
3.4.3. Opland, J. (ed) (2007) <i>The Nation's Bounty: The Xhosa Poetry of Nontsizi Mgqwetho</i>	54
3.4.4. Solilo, J. (1928) <i>Izala</i>	69
3.4.5. Mqhayi, S.E.K. (1927) <i>Imihobe nemibongo</i>	75
3.5 State Apparatuses	81
3.5.1. Ideological State Apparatus	81
3.5.2 Repressive State Apparatus	85
3.6. Conclusion	86

<b>CHAPTER 4: SECOND PHASE OF SEGREGATION: 1934-1948</b>	<b>89</b>
4.1 Introduction	89
4.2. Contending ideologies: 1935-1948	90
4.2.1 Segregation Ideology	90
4.2.2 Africanism ideology	92
4.3. Analysis and Interpretation of texts	95
4.3.1 Bennie, G.W. (1935) <i>Imibengo</i>	95
4.3.2 Jolobe, J.J.R. (1936) <i>Umyezo</i>	99
4.3.3 Vili, J.J. (1936) <i>Naphakade</i>	110
4.3.4 Mqhayi, S.E.K. (1942) <i>Inzuzo</i>	114
4.4 Consolidation of State Apparatuses	124
4.4.1 Ideological state Apparatus	124
4.4.2 Repressive state Apparatus	127
4.5 Aesthetic Ideology	128
4.6 Conclusion	132
<b>CHAPTER 5: FIRST AND SECOND PHASES OF APARTHEID: 1948-1973</b>	<b>135</b>
5.1 Introduction	135
5.2 Contending Ideologies	136
5.2.1 The Apartheid Ideology	136
5.2.2 Africanism and Charterism of the African National Congress (ANC)	138
5.2.3 The Ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)	142
5.2.4 The main counter-hegemonic discourses	146
5.2.5 Sharpeville Massacre and Post Sharpeville Crisis	148
5.2.6 Consolidation of Apartheid Ideology	150

5.3	Analysis and interpretation of texts	152
5.3.1.	Mama, S. and Mbebe, A.Z.T. (1950) <i>Amaqunube</i>	152
5.3.2	Ngani, A.Z. (1952) <i>Intlaba-mkhosi</i>	158
5.3.3	Tshaka, R.M. (1953) <i>Iintsika zentambo yeTyhume</i>	163
5.3.4.	Yali- Manisi, D.L.P. (1954) <i>Inguqu</i>	167
5.3.5.	Jordan, A.C. (1957) Newspaper published and unpublished poems	172
5.3.6.	Ntloko, P.M. (1962) <i>Zonwabise</i>	178
5.3.7	Nyoka, M.E.M. (1962) <i>Uhadi</i>	183
5.3.8.	Magona, J. (1965) <i>Ulundi lwamaphupha</i>	191
5.3.9.	Qangule, Z.S. (1970) <i>Intshuntshe</i>	195
5. 4.	State Apparatus	203
5.4.1	Ideological State Apparatus	203
5.4.2	Repressive State Apparatus	204
5.5	Aesthetic ideology of the first and second phases	206
5.6	Conclusion	210
<b>CHAPTER 6: THIRD PHASE OF APARTHEID: 1974-1994</b>		<b>215</b>
6.1	Introduction	215
6.2	Contending Ideologies	216
6.2.1	Apartheid Ideology	216
6.2.2	Black Consciousness Ideology	219
6.2.3	Re-emergence of Charterist Ideology of the ANC: 1980-1994	223
6.2.4	The re-emergence of the Pan Africanism of the PAC	227
6.2.5	The ‘glasnost’ era: 1990-1994	227
6.3	Analysis and interpretation of texts	229

6.3.1.	Nkuhlu, W. (1974) <i>Isigidimi</i>	229
6.3.2	Dikana, A.M. (1979) <i>Impefumlelwano</i>	232
6.3.3.	Jordan, T.M. (1981) <i>Igama Lam</i>	234
6.3.4.	Sandi, N.D. (1984) <i>Uziphathe-geqe waseCiskei</i>	240
6.3.5.	Masiko, G.V.M. (1985) <i>Ukutya kosapho</i>	244
6.3.6.	Mtuze, in Mtuze, P.T. and Satyo, S.C. (1986) <i>Uyavuth' umlilo</i>	246
6.3.7.	Zide, G. N. (1987) <i>Ezasekuhlaleni</i>	249
6.3.8.	Pambo, M.L. (1987) <i>Ikhubalo likaXhosa</i>	252
6.3.9.	Mbovane, W.N. (1989) <i>Isagweba</i>	253
6.3.10	Xozwa, in Mtuze, P.T. and Kaschula R.H (1993) <i>Izibongo zomthonyama</i>	256
6.3.11.	Shasha, W. (1992) <i>Zihlabana nje ziyalamba</i>	260
6. 4.	State Apparatus	264
6.4.1	Ideological State Apparatus	264
6.4.2	Repressive State Apparatus	267
6.5	Aesthetic Ideology	268
6.6	Conclusion	270
<b>CHAPTER 7: DEMOCRACY: 1994-2012</b>		<b>273</b>
7.1	Introduction	273
7.2	Democracy epoch: 1994 – 2012	274
7.2.1	The first phase of democracy (1994 – 1999)	275
7.2.2	The second phase of democracy (1999 – 2008)	277
7.2.3	The third phase of democracy (2008 – 2009): “The interregnum”	279
7.2.4	The fourth phase of democracy (2009 -2012)	281
7.3	Analysis and interpretation of texts	282
7.3.1	Mbelu, S.C. (1994) <i>Iqwili lesizwe</i>	282
7.3.2	Marwanqa, F. (1995) <i>Umnyama</i>	285
7.3.3	Sibeko, X. and Saliwa, N.F. (1995) <i>Imbongi ijong'exhantini</i>	288
7.3.4	Stuurman, A.B. and Magqashela, F.P. (1995) <i>Phantsi kwentab' etafile</i>	292
7.3.5	Moropa, K. (ed) (1996) <i>Nambitha Isihobe 1</i>	294
7.3.6	Mndende, N. (1998) <i>Siyacamagusha</i>	296

7.3.7	Shasha, W. (1998) <i>Ngxe mawethu masibaxolele</i>	300
7.3.8	Jafta, D.N; Maqagi, S.M. and Mbombo, T. (eds) (2002) <i>Nawe Unakho Vol 2</i>	303
7.3.9	Tutani, N. (2005) <i>Monti Lam</i>	306
7.3.10	Kosani, M. (2005) <i>Inxili kaNgconde</i>	308
7.3.11	Nyamende, A (ed) (2005) <i>Amazwi Amatsha</i>	309
7.3.12	Mpande, K.M. (2006) <i>Masidimbaze</i>	313
7.3.13	Khininda, M.A. (2007) <i>Usiba lukaDabul'edizeni</i>	314
7.3.14	Duka M.M.M. et al (2010) <i>Isihobe seAfrika 2</i>	320
7.3.15	Madolo, Y; Sobahle, P. and Matubatuba, E. (eds) (2011) <i>Isivivane Vol 5</i>	323
7.3.16	Madolo, Y; Sobahle, P. and Matubatuba, E. (eds) (2012) <i>Isivivane Vol 6</i>	325
7.4.	State Apparatus	329
7.4.1	Ideological State Apparatus	329
7.4 2	Repressive State Apparatus	334
7.5.	Aesthetic Ideology	335
7.6.	Conclusion	339
<b>CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY AND GENERAL CONCLUSION</b>		<b>342</b>
8.1.	The Ideological Context	342
8.2.	Summary of Chapters	345
8.2.1	Chapter 1	
8.2.2	Chapter 2	
8.2.3	Chapter 3	
8.2.4	Chapter 4	
8.2.5	Chapter 5	
8.2.6	Chapter 6	
8.2.7	Chapter 7	
8.3	Why the study is unique	351
8.4	Further areas of research	354
8.5	Recommendations	355
8.6	General Conclusion	356
<b>9.</b>	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>360</b>

## **DECLARATION**

**I declare that this thesis is, in conception and creation, my own original work. I also wish to certify that the thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.**

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**G. V. MONA**

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**DATE**



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to place on record my profound indebtedness to my supervisor, Professor Russell H. Kaschula. His ingenious guidance, patience, motivation, and constructive criticism made us to realise our goal within the prescribed timeframe.

Staff members and students of the African Languages Studies Section in the School of Languages at Rhodes University, are heartily thanked for their kind support and inputs.

I wish to express a word of gratitude to my mentor in my language development career, Prof P.T. Mtuze. This thesis is built on the foundations that we laid with our M.A thesis.

Senior academics whose encouragement contributed to my taking the decision to embark upon this project: Prof J. Opland, Dr M. Snail and Prof B.B. Mkonto, are acknowledged.

I thank Professor M. Kwetana, Dr K. Ndhlovu and Dr M.M.M. Duka for their constructive comments on some of the chapters of this work.

I am grateful to my employer, the Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture, Eastern Cape, for affording me an opportunity for self actualisation, through a bursary and a sabbatical leave.

My colleagues in the Directorate of Arts and Culture agreed to take over my responsibilities without remuneration. I am grateful to them.

Staff members at Rhodes University Library, Cory Library, Fort Hare Library, National Heritage and Cultural Studies, and SABC, are thanked for prompt responses to requests for references.

I wish to acknowledge the support from NRF SARChI, and express my appreciation for the opportunity to contribute towards intellectualisation of African Languages. The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

A sense of gratitude to the Unity Trust Business Services staff, particularly Miss N. Mtwebana for word-processing and technical support, is felt.

Last but not least, my passionate gratitude goes to my wife Nonkululeko for extra-ordinary sacrifices and support system, and my children who could not get the attention of their father.

To all the above and those not mentioned who assisted in this study I say:

Maz'enethole!

Ningadinwa nangomso!"

## **ABSTRACT**

The central argument of this inter-disciplinary study is that IsiXhosa written poetry of 1912 – 2012 is a terrain of the struggle between the contending dominant ideologies of Segregation, Apartheid and Charterism (post-Apartheid); and the subordinate/ subaltern ideologies of Africanism, Charterism (pre-democracy), Pan- Africanism, Black Consciousness Movement and other post Apartheid ideologies. The study highlights the mutual relationship between the text and the context by focussing on the ideological contest which manifests itself in both form and structure (i.e. aesthetic ideology) and the content (i.e. authorial ideology) of the poetry of different epochs between 1912 and 2012. The study is located within the framework of Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural construction. Gramsci postulates that ideology and culture play a significant role in the process of asserting hegemony. Important concepts that constitute Gramsci's theory of praxis are: ideology, culture, hegemony, organic intellectuals and both ideological and repressive state apparatuses. The first chapter presents the problem, the objectives, the methodology, and the scope of the study. The second chapter presents Gramsci's theory of cultural construction and the work of scholars who developed his theory further. The tool that is employed for analysis and interpretation of textual significations of IsiXhosa written poetry is the revolutionary aesthetics, which is proposed by Udenta. The third chapter analyses and interprets literature of the epoch of 1912-1934 and exposes the contest between Segregation and Africanism ideologies. The fourth chapter contextualises and analyses the literature of 1934 – 1948, the second phase of contestation between Segregation and Africanism. The fifth chapter deals with literature of the first and second halves of the Apartheid epoch (1948 - 1973). The Apartheid ideology contested with the Africanist ideology which transformed into the Charterism ideology in 1955. In 1960 Pan-Africanism ideology and in 1969 Black Consciousness Movement ideologies entered the contest. The sixth chapter examines literature of the period 1973 – 1994 which is the second phase of the Apartheid epoch that ends with the "glasnost" period of 1990 - 1994. The seventh chapter studies literature of the democracy period of 1994 – 2012. The eighth chapter is the summary and general conclusion. The illumination of the nexus between culture and ideology during the past century (1912 - 2012) will provide insights that will assist us in addressing the challenges we face during the democracy period, and in the development on Arts and Culture in general, and literature in particular.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Introducing The Research**

This research explores the extent to which amaXhosa written poets contextualised their work, and critiqued or addressed the socio-political and economic challenges, there by contributing to the ideological contest in South Africa during the period 1912-2012. That is, the study provides a detailed research report on the ideological struggle between dominant Segregation ideology of the Union Government and Apartheid ideologies; and subordinate Africanist ideology of the South African Native National Congress, later the African National Congress (ANC), Charterism of the African National Congress, Pan Africanism of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Black Consciousness ideology of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), as reflected by the content and form of isiXhosa written poetry of the period 1912-2012.

As far as can be established, no comprehensive empirical investigation has been carried out on isiXhosa written poetry produced between 1912-2012, in order to critique it in terms of its commentary on, and/or its contribution towards the ideological contest in South Africa. This however does not mean that no research has ever been carried out into isiXhosa literature. A few studies that focus on different aspects of isiXhosa literature were identified and these are listed below.

With regards to oral poetry, Opland (1983), Wainwright (1987), Kaschula (1991; 2002) and Mpolweni (2004) were identified as having contributed to a critical analysis of such poetry. There are critics also which have focused on one specific writer, for example, Kuse (1977), Qangule (1979), Sirayi (1985), Saule (1989), Nyamende (1996), Mtumane (2000) and Tabu (2007). Thematic approaches also emerged that were highly selective, for example, Mdaka (1992), Tshomela (2006) and Jadezweni (2013).

Additionally, Mona (1994) examined the contributions of writers of isiXhosa written poetry towards the socio-economic and political struggles of South Africa in an MA dissertation entitled:

*Ideology, hegemony and Xhosa Written Poetry* (1948-1990). This dissertation however, excluded critical periods in the history of South Africa, namely the pre-and post-apartheid epochs; hence, the researcher uses it as a foundation to explore the ideological contest in isiXhosa poetry.

In the present study, the researcher argues that there is a correlation between South African culture (particularly isiXhosa poetry), history and politics over the past one hundred years. Deutsch (Undated:280) <sup>1</sup>states that:

Poets are not, unfortunately, as they have been said to be, the unacknowledged legislators of the world. But they have been propagandists. They have always spoken, however ambiguously, however indirectly, for values with which economists do not reckon - for justice, for truth, for love.

In other words, isiXhosa written poetry of 1912-2012 is a terrain of the struggle between the dominant ideologies of Segregation and Apartheid, and the alternative South African Native National Congress (later named the African National Congress), the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement ideologies. The profundity of the influence on isiXhosa written poetry of both the dominant ideology and the alternative ideologies cannot be overemphasized<sup>2</sup>. This view is supported by Mphahlele (1970:11-12) who argues that 'poetry is more deliberate and direct in its expression' of ideology. He states:

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

The ideological struggle manifests itself in the form and content of the poetry of this period, resulting in two varieties of ideology that Cronin, in Van Straten (1987:111), refers to as aesthetic ideology and socio-political ideology (see Ngara, 1985:20-25; 1990:10-14). The two varieties of ideology may be succinctly referred to as authorial ideology (Eagleton 1976:44-63; Ngara 1985:20-25 and 1990:10-14). They are distinct albeit often inseparable and are interwoven within texts, resulting sometimes in a disjuncture between the two varieties of ideology within the same text.

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<sup>1</sup> The book was first published in June Mcmxxxvi

<sup>2</sup> See Muller in Tomaselli (1998:21)

## 1.2 Objectives

The objectives of the research were:

- To determine the impact of the contending segregation ideology of the Union of South Africa and the contending Africanist ideologies on the poetry of the period 1912-1934 against the background of the establishment of the South African Native National Congress on 08 January 1912 and its struggle against the Union of South Africa, the 1913 Land Act, the First World War, the emergence of the Broederbond, and the struggle for effective organization by the alternative ideology. This is against the backdrop of the laying of the legal foundations of urban segregation and influx control; massacres such as Bulhoek, deteriorating race relations, increased labour discrimination, the establishment of Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), and resistance to Hertzog's initiatives. Writers of this period are Mqhayi, Solilo, and Mgqwetho, contributors to *Imvo zabantsundu* and *Umteteli waBantu* newspapers. One of the prominent writers of the period is Nontsizi Mgqwetho who wrote poetry in *Umteteli waBantu*.<sup>3</sup>
- To assess the poetry of the period 1934-1948, that is recognized by historians as a period of moderation and militancy literature. The poems are studied against the framework of Hertzog's Natives Bill and later Act, and Natives Trust and Land Bill and later Act, the outbreak of Second World War, the collapse of ICU and the competition between the ANC and All African Convention, the enforcement of pass laws and the criminalisation of strikes by African workers. The literature of this period is analysed against the context of the foundation of the Youth League in 1942 which was followed by the anti-pass campaign. The contending ideologies during this period are the Segregation ideology of the Union and Africanism. This is the period of the emergence of Jolobe to compete with the already established Mqhayi.<sup>4</sup>
- To study isiXhosa written poetry against the background of the first phase of Apartheid, 1948-1973, a period that historians identify as classical or *Baaskap* Apartheid. This was a period of systematised Segregation according to the theory of Apartheid, advancement of Afrikaners, tightening of urban influx laws, consolidation of pass laws, extinction of property rights for

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<sup>3</sup> Chapter3

<sup>4</sup> Chapter4

Africans, prohibition of strikes (1953) and job colour bar (1956), establishment of the Pan Africanist Congress which culminated with the Sharpeville crisis, and the launch of the armed struggle. Then follows the consolidation of the Apartheid ideology. This is the period of constitutional development of Bantustans. The emergence of the Black People's Convention, however, opposed this development and took over from the weakened Charterism of the ANC. The early pioneers of isiXhosa written poetry are, during this time, followed by Mama and Mbebe, Ngani, Tshaka, Yali-Manisi, Jordan, Ntloko, Nyoka and Ngani. A younger generation joins the older generation of writers. The work of Magona and Qangule is also considered here.

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- To study the impact of ideological context of the period 1974-1994 which was marked by high levels of conflict but ended with initiatives towards a negotiated settlement. During this time the Black Consciousness Movement, which resisted Apartheid policy, emerged strongly. Other historic events that mark this period are the 1976 Soweto student uprisings, the United Democratic Front activities (Charterism), the strengthening of the homeland system (Apartheid), the beginning of negotiations between the ANC and governing Nationalist Party, which in 1980-1990 embarked upon reform to Apartheid, leading to the unbanning of political organisations and the New South Africa of 1994. Writers of this period are Nkuhlu, Dikana, Sandi, Jordan, Masiko Mtuze, Mbovane, Zide, Xozwa, Shasha and Pambo.<sup>6</sup>

- Literature of the period 1994-2012 is scrutinised against the background of democracy in South Africa. Literature is analysed against the background of the first term of the ruling ANC which focussed on national reconciliation, the second, third, and the fourth terms. The poetry of the democracy period is contained in a number of anthologies and self-published works or government subsidised publications, to name a few: *Nawe unakho* (2002), *Isivivane* (2011 and 2012) and other anthologies of the period.<sup>7</sup> Writers: Mbelu, Marwaqa, Sibeko and Saliwa, Stuurman and Magqashela, Moropa, Mndende, Shasha, Tutani, Kosani, Nyamende, Mpande, Khininda and Duka, have contributed poetry to this period.

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<sup>5</sup>Chapter 5

<sup>6</sup> Chapter 6

<sup>7</sup> Chapter 7

- To provide a summary of the chapters and expose the uniqueness of the study, and to arrive at recommendations and general conclusions regarding the significance of locating arts, culture and heritage, in general, of the past century (1912-2012), within the context of the socio-economic and political context, and the impact on literature of the ideological contest in South Africa<sup>8</sup>.

The division of the period 1912-2012 into the above-mentioned phases is made possible by the fact that each phase has a distinct character of ‘political and economic structural conditions and struggles’ (Wolpe, 1988:60-74).

### **1.3 Methodology and Scope**

#### **1.3.1 Methodology**

The research design that is implemented by the researcher is a systematic literature review. That is, all relevant sources, whether published or not are included in the review. Details of the search strategies used and the criteria for inclusion are made clear. Texts that bear expressions and concepts that are ideologically laden have been identified. The texts are analysed and interpreted to show how they serve personal interests and how they structure power relations. Klopper in Trump (1990:268) proposes a methodology of literature criticism that addresses the question of the text’s ideological formations. Such an approach according to them will:

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

The research design is philosophical or discursive and draws on existing literature. The study examines isiXhosa written poetry from an alternative perspective, namely a Marxist and Gramscian point of view. This entails the adoption of a dialectical conception of the form-content relationship. This approach acknowledges the primacy of content in determining form, but underlines that form also impacts on content. Ngara (1990:15) is of the opinion that:

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<sup>8</sup> Chapter 8



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).

The study adopts a qualitative approach because of its strength in studying people (in this instance, writers) in terms of their own definitions of the world. It also exposes the subjective experiences of writers, and is sensitive to the contexts in which writers interact with other people, be they members of civil society or government.

The study is different and unique in several ways. It goes beyond the methodology of practical criticism, as the focus is on the social, and not on the universal and the individual. The study is interdisciplinary and goes beyond text-based exegesis. The texts are examined against the background of the South African society, and contextualised by bringing them into contact with other inter-contributory disciplines, namely history, sociology and philosophy. 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”. History, which forms the backdrop against which isiXhosa written poetry is analysed, is the historical writing of two historiographical schools, namely the revisionist or radical school, and the Black Nationalist Historiographical tradition. According to Visser (2004:1) the above-mentioned schools of thought are perceived by some historians as being related. The historical writing on the history of South Africa by the revisionists, according to Visser (2004:11) was:

...influenced by the works of British leftist historians such as E.P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm, and by the theoretical interpretations of Anti-colonial Marxists and structuralists such as Eugene Genovese, Louis Althusser, Gramsci and Nicolas Poulantzas.

### 1.3.2 The Scope

The present study transcends the framework of the structural analytical couple: traditional-modern, which has become conventional in the study of isiXhosa written poetry. In terms of the above-mentioned approach, traditional written poetry is profoundly informed in its form and content by the indigenous oral forms, while modern written poetry is informed by the Western literacy canon. Researchers usually either confine themselves to traditional or modern written poetry and analyse and interpret their data against indigenous or Western poetic conventions.

The traditional-modern dichotomy has a bearing on the scope of research and methodology. This analytical framework introduces the ideological problematic of modernisation or civilisation. Western colonialism and capitalism in Africa are presented as modernising and civilising forces. On the other hand, Africans are presented as people who have a problem of readjusting to civilisation 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 (Kaschula,2001). This attitude is discerned from Vilakazi's<sup>9</sup> 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) states:

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. 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 founder of modern poetry<sup>11</sup>, Vilakazi (1945:348) states 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 states that:

...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 the 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 to carve its own identity. It derives its inspiration from indigenous oral forms which generate true African "poetic poise". Vaughan (1982:48) declares:

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<sup>9</sup>Udenta (1996:146) states that Vilakazi is one of the earliest modern South African poets, and though his poetry has obvious socio-aesthetic limitations, he influenced an entire generation of South African poets.

<sup>10</sup> See Jordan (1973:105) and Kuse (1977:1).

<sup>11</sup>See Mahlasela (1973:14) and Sirayi (1985:1X).

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 order to delimit the scope of the current study, the researcher analyses and interprets selected texts only. Selection was not arbitrary, but was based on texts that are ideologically laden, which are taken from the poetry of selected eminent authors. The delineation of the scope of the study (1912-2012) was inspired by the achievement of one hundred years by Africa's oldest political organisation, the African National Congress (ANC), which has contributed significantly to the struggle for non-racialism, and non-sexism, and to democracy in South Africa.

Data was collected from selected newspapers, journals, and poetry anthologies published during the period 1912-2012. To achieve representativeness, most accessible written poetry from published and non-published material was consulted, and selections of relevant texts were made. Texts that were selected are those that exhibit ideological tendencies. A search was done for material that is specifically pertinent to the study.

With regards to newspapers as supplementary data, newspapers of the time (of the period 1912-1935), *Imvo zabaNtsundu*, and *Umteteli waBantu* to which great writers and intellectuals of the time contributed, were consulted. According to Saule (1989:8) who quotes Ainslie (1966:47):

African newspapers in South Africa "... have been part of History since the Xhosa language was reduced to writing by the Missionaries in the nineteenth century... The newspapers became an effective medium of communication aimed at campaigning for African political and educational advancement as well as the scientific development of the African languages.

Mtuzi (1993:15-24) also provides a helpful bibliography of isiXhosa Literature from 1823-1990. Selected works of writers that are documented in the bibliography were carefully studied. Selected published collections of isiXhosa poetry of the period were consulted, subjected to critical analysis, and interpreted against the backdrop of the history of the struggle for democracy in South Africa.

The study is diachronic in the sense that it concerns itself with the evolution of isiXhosa written poetry, and it exposes thematic changes that took place over time. The chronological arrangement

of chapters, which constitute the objectives of the study, is informed by a system of periodisation of South African history which has the support of prominent scholars of South African history.<sup>12</sup>

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

The study supports the thesis that isiXhosa written poetry of 1912-2012, as a mechanism of culture, has been used as a vehicle for articulation of ideologies of Segregation of the Union Government and Apartheid Government, and by the same token, of counter ideologies of Africanism, Pan Africanism, Charterism and Black Consciousness. Selected works of the period communicate the dominant ideologies of the time, and others the alternative ideology, and some both the dominant and alternative ideologies.

There is a growing realisation of the significant role played by amaXhosa poets in the struggle for democracy in South Africa. Neethling and Mpolweni (2006:135) argue that one of the prominent amaXhosa poets, Mqhayi:

...paved the way for the new multicultural democracy and that he was ahead of his time in many ways. One should actually see him not only as a pioneer in a literary context, but as a forerunner to democracy, a visionary who had ideals for his country that only came to fruition 50 years after his death.

This thesis seeks to expose and recognise these previously marginalised creative men and women, and expose some of the hitherto neglected characteristics of isiXhosa poetry, and restore the dignity of amaXhosa writers such as Mqhayi, Mgqwetho, Jolobe, Nkuhlu, Magona, Qangule, Ncamashe and others. This is achieved, hopefully, by demonstrating that isiXhosa written poetry has retained the functional nature of its predecessor and counterpart, isiXhosa oral poetry. Kaschula (1991:233) who has written extensively about the transitional role of the isiXhosa oral poet in contemporary South African society asserts that:

The voice of protest is also entrenched in written poetry...The voice of protest can therefore be heard in both written and oral poetry produced in a variety of African languages....

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<sup>12</sup>Karis and Carter(1972); Wolpe(1988).

The research contributes towards the priorities of the current democratic social order, of development and promotion of social cohesion, which entails national reconciliation and national unity and how these priorities are reflected through poetry. Furthermore, the study hopes to contribute towards the imperatives of the National Government, which underpin the ethos of the African Language Studies Section in the School of Languages at Rhodes and the National Research Foundation Chair in the intellectualisation of African Languages, through interdisciplinary research in literary studies in African languages.

## **1.5 Conclusion**

The first chapter presented an introduction to the research, the aims and the objectives of the study, and the methodology that is employed to achieve the objectives of the study. Lastly the scope and significance of the research were presented. In the chapter that follows an extensive literature review will be presented. This literature review serves to underpin and support this particular study.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS**

#### **2.0 Overview**

The current study focuses on the relationship between culture and politics in isiXhosa written poetry, and the ideologies that competed in the struggle for democracy in South Africa during the period 1912-2012. The objectives of the second chapter are to present Antonio Gramsci's theory of praxis which entails the following critical concepts: ideology, culture, hegemony and organic intellectuals. Althusser's notion of interpellation, which is an elaboration of Gramsci's theory, is explained. A discussion on the reproduction of ideology sheds light on the ideological state apparatuses and repressive state apparatuses. The chapter concludes with a focus on African poetry and ideology.

The study is guided by the Antonio Gramsci theory of cultural construction. Gramsci, an Italian philosopher, contends that ideology and culture play an indispensable role in the process of asserting hegemony over people. That is, culture and ideology play a decisive role in the process of governance of a people. The consent of the people to governance is realized through a creation of a historically organic ideology which becomes a public consciousness of the people. The 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. According to Gramsci (1971:377), organic ideology is necessary for the existence of a given structure. Ideology is psychologically valid and its function is to organize human consciousness, making people aware of their position or struggle. Gramsci (1971:5) asserts that every social group (class) creates together with itself one or more strata of organic intellectuals. These are the people who make other people consent to the dominant organic ideology. Consent is of vital importance to governance and it is realized through presentation of new meanings to people. Institutions like religion, education, and art play the indispensable role of reconstituting people into a field of meaning.

## 2.1 Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937)

Antonio Gramsci was born in 1891 in Ales, a small town in Sardinia, south of Italy. His father spent six years in prison when Gramsci was still young. This led to his being brought up under difficult circumstances by his mother who was a seamstress. Gramsci was a sickly child, as a result of a malformation of the spine, which resulted in his being hunchback and short. His ill health recurred throughout his adult life, finally leading to death in prison at the age of 46.<sup>13</sup> In 1898 he started school at Ghilarza, a small Sardinian town, and proceeded to Santulussurgiu, where he passed and entered the senior liceo<sup>14</sup> in Cagliari. His elder brother who he resided with in Cagliari introduced him to politics.

In 1911 Gramsci won a scholarship for students from poor backgrounds in Sardinia which took him to the University of Turin. From 1915-1926 Gramsci worked as a journalist and political activist of the Communist Party in Italy. In 1924 he assumed leadership of his Social Movement in Italy. Unfortunately, as he was rising to leadership, Benito Mussolini was also rising to become the Head of Government. He became Prime Minister in 1922, changed the electoral law in 1923 and banned all political parties in 1926. In 1926 Gramsci's political party made plans for Gramsci to escape to Switzerland to flee from the wrath of the fascist leader, Mussolini, who was consolidating his political power. Gramsci refused to go to exile. He was arrested by the fascist regime and spent the period 1927-1928 awaiting trial, and on 4<sup>th</sup> June 1928 he was sentenced to twenty years in prison. The prosecutor of the case, to indicate the lack of fairness and justice during the fascist regime, is reported to have said, "For twenty years we must stop his brain from functioning". This reference was made of Gramsci. In an autobiography he later wrote in prison he says, "the rule has been made that a captain must be last to abandon his vessel in a shipwreck, that he must leave only when everybody else on board is safe." (Hoare and Smith, 1971:XXXVII).

Gramsci's ill health in prison led to his untimely death on 27 April, 1937. The thirty three notebooks he wrote in prison were smuggled to Moscow by his comrade Tatiana who was responsible for making funeral arrangements. Gramsci says about the notebooks: "They had been

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<sup>13</sup> ( Hoare, Q and Smith, G.N:Xviii-XiX).

<sup>14</sup>University entrance qualification.

the focus to my inner life”<sup>15</sup>. The editors and translators of his work which was originally written in Italian say that it was “the continuation in Gramsci’s prison cell of his life as a revolutionary.” The legacy that Gramsci left for posterity is the emergence of the “new left” in the 1960s, named Modern Marxism or Neo-Marxism.

## **2.2 Gramsci’s Theory**

Antonio Gramsci emerged at a time when many political philosophers had failed. The general observation was that classical Marxism had a major flaw which was “economical determinism”. The thinking that the proletariat is the only force that is able to cause revolution because of iron rules of economics, was found to be flawed. Working within the Marxism tradition, Gramsci sought to rethink classical Marxism. He strove to eliminate the economic determinism in Marxism, and substitute it with an explanation of social change that is not located in the sub-structure, but located in the superstructure – that is in the realm of ideas instead of the economy (Woodfin and Zarate, 2009:119-125).

Gramsci’s prison notebooks were, therefore, the first theoretical attempt to come to terms with the reality of the defeat of the proletarian revolution, as the Italian workers failed to seize power after the First World War, though the conditions seemed to be the most favourable. In the Marxist discourse, objective material conditions had been in place (Hawkes 2003:113). Gramsci searched for the reasons for the defeat in the subjective ideological control which the capitalist state exercised over its inhabitants.

### **2.2.1 The ‘Historically Organic’ Ideology**

The word “ideology” has an etymology that is interesting. Gramsci (1971:375) states that the original meaning of the concept “ideology” was that of “science of ideas” or “analysis of ideas” or “an investigation of the origin of ideas”. With the passage of time, the concept came to mean “a specific system of ideas”. The coinage of the concept “ideology” at the end of the eighteenth century was the invention of French philosophers, Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) and his friends. (Althusser 1971:32 and Lorraine 1979:17). To these philosophers, the concept meant the (genetic)

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<sup>15</sup>Hoare and Smith XCIV.



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 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. In its original sense, it is evident that the term ideology had a positive connotation. Larrain (1979:27) is of the opinion that 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 forces individuals to produce a picture of reality that is inverted. The upside down picture serves and promotes the interest 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 judgmental way to make reference to the recognition, interpretation and beliefs that individuals have their world. The Marxist view of "ideology", according to Gramsci (1971:376) is a negative value judgment which is not acceptable. He asserts that his view excludes the view of the founders of the concept of "ideology" and 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. 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 given structure, and ideologies that are arbitrary, rationalist, or willed". The former type of ideology is of great significance to Gramsci while the latter is insignificant. Gramsci (ibid:377) affirms:

To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity which is "psychological"; they "organize" 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. a 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 helps 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 institutionalized. Its main function is to “cement and unify” the social bloc<sup>16</sup>. 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 the 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 confronts 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”. These are in their order of importance: philosophy, religion, common sense and folklore.

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<sup>16</sup>Gramsci, ibid: 328

Gramsci (ibid:326) states:

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 world view of a group of class. Tomaselli (1989:24) states that Apartheid is in a much more restricted sense, the philosophy of racial capitalism in South Africa. 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. Muller et al in Tomaselli (1989:25) attribute racial prejudice, which is an unsystematic set of beliefs, to this level. 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 a social group or class.

In conclusion, Gramsci argued that people do not see the world in a neutral and objective manner, but in ways that are determined by attitudes that are naturally taken for granted. The realm of ideology, which is a field of class conflict, is not simply economically determined but, autonomous and crucial. He emphasised the role of human agency and choice. He also emphasised that ideas can bring about the revolution or, equally, prevent it. According to Gramsci, the capitalist bourgeoisie class was able to dominate the proletariat in two decisive ways:

one was through economic domination, but the other way was through control of the ideas, the ideology of the workers.

### 2.2.2 Culture

The concept “culture” is difficult and complex, and therefore there is not one definitive definition of the concept. This observation is supported by Williams (1977:17) in his synopsis of the development of “culture”, where he underlines the complex nature of the concept.

He states:

It became a noun of “inner” process, specialized to its presumed agencies in “intellectual life” and “the arts”. It became also a noun of general process, specialized 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 in spite of many attempts at reconciliation.

Williams (1977:11-20) then traces the development of the concept of ‘culture’ through the ages. He is of the opinion 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 a 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” began to be used synonymously with another term “civilisation”. Being cultured meant being civilised. However, the criticism by Rousseau and other followers of the Romantic movement, levelled against civilisation, 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”, 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”. With time, however, 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 generalized 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 the meaning and “the arts”.

It is against this background of the development of the term “culture” that Antonio Gramsci's intervention will 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. The consent of a people to governance is realised through the 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 symbolisation, 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) explains:

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

In the light of the above statement, the study argues that isiXhosa 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.

This argument is supported by Williams (1977:114) who contends that:

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.

To sum up the argument, Gramsci is of the view that there is a mutual relationship between culture, ideology, and hegemony. Culture refers to the set of attitudes, values and norms that bind a particular society together into a working unit. Culture is an expression of ideology designed to protect and promote the interests of a particular class. The function of hegemony is to transfer ideology into culture, into a “world view” that is seen as “normal and natural” by everyone, both the dominant class and the subordinate classes.

During the period under review, the church and cultural institutions, such as the education system, played a key role in maintaining hegemony. Literature, which is a product of the above institutions, is critical for the production of ideas, justifications, attitudes and perspectives that are the fabric of everyday common sense. According to Woodfin and Zarate (2004:125), the insight into the relationship between culture, ideology and hegemony was adopted by “most Marxist and post-Marxist thinkers, such as the Frankfurt school, the post-modern social theorist Foucault (1926-84), Louis Althusser and Stuart Hall. The significance of Gramsci’s theory is that it makes everyday culture political, and an arena for the struggle. Gramsci intimated that in liberal democratic societies the struggle for hegemony will be longer and would involve ideas and culture, rather than just politics and economics (Woodfin and Zarate, 2004:128).

The “commodification” of culture, that is turning its aspects, such as Literature, into saleable things, and the rise of mass communication, means that culture can be used for oppression. However, opportunities can be found in culture to subvert and oppose the *status quo* through a ‘counter-movement from below’ (Tomaselli, 1989:21).

### 2.2.3 Hegemony

Hegemony not only subsumes culture and ideology, but also moves further beyond these concepts. It supersedes 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 dominance 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 (Gramsci, 1971:245-246).

According to Williams (1977: 108) the notion of hegemony traditionally meant political rule or domination, particularly the relations between two states. Gramsci, however, gave impetus to the development of the concept and gave it a further significance. He expressly acknowledges Ilich (Lenin) for his formulation of the concept hegemony (Gramsci *ibid*: 365-381). However, according to Poulantzas (1975: 173), 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. The struggle for political power, results in a particular form of relationship between the dominant classes and the subordinate classes of a society.

Gramsci’s construct of hegemony, which means the nexus of material and ideological instruments through which the ruling class maintains its power, can be briefly explained as follows:

In order to achieve the 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, 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 also 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 'hegemony bloc' (Tomaselli, 1981:6) or 'power bloc' (Poulantzas, 1975:137). This 'bloc' comprises a totality of non-equivalent, 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.

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 may be politically subordinate, they may 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 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 ideology domination before the conquest of political power.

The above scholars both validate the thesis of the current study as stated in chapter 1, that isiXhosa written poetry of 1912-2012 is a terrain of the struggle between the Segregation and Apartheid ideology, and other alternative ideologies, namely: Africanism, Charterism of the ANC, Pan Africanism of the PAC, and Black Consciousness Movement. Williams (1977:114) illuminates this point as follows:

Thus the cultural process must 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.

In conclusion, Gramsci gave the name hegemony to the control of ideas which manipulates social consciousness. He believed that economic and physical force alone were not enough to ensure control. He believed that in order to achieve consensus and ensure hegemony the dominant class needs to establish "spontaneous consent" which is a way of inducing consensus across the entire society. According to Gramsci hegemony can be characterised as:

agreement from the majority of society for the "picture of life" that is represented by those in power. The values, both moral and political, involved in this agreement will be largely those of the ruling class. The ideology comes to be seen as evident "commonsense" by the majority of people. It becomes natural to think like that. The consent is arrived at largely peacefully, but physical force can be urged to support it against the dissident minority, so long as the majority acquiesces. Hegemony is not only for the ruling capitalist bourgeoisie as the proletariat can use it for their own advantage.

Hegemony changes over time as it readjusts to changing circumstances. It is a product of a kind of negotiation between the dominant and the controlled class over what the latter will accept to believe and what they will not swallow (Woodfin and Zarate, 2009:123).

#### 2.2.4 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), and 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 realise that they are subjects.

Althusser (1971:49) states:

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:

...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 (Laclau, 1977:141-142). Hawkes (2003:119) supports this view in his interpretation of Althusser's contribution. He quotes him as saying:

...the existence of ideology and the hailing or interpellation of individuals as subjects are one and the same thing.

He attributes to Althusser the view that ideology exists before an individual who, when he/she gets into contact with ideology, finds that ideology has ‘always already’ determined a specific set of roles, a particular subjectivity into which the individual will be slotted. This occurs through a process of ‘interpellation’, which basically means that a person will be systematically addressed, or ‘hailed’, in such a way as to force him or her into this pre-allocated ‘subject position’.

### 2.2.5 Organic Intellectuals

Gramsci 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 realization of its aspirations. Gramsci (1971:3) 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 organizer 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 people who form the leadership in a class (social group or organic group). They are think tanks and organizers 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 corroborated 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.

Dalvit et al (2009:111) support Gramsci's theory that the school or, in their words, the education system is the "fundamental apparatus of hegemony". They assert that "existing power structures reproduce themselves primarily through education". It is in this education system that the "organic intellectuals play a significant role". Education is an instrument for reproduction of organic intellectuals who in turn have a responsibility of reproducing another layer of organic intellectuals.

According to Dalvit et al (ibid):

Although Gramsci's ideas were developed in response to a particular political and historical context...they had far reaching implications and influenced later schools of thought. Critical pedagogy emphasises the political character of education, and commits itself to social transformation in the interest of democracy and social justice.

Through education, formal or informal, Gramsci intimates that members of the working class, urban or rural, will rise to become organic intellectuals. 'The reference to the future, creating intellectuals from the working class, is fundamental to Gramsci's thought. ... Lastly, the work involved in education, which Gramsci emphasises so much, is at one and the same time the work by means of which he personally transcended his environment and the work required in the forging of a revolutionary party of the working class - the latter's "organic intellectuals" '. (Hoare and Smith, 1971:25).

## 2.2.6 Reproduction of Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses

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 (Hoare and Smith, 1971:80f) declare:

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

Gramsci's student, Althusser, elaborating on Gramsci's theory, focussed on the aspect of reproduction of ideology. How is the dominant or subordinate ideology reproduced and sustained? Althusser explains the process of reproduction as follows:

The bourgeoisie can only secure the stability and the continuity of exploitation (that it imposes in production) on condition that it wages a permanent class struggle against the working class. The class struggle is fought by perpetuating or reproducing the material, ideological and political conditions of exploitation. It's carried out within production (cuts in the wages intended for the reproduction of labour power, repression, sanctions, redundancies, anti-union struggle, etc.). At the same time, it is conducted outside production. It is here that the role of the state of RSA's and of the ISA's (the political system, school, churches and channels of information) intervenes in order to subject the working class by both repression and ideology. (Translation of text from "Marxisme et lutte des classes" 1976 p. 55. by Gregor McLennen, Victor, Modina and Roy Peters in On Ideology 1978: Hutchison & Co (Publishers) Ltd. London) p.92.

According to Althusser the reproduction of the relations of production is carried out through force by the state and or through 'moral power', i.e. ideology. The reproduction is maintained through a class struggle which must be fought through the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). Althusser exposes us to the existence of the ISA which operates with other state apparatuses, e.g. the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA) to ensure reproduction of ideology and hegemony of the State.

#### 2.2.6.1 Ideological State Apparatus (ISA)

Althusser, elaborating on Gramsci's distinction between 'government' and 'civil society', presents the distinction between the notions of 'repressive' and 'ideological' state apparatuses. He states that there is distinction between the repressive state apparatus and the 'reality which is clearly on the side of the (repressive) State apparatus, but must not be confused with it', the ideological State apparatuses (Althusser, 1984:16). He indicates that the latter is the concrete structures and systems outside of what is normally conceived as state, that is the school, the church, the trade union, or the family. These structures operate to prevent subordinate groups from challenging their subordination in meaningful ways. Althusser (ibid:17) lists the ISA as follows: the religious, educational, family, legal, political, trade union, communication, and cultural ISA (Literature, the Arts, sports, etc.).

Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) are responsible for the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. they ensure that these relations are secured and sustained. The role of the ISA, therefore, is to ensure that the subordinate or working class accepts or agrees with the relations and conditions of domination and exploitation through ideology, and to secure the reproduction of the relations of production (ibid:22). Althusser (1984:20) states:

To my knowledge, no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses”.

Therefore the ISA are indispensable in the process of ensuring ideological hegemony and subsequently ensuring the continuous reproduction of the capitalist relations of production. It may therefore be concluded that the ideology of the ruling class becomes the ruling ideology through the installation and the development of the ISA in which the ideology is realised, and this installation is the result of a class struggle.

#### 2.2.6.2 Repressive State Apparatus (RSA)

Gramsci (Hoare and Smith, 1971:12), linking the function of organic intellectuals and state apparatuses states:

The intellectuals are the dominant group's “deputies” exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government. These comprise: ...The apparatus of state coercive power which “legally” enforces discipline on those groups who do not “consent” either actively or passively.

Althusser (1971:6) takes this theory forward and exposes us to the existence of the repressive state apparatus (RSA) which is used to complement or supplement the ideological state apparatus discussed above. Making reference to Gramsci he states:

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”: church, the schools, trade unions etc. Unfortunately, Gramsci did not systematize his institutions, which remained in a state of acute but fragmentary notes...

Althusser states that the ruling class rules by laws and decrees in the repressive state apparatus. He explains that the RSA functions by repression and are centralised within the ruling class which is in possession of state power. The role of the repressive state apparatus, therefore, is to secure through force “the political conditions of the reproduction of relations of production which are in the last resort relations of exploitation”(ibid:24).

It is within this context that Gramsci's concept of organic intellectuals should be located. It is against this background that this research deals with the early media which published early poetry; the missionary press, which took over the baton to publish poetry for schools, and later

the boards that were created by the Apartheid regime to censor manuscripts before publication and consumption by the public and institutions of learning. It is also because of this backdrop the legislative framework of the dominant ideologies becomes relevant to the study.

### 2.2.7 The Philosophy of Praxis

Gramsci defines the Philosophy of Praxis as ‘... absolute “historicism”, the absolute secularization and earthliness of thought, an absolute humanism of history’ (Hoare and Smith, 1971:465). A simplified explanation of the concept of philosophy of praxis is that it is the vast range of practices that are aimed at supporting a particular ideology, through reproduction or challenge to existing power relations and structures. Therefore, all the aspects of Gramsci’s theory of cultural construction discussed above, namely:

- Ideology
- Culture
- Hegemony and
- Organic intellectuals,

are critical in understanding of Gramsci’s philosophy of praxis. By “Philosophy of Praxis,” Gramsci also means the philosophy of Marxism. In the introduction to *Selections from Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, the editors, Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey N. Smith (PXXI) state that:

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 significance before the First World War.

## 2.3 Support for Gramsci’s Theory

According to Hawkes (2003:116), Gramsci’s views of relative autonomy of ideology were in direct contrast to the official position of the rest of European Communist leadership. It is for this reason that his insights were not followed for over thirty years. The insights were nevertheless the major inspiration of intellectuals that followed after him, such as Althusser. Althusser (1971:6) confirms that his theory of ideology is a systematic development of Gramsci’s theory. He states:

To my knowledge, Gramsci is the only one who went any distance in the road I am taking.

Poulantzas (1975:195) also demonstrates high regard for Gramsci when he states:

...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...

Larrain (1979:82) considers Gramsci's treatment of the relationship between ideology and the state to be his 'most important contribution'. Therbon (1980:105), in turn, perceives Gramsci to be a man of "...sharp revolutionary mind..." He 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.

## **2.4 Poetry and Ideology**

The relationship between ideology and literature is exposed by Eagleton (1978:55) who states:

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 subordinate state, class or region preserves and perpetuates at the ideological level an historical identity shattered or eroded at the political (emphasis mine).

Literature, per se, is not ideology. Notwithstanding, literature can be ideology. 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.

In line with Therbon's observations, literary critics have exposed the impact of the ideology of Apartheid on African Literature in English and in indigenous languages: (Gerard 1971:88-100; Egudu 1978:45; Cornwell 1979:16; Chaphole 1985:6-7; Sirayi in Kaschula (ed) 1991:53-61). But 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 isiXhosa written poetry of 1912-2012. A random sample of the following three African scholars assists us in assessing the level in Africa of the discourse regarding the relationship between ideology and poetry.

Mphahlele, in his introductory note to his seminal work on *Thought, Ideology and Literature in Africa* (1970:10), acknowledges that in modern literature one is able to identify remnants of traditional values (content) and techniques (form), but argues that we cannot find ideology in traditional oral literature. He attributes this to the fact that a traditional society did not need an ideology as it was closely knit, and its social, religious, military and curative activities were integrated and not differentiated. In contrast, modern societies are differentiated with diverse political, economic, social, educational and religious goals. Through ideology we are able to identify with the group whose goals we sympathise with. According to Mphahlele (1970:10), traditional societies were spared of the modern diversities which lead to alienation and the creation of ideologies like Negritude<sup>17</sup>, the African personality<sup>18</sup>, nationalism, Pan Africanism and so on<sup>19</sup>. Mphahlele concludes his introductory note by reminding one that ideologies emerge in situations of challenge. In Africa the challenge is invasion of traditional values by Western values. Modern African literature becomes a product of a fusion between Western and African Cultures. Mphahlele (1970:9) argues:

It is in modern writing that we should look for ideology.

Elaborating further Mphahlele (1970:11-12)states:

Negritude first found its expression in poetry. The poetry itself pushes the ideology forward, it extolls African Cultural values... I think it will be found that poetry is more deliberate and direct in its expression of negritude in fiction.

Ngara (1985:1990), from neighbouring Zimbabwe, is one of the African scholars who focuses on the relationship between literature in general and poetry in particular, and ideology. Ngara adopts

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<sup>17</sup> On Negritude and African Personality see Irele (1981:67-117).

<sup>18</sup> According to Mphahlele the term, African personality, was first used by Kwame Nkrumah, ex-president of Ghana, in an all People’s Conference in Accra in 1958.

<sup>19</sup> Udentia states that Negritude or Black Affirmation was a poetic movement initiated by Aime Ceasaire, a Black West Indian, in his *Return to My Native Land* in 1939 as a conscious attempt to assert not only Black identity and socio-cultural essence, but also to project a revolutionary dimension of Negritude poetry...

a definition of ideology that is based on insights acquired from the work of Raymond Williams and Althusser, both Marxists. He defines ideology as the dominant idea of an epoch or class, with regard to politics and law, morality religions, art and science. He emphasizes that art is not ideology, but as one of the forms of social consciousness it has a particular relationship with ideology. Literature, as an art form, enables one to have an epoch as it is socially conditioned. He perceives the works of art as reflections and relationships.

In agreement with Mphahlele's views, Ngara argues that in traditional communities, art and society were in hegemony, as songs, praise poems and folktales arose from the preoccupations, beliefs, assumptions and struggles of the community as a whole. Folktales, that is an expression of socially accepted ideas about goodness, virtue, bravery; while folk songs were performed at cultural and religious ceremonies. In traditional society therefore literature was in harmony with the prevailing ideology. Ngara (1985:25) however points out:

Although the dominant ideology of an epoch is that of the ruling class, there are times when different powerful ideologies co-exist in the same polity, but such is the nature of ideology that the coterminous existence of two powerful and opposing ideologies can only lead to the ascendancy of one and the decline of the other.

Udenta (1996), a Nigerian scholar, in his discourse on Art, Ideology and Social Commitment in African Poetry argues that ideology and social commitment play a significant role in the development of modern African poetry. He intimates that African poetry is a response to social, cultural and political realities of the African condition, which are shaped by the specificities of African pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial experience. Udenta calls for a 'revolutionary aesthetic path' in creative and critical practice which he believes will allow African literature to discover itself and flourish. He asserts that a "restorative criticism" of African poetry as one of the genres of African literature is bound to give pre-eminence to the "explication of the aesthetic imagination and creative individuality of African poets in relation to the acute and objectively existing social and political forces that shape the destiny of African nations and peoples."<sup>20</sup> In his footnote on South African Poetry, Udenta (1996:124) states:

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<sup>20</sup> See also Udenta (1993:3-22.)

One can even assert that there is a more healthy mix of art and ideology in South African poetry, with all the complexes, agonies and traumas of that society, than in any other part of Africa where situations are marginally better.

Udenta's observations are based on his exposure to the corpus of South African poetry that is produced by Africans through the medium of English. It is unfortunate that these positive statements only make reference to South African poetry in English, because the language barrier prevents the author from accessing poetry that is written in the eleven indigenous languages of this country. Udenta (ibid:124) comments further:

South African poetry has attracted much deserved attention, and despite the subjectivist, sometimes self-opinionated and mischief-making research efforts of scholars, the overall picture is that of vibrant poetic tradition that has flowered to full maturity, multiplicity and many sidedness.

In the light of the information that has been presented in this chapter, the researcher is not aware of any scholar of indigenous South African literature who has taken the approach that this thesis does. The researcher however acknowledges the works by some African scholars who focused on African literature and ideology, in African English poetry, e.g. Mphahlele (1970), Ngara (1990) and Udenta (1996). The purpose of the thesis is to contribute to knowledge through the analysis and interpretation of isiXhosa written poetry against the background of Gramsci's theory of ideology, culture and hegemony. This is an attempt to bring into the study of isiXhosa written poetry insights acquired from the study of South African history, sociology, and philosophy. The Neo-Marxist approach contributes to a vibrant critical enquiry that contextualises isiXhosa written poetry. The interdisciplinary approach, which makes this study different and unique, takes into consideration the socio-economic and political determinants of isiXhosa written poetry.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

The second chapter sought to lay a theoretical groundwork for the thesis that seeks to answer the question "to what degree has ideology informed isiXhosa written poetry of the period 1912-2012?" This required us to clearly delineate the theoretical framework within which the study will be located. Gramsci's theory of cultural construction, which constitutes the foundations of the study was summarized and the following concepts were explained.

- Ideology

- Culture
- Hegemony
- Interpellation
- Organic intellectuals
- State Apparatuses
- Praxis

The above-mentioned concepts were presented as indispensable in the understanding of Gramsci's theory. Gramsci was also acknowledged for influencing successive generations of intellectuals. A discussion that exposes the relationship between poetry and ideology was also presented, which exposed the views of three prominent scholars of African literature. This serves as a bridge between the theoretical foundations and the ensuing analysis and interpretation of isiXhosa written poetry texts which is to follow. The researcher is of the view that this is a step towards unity of theory and practice. The chapter that follows will begin an analysis of isiXhosa poetry against the theoretical backdrop as explicated in this chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE IMPACT OF THE CONTENDING IDEOLOGIES ON POETRY OF THE PERIOD 1912 - 1934

#### 3.1 Introduction

The third chapter of this study focuses on the contending Segregation ideology of the 1910 Union of South Africa, and the emerging Africanist ideology/African Nationalism/ the New African Movement<sup>21</sup>, lead by the South African Native National Congress (SANNC)<sup>22</sup> which was established on 08 January 1912. A brief historical context of the period 1912-1934 will be provided. Bozzoli (1981:4)<sup>23</sup> argues that the period 1890-1933 were crucial decades that exposed the character of the South African bourgeoisie. She says that these were the years during which the bourgeoisie, as a class and indeed as a “ruling class”, was being formed. I shall first provide a brief exposition of the dominant Segregation ideology and then present the emerging alternative ideology of Africanism that resisted the dominant ideology. An analysis and interpretation of texts will then ensue. What has led to limited understanding, and subsequently deficient interpretation of isiXhosa written poetry, is lack of understanding of the socio-economic and political context from which it emerges.

#### 3.2 Contending Ideologies: The Context

Significant events during this epoch are the promulgation of the Land Act, the First World War, and the emergence of the Broeder-Bond. Against these events are the struggles by the subordinate ideology which led to resistance that resulted in the establishment of the South African Native National Congress<sup>24</sup>, massacres, deterioration of race relations, and the establishment of the first Workers Union. Against this historical context poetry produced and published in newspapers and books during this period will be analysed and interpreted.

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<sup>21</sup> The concepts are used interchangeable. Scholars have used them to refer to one phenomenon.

<sup>22</sup> In 1923 renamed African National Congress.

<sup>23</sup> Bozzoli (1981) in her study of Political Nature of the Ruling Class: Capital and ideology in South Africa.

<sup>24</sup> Please note that the terminology used in this chapter reflects the terminology used during the period under review. Today words like Native, Kaffir, Non-White, Lawu, Kula (Coolies)Bantu and Dlagusha (mutton gluttons) are no longer acceptable as they are derogatory.

### 3.2.1 Segregation Ideology of the Union of South Africa

According to Davenport (1988:258), Segregation was a ‘political ideology which required the physical separation of people on racial grounds’, which the Government of the Union actively promoted in the period of Botha and Smuts, i.e. 1910-1924 and continued during the period of Hertzog i.e. 1924-1939. The ideology “disapproved of racial miscegenation” and sought to ensure that white capitalists have sufficient supply of Black labourers who are forced by shortage of land and employment to seek employment in farms and mines owned by Whites(ibid:258).Marks and Trapido (1987:8) elaborate further when they state that:

The ideology of Segregation did not only speak to the needs of the mining industry. It addressed a number of different audiences. It served white farmers demanding additional controls over their tenants and labourers and white workers seeking protection from cheaper black labour. It was an attractive solution for the white ruling class in the face of the rapid urbanization of poor whites and poor blacks, with its increased possibilities of competition and conflict as well as miscegenation and unified class struggle.

On 31 May 1910 General Louis Botha, having won general elections by a substantial majority, became Prime Minister and Leader of the South African National Party. This allowed him to form a new government of the Union of South Africa, which comprised the Afrikaners Provinces of Transvaal, and Orange Free State, and the former British ruled Cape Province and Natal. The Union was a victory for the Boer Republic leaders as it gave more power to Afrikaners. Only Cape Province Blacks were allowed to continue to vote (Davenport,ibid:256).The Union Government started rolling out pieces of legislation which sought to strengthen the socio – economic and political power of the Whites. The following are some of the Laws that were passed:

- Black Labour Regulation Act which made it an offence to break an employment contract.
  - The Dutch Reformed Churches Union Act which excluded Blacks.
  - Mines and Works Act which consolidated job reservation for Whites.
- (HSRC, 2004:148).

A step was taken which aimed at uniting and reconciling Afrikaners and the English speakers through the establishment of a new political party, the South African Party. The leaders of the party, Botha and Jan Smuts sought to promote “South Africanism” amongst the White community and to strengthen reconciliation of the Afrikaners and the English communities.

In 1913, a former Boer General; J.B.M. Hertzog broke away from the South African Party to form the National Party. His party was aimed at furthering the interests of the Afrikaners with a policy that was against any mixing of races. The South African government of Botha passed the 1913 Native Land Act which restricted the black majority to ownership of only seven percent of the land in South Africa. Africans were only allowed to buy land in the then Zululand, Transkei and Ciskei areas. This act was followed by evictions of people from their motherland which was designated white (Davenport, 1987:255-260).

In 1914 the First World War started. Africans were recruited to fight in the First World War, serving the Union of South Africa in non combatant roles without any weapons. An unarmed South African Native Labour contingent died when the SS Mendi ship sunk off the Isles of Wight on 21 February 1917. In 1919 General Jan Smuts became Prime Minister. During his tenure of office the following significant events took place:

- The suppression of a strike in Port Elizabeth, resulting in casualties in 1920 (Roux, 1964:156-157; Maylam, 1986:163).
- He used military force to break down resistance at Bulhoek in 1921 (Maylam 1986:163). In 1922 he sent an army to crush a revolt of white miners, who were led by the Communist Party of South Africa, an uprising against the state which called for “workers of the World to fight and unite for a White South Africa: (Southall 2013:31).
- In 1923 the Native (Urban Areas) Act was passed to control the lives of Blacks in urban areas. They were forced into locations, and made to carry passes. Blacks not needed as labourers in towns were sent back to Reserves.
- In 1924 (Roux 326, 262) the Industrial Conciliation Act was passed by the Smuts Government. In the same year 1924, the National Party, under the leadership of Hertzog, took over government reins. They had formed a pact with Colonel Frederick Cresswell, forming the so called Pact Government. “White working class pledged their allegiance to a coalition of National and Labour parties”(Southall, 2013:31).

Hertzog started a programme of promoting Afrikaner Nationalism. Laws that promoted Afrikaners and the White community and laws that disadvantaged Blacks were passed:

- Native Affairs Act of 1920 establishing Native Affairs Commission.
- White Labour Policy of 1924 which advantaged Whites in the industries.
- Afrikaans was given an official language status in 1924.
- Colour Bar Act of 1926.
- Wage Act Native Law was extended to African Women.
- In 1927 the Pact Government passed the Native Administration Act with hostility clause. This was the Act that would be used to suppress and censor publication in media and books.
- In 1928 prosecutions under this act started (Roux, 1964:438).
- In 1929 the Riotous Assemblies Act was amended, giving Minister of Justice power to banish any individual from any region where the individual is perceived to be creating hostility between Black and White (Maylam 1986:163).
- Development of Afrikaner Nationalism was accelerated.

The ground became fertile for dissent after 1929 as Afrikaners became extremely poor due to the great depression. This affected all Afrikaners, rural and urban and led to a Nationalist victory in the general election, with Hertzog continuing as leader. Poverty seemed to bring Afrikaners together more and more, as the competition for limited resources grew. The National Party under Hertzog and the South African Party under Smuts formed the United Party in 1934. In the same year, D.F. Malan rejected the Union of the above-mentioned leaders and formed the “purified” National Party.

In summary in 1912 -1934 the white community of South Africa developed and promoted the ideology of “South Africanism” which in essence was the development and promotion of Whites in South Africa, and the continual refinement of the Segregation ideology. The unity of the white community was aimed at strengthening the domination of Blacks by Whites, and ensuring that the social, economic and political power remains in the hand of the white minority. From the foregoing narrative we extrapolate that the basic tenets of segregation were as follows: Socially it promoted segregation or separation of races (racism), inhumane treatment of Africans, and inequality of Whites and Blacks. Politically there would be, no political rights and privileges for Africans, no land rights for Africans except in reserves 13% land for Africans (later 23%), citizenship for whites only, and no franchise for Africans. Economically the implications were economic development for Whites, jobs for Whites and proletarianisation of Africans. Educational or intellectual development for the white community was promoted, separate education institutions were created, and education was used for domination by Whites. Culturally, Afrikaner and English culture and heritage dominated and also, development of European Culture was promoted. Religiously, the Dutch Reformed Church was given an upper hand and resourced by government.

### 3.2.2 Africanism Ideology/ African Nationalism / New African Movement

It is clear that Blacks resisted the oppressive ideology of Segregation, which denied them socio-economic and political rights, forcing them to be cramped in reserves. Initially they struggled through peaceful means for realization of their political rights and privileges as fully fledged citizens of South Africa. As early as 1871 the African intelligentsia that was produced by the missionary education institutions in the Eastern Cape, aggressively challenged the then Colonial



ideology of Segregation, which was dominant at the time. Their resistance led to the emergence of the ideology of Africanism, as reflected in a letter that was submitted to *Isigidimi Newspaper* on 18 January 1871 by Kokela from Gcalekaland, who criticized colonialism and expressed Africanist ideals(Odendaal, 2012:36-37).

This Africanist ideology was given more impetus at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after the Anglo- Boer War of 1899-1902. The post Anglo – Boer war period, as already stated, was an era of reconciliation politics between the Afrikaners and the English. Representatives of Blacks, mainly members of the South African Native Congress, Coloured leadership, and traditional leaders<sup>25</sup> met in Queenstown in 1909 with an aim of opposing the Union of South Africa (Mqhayi in Opland 2009:329). The meeting demanded that the Cape model of black franchise be adopted in a federation, instead of a union due to fear of oppression by Afrikaners. This request was rejected by the all white convention which formed the Union of South Africa Government in 1910(L'ange, 2005). The Act of Union excluded Blacks from participation in politics. This led to strengthening of resistance politics and the strengthening of the Africanism ideology.

According to Masilela and Balseiro(2003:15) The ideas of a “ New Africa”, a “New South Africa,” and “New African” were further theorized and articulated in the Newspaper ‘*Umteteli waBantu*’ (The Mouthpiece of the Native Peoples). Stalwarts of the New African Movement, were Sol Plaatjie, Jordan Ngubane, R.V. Selope Thema, Allan Kirkland Soga(editor of *Izwi laBantu* in East London), Dhlomo, Gerard Sekoto and Reuben Caluza. The New African Movement, according to him, bequeathed intellectual and cultural heritage to the next generation of cultural and political activists. Though Masilela’s focus is on film, the principles that he advances apply to all aspects of the arts, culture, and heritage.

The coming together of White South Africa and Laws that were promulgated, immediately after 1910, prompted the Africans to take significant steps towards African Unity. The work of Dr Pixley kaIsaka Seme<sup>26</sup> and other intellectuals of the new African Movement, building on foundations laid by congresses that were called in the four provinces of South

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<sup>25</sup> Mqhayi reports that Dr Abdurahman and Chiefs Silas Molema and Mehlophahle attended the meeting.

<sup>26</sup> Mancotywa, S. says that “South Africa’s non-racial democracy owes much to the liberation movement. It preached non-racialism when it was unfashionable to do so. At its formation back in 1912 in Mangaung, South Africa had just been christened a racist state two years earlier”. See Daily Dispatch 19 November 2011.

Africa,<sup>27</sup> established, on 8 January 1912, the South African Native National Congress, at a four day conference which took place in Bloemfontein. According to Meli (1988:38) and Karis and Carter (1922:71-72) Seme spoke:

Chiefs and royal blood and gentlemen of our race, we have gathered here to consider and discuss a theme which my colleagues and I have decided to place before you. We have discovered that in the land of our birth, Africans are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The White people of this country have formed what is known as the Union of South Africa- a union which we have no voice in the making of the laws and no part in their administration. We have called you to the Conference so that we can together devise ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges.

The new representative organization adopted a peaceful approach of fighting for the social, economic and political rights of Africans. The Organisation opened the channels of communication with the White government and strove to improve the fast deteriorating relations between Africans and Whites. Despite this peaceful approach, the Union government accelerated its Segregation agenda. In 1913, just a year after the establishment of the South African Native National Congress, the Native Land Act was passed. Sol Plaatje (Pampallis 1992:23) made the following remarks:

Awaking on Friday morning, June 20 1913, the South African Native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth.

The take-over of power by the National Party under Hertzog in 1924 entrenched the segregation ideology. This resulted in more protests by Blacks and resistance to the oppressive laws. Maylam (1986:156) states:

However in the 1920s and 1930s the ANC (as it was known from 1923) committed itself to oppose the principle of Segregation. The particular focus of its opposition was a set of Segregation bills that were presented to parliament by Hertzog's government in 1926.

Charlotte Manyhi Maxeke, originally from Uitenhage, but based in Johannesburg, played a leading role towards establishment the Bantu Women's League in 1918. In 1913 she had played a leading role in leading demonstrations against the Union's attempts to impose pass books on women. Men and women publicly burnt their passes. The Bantu Women's League sent a

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<sup>27</sup> Gwede Mantashe (current Secretary General of the ANC) emphasises the significance of the vigilante associations (provincial congresses) and the words of Pixley ka Isaka Seme in 1906 which preceded and led to the formation of the ANC. See City Press 23 February 2014.

delegation to Prime Minister Botha to make him aware of their disagreement with the oppressive laws, including the pass laws. The following significant activities took place between 1912 and 1920:

- In 1912 the *Abantu –Batho* newspaper was founded to be the mouthpiece of resistance.
- African participation in World War of 1914.
- Founding of South African Native College at Fort Hare, Alice, in 1916.
- Bucket strike in Johannesburg, in 1918.
- Pass burning, led by African National Congress, in 1919.
- African Miners strike, organized in Johannesburg, in 1919 (Roux, 1964:436-437).

The laws of the Union under Smuts, which reserved jobs of Whites, reduced Blacks into exploited cheap labourers. This resulted in the establishment in 1919, under the leadership of Clements Kadalie of, of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union(ICU)<sup>28</sup>. The establishment of ICU resulted in massive protests between 1920- 1930(Meli, 1988:63).

In 1921 the White Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA),which later became the South African Communist Party(SACP), was founded in the Cape Town. In 1924 the Communist Party of South Africa‘Africanised’ and included African members.<sup>29</sup>This led to strong influence of the CPSA in the ANC after the mid 1920s which lead to Josiah Gumede being elected as the President in 1927 (Maylam, 1986:157). At the end of the twenties and early thirties the Africanisation of the Communist Party was accelerated. According to Roux (1964:232):

A sustained effort was made to translate the ideas of the socialist revolution into the Bantu idiom, to make the party not only for the Africans but of the Africans. The slogan “mayibuye” became the battle cry, supplemented by occasional reference to the “Black Republic” and a Democratic Native Republic,<sup>30</sup> with equal rights for all races. The “mayibuye song” was sung at meetings of Africans and Europeans.

The support, by Africans, for the ICU and the South African Communist Party is exposed by Mqhayi’s article about Kadalie and Gumede, the African leaders of the above mentioned organisations:

Sendisitsho ukuthi ukuba le nto inyaniso ibiyinto enanziweyo ngumbuso ngekuba la madoda omabini akwiindawo eziphambili, kuba inyaniso ingakuwo aye emele owona mzi mninzi ontsundu...Umntu

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<sup>28</sup> Meli (ibid:59) however disagrees that it was the first as his research found Industrial Workers of Africa(IWA) with a slogan ‘Sifuna zonke’ of 1917.

<sup>29</sup>HSRS. The journey to freedom in South Africa (2004:152); Maylam (1986:157).

<sup>30</sup> Mqhayi’s suggestion of Africans considering being in a protectorate as Lesotho is not far from this idea of CPSA.

omhlophe uyithiyile inyaniso. Ukuba ebeyithanda inyaniso la madoda mathathu angasentl'apha ngelewasondeza enze ubuhlobo nawo kuba anenyaniso<sup>31</sup>.

I have already stated that if the truth was something that is respected by Government, the two gentlemen would be deployed in senior positions, because they are telling the truth and further more they are representing the majority, Blacks...The Whites hate the truth. If they were for the truth the three(sic) men mentioned above would be brought closer and friendship would be established with them because they speak the truth.

The view of the study is that in the South African situation the influences of the Communist Party and the ICU during this period consolidated an existing ideology of African Nationalism, which was led by the SANNC (later ANC), in its contest with the socio-economic and political domination of the Union Government and its Segregation ideology. Therefore communism, trade unionism and the African National Congress will be treated as one power bloc that advocated the ideology of Africanism during the period 1912 – 1934.

The fundamental tenets of Africanism are extrapolated of follows: Socially, it meant integration of races, equality of all races, and respect for all citizens. Politically, it stood for equality before the law, one man one vote, political rights for all, equal land rights, and full citizenship for all South Africans irrespective of colour or creed. Economically, it advocated, equal sharing of wealth, access to means of production by all citizens, equal access to resources (land) and the fight against proletarianisation. Educationally or intellectually, it strove for access to good quality education, and education for all, or skills for all. Culturally, there shall be respect for all cultures and equal promotion and preservation of culture and heritage. Religiously there shall be respect for all religions, and there was rejection of religious domination or hegemony.

### **3.3. Linking the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the twentieth century: two case studies**

The inclusion of this discussion is aimed at exposing the transitional challenges faced by African writers whose carriers straddled the two centuries. Only two of the prominent writers will be considered, Wauchope and Ntsiko.<sup>32</sup> Analysis of their poems of the different centuries is intended to link the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the twentieth century by juxtaposing the old and new styles of the

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<sup>31</sup>The two articles about Kadalie and Gumede appeared in 'Umteteli waBantu' dated 30 June and 11 August 1928. They were written by Mqhayi, writing under the name *Nzululwazi*.

<sup>32</sup> Opland and Nyamende (eds) (2008:329-330) state that in the last year of his tenure as editor of *Isigidimi saBantu*, Jabavu acknowledged M. K Mtakati, Hadi and Wauchope as leading poets worthy of imitation. Hadi is Ntsiko.

writers in the different epochs. This enables us to appreciate the initiatives of the following generation that carried on the banner into the next century.

### 3.3.1. Wauchope, I.W.W. (Citashe / Dyobha)

Isaac William Citashe/Wauchope<sup>33</sup>, was educated at Lovedale where he was trained as a teacher. He later came back to Lovedale to be trained to be a priest of the Free Presbyterian Church. His career as a minister of religion at Fort Beaufort was disturbed by his arrest and conviction for fraud. This cannot make his contribution to ministry, community development, and his significant contribution to literature and history with the articles and poetry he published through *Imvo zabaNtsundu*, to be forgotten. He died with the sinking S.S. Mendi ship during World War 1 on 20 February 1917.

Citashe is one of the leading African intelligentsia, who in the last quarter of the nineteenth century used their pen to fight for the rights of Africans. He demonstrated his poetic skills with his poem “To the rescue” which was published in 1882. Scholars have analysed and interpreted the poem from a broad range of perspectives (See Jordan, 1973; Odendaal, 1984; Opland, 1995 and Mona, 1999).

To summarize the poem Citashe says that the cattle (Not mentioned but understood because of the concord Zi- of zimkile) have been confiscated by the enemy. Citashe uses the cattle symbol figuratively to implore his countrymen to recover their lost national heritage and human rights. He denounces violence and proposes a different strategy of negotiations and education. Reference is made to lost wealth and political rights. The last stanza appeals for indepth thinking, honesty and truth. Citashe proposes the appropriation of the subjugator’s weapon, education and literacy, to make it serve the interests of the oppressed. He states:

Zimkile! Mfo wohlanga,  
Phuthuma, phuthuma;  
Yishiy’imfakadolo,  
Phuthuma ngosiba;  
Thabath’iphepha neinki,  
Likhaka lakho elo.

Your herds are gone, my countrymen!  
To the rescue! To the rescue!  
Abandon the breechloader,  
Go rescue with your pen;  
So grab your paper and grab your ink,  
For that, in truth, is your shield.

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<sup>33</sup>Mqhayi in Opland and Nyamende (eds) (2009:470-485) provides a biography of W.W. Wauschope.

Ayemk'amalungelo,  
 Qubula usiba,  
 Ngxasha, ngxasha, ngeinki,  
 Hlala esitulweni;  
 Ungangeni kwaHoho;  
 Dubula ngosiba  
 .....

Your rights are going!  
 Pick up your pen!  
 Load it! Load it with ink!  
 Settle down in your chair,  
 Repair not to Hoho,  
 But fire away with your pen  
 .....

Wauchope submitted four poems to *Imvo*, which were published during the period 20 August to 05 November 1912. While we recognize the reality that Wauchope went through a difficult period of imprisonment and loss of his job as a minister of religion, we note his strong religious, moralistic and philosophical content during his last years as a writer. In Wauchope's defence, we refer to Whittle (1966:56) who explains that "there is distinct affinity between poetry and religion as both religious and poetic experience is concerned with a heightened awareness and a sense of unity". Wauchope can also not be faulted for making use of poetry to convey his philosophy as both poetry and philosophy are intellectual disciplines which operate on the field of investigation into general principles of knowledge and existence. Philosophy and poetry are concerned with reality and truth. The author's prison experience might be the motivation for his declaration of his unreserved faith. It is against this background that Wauchope or Citashe's poems are appreciated. Wauchope's poem reads as follows:

Isimanga sezimanga  
 Uzalo olutsha!  
 Okwamanzi ukuzalwa,  
 Kunye noko Moya!  
 Ati umntu sele mdala,  
 Abuy' azalwe!  
 Sele nendlu nabantwana,  
 Abuy' abelekwe!

Wonder of wonders,  
 A second birth!  
 To be born through the water,  
 And through the Spirit!  
 Although mature,  
 To be born again!  
 With a house, and children,  
 To be carried on the back!

Angazalwa nangegazi,  
 Intw' enexabiso.  
 Ibe ngala-ngala amanzi,  
 Angasiwe liso.  
 lunge ntando yay' inyama,  
 Le siyitandayo,  
 Ingabi yiyo neyomntu,  
 Ibe yeka Thixo.

Born again not, through blood,  
 A precious substance,  
 But only through water,  
 Of small worth in itself.  
 Not through fleshly will,  
 Which we love so much,  
 Not through anyone's will,  
 But that of God alone.

The study, however, whilst appreciating Wauchope's religious poetry notes his change of style in terms of content, which leads to silence regarding the socio-political and economic issues that dominated the period of production of his art. This shift can only be explained in terms of

Gramsci, hence Althusser's notion of interpellation by the dominant ideology, which leads to hegemony (See 2.2.4 of chapter 2).

### 3.3.2 Ntsiko, J. (Hadi waseluhlangeni)

Ntsiko<sup>34</sup>, who ministered at St Johns Mission at Mthatha, is one of the educated elite who contributed to the political discourse in the last quarter of the century. He was educated by the Anglican Church in local schools and sent for training as a minister of religion at Canterbury in England with one of the descendants of Chief Sandile, Chief N. C. Umhalla. His political ideology was aligned with *Imvo zabaNtsundu* newspaper which supported Segregation and the Land Act<sup>35</sup>. He died on 03 November 1918 due to natural causes. In 1883 he submitted to *Isigidimi* for publication the following poem:

Vukani bantwana bentab' eBisiko!  
Seyikhal' ingcuka, ingcuk' emhlophe,  
Ibawel' amathambo,  
Mathambo kaMshweshwe,  
Mshwesh' onobuthongophezulu entabeni.  
Siyarhol' isisungamathamb' enkosi

Ubomv' umlomo kuxhaph' uSandile  
Ishiyiwe ngamendu ngunyanakaHintsa.

.....  
Lent' ukubaleka kukufa, kusinda.  
Inamb' esinqini,  
Eshunquk' umsila, wasal' eSandlwana,  
Yaginy' okaMpande ozitho zigoso;  
Yamkhup' esahleli;  
Ifun' isishuba, sikaMkatshane nesika  
Mshweshwe.

Arise , ye children of Thaba Bosiu!  
The hyena has howled, the white hyena,  
Craving for the bones,  
Mshweshwe's bones,  
Mshweshwe who sleeps on the mountain top.  
Its belly drags heavy with bones of kings,

Red stained is its mouth with Sandile's blood.  
By speed it was cheated of Hintsas' son.

.....  
For running is the truth, it is death and escape.  
The stumpy python,  
Its broken tail abandoned at Sandlwana,  
It swallowed Mpande's bendy-legged son  
But spewed him still alive;  
And now it craves for Mkathane's drawers and  
Msheshwe's drawer.

Ntsiko lauds praises at the Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu Chiefs. He celebrates the victories of African warriors over the British in the South, and the Boers in the North. The significance of this poem is its efforts at building unity between the Sotho (Mshweshwe), the Xhosa (Sandile and Rhili) and the Zulu (Mpande). The language of the poet is rich with similes and metaphors. He taps into

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<sup>34</sup> Kuse (1977:21) exposes us to Ntsiko's reception of the "young artist in bloom," SEK Mqhayi. Ntsiko (Kuse 1977:39) criticizes the young Mqhayi in *Imvo zabantu* of 26 November 1900 for plagiarizing another oral poet, Tshoni, for being personal on two of his contemporaries, and for his diction. The poem of Ntsiko is included in Rubusana's Anthology "Zemki'inkomo magwalandini."

<sup>35</sup> Mqhayi in Opland (ed), *Abantu besizwe* (2009:145) says he, however, disagreed with Imvo on some issues eg. the Union Government issue. Mqhayi dedicated a farewell verse in Ntsiko's rhyming style.

Xhosa oral lore and refers to imperialists as ‘ingcuk’emhlophe’ (White hyena) which in folklore is a usurper and the python (inamba) symbolises the might of the subjugator which strangulates and swallows its victim. It is beyond doubt that Ntsiko is grieving over loss of land. Vilakazi (1945:289) states that before the unification of the four provinces to form the Union of South Africa the main grievance of Africans was the loss of their land through conquest. He states further:

the great factor in successful fighting against the government lay in the unity of clans, not in thinking in terms of blood relationships under rival chiefs, but in creating a national ‘united front’.

Kuse (1977:21) exposes us to Ntsiko’s reception of the “young artist in bloom,” S.E.K. Mqhayi. Ntsiko criticises the young Mqhayi in *Imvo zabantsundu* of 26 November 1900 for plagiarizing another oral poet, Tshoni, for being personal concerning two of his contemporaries, and for his diction. Ntsiko underestimated the talent of the emerging Mqhayi and his grasp for indigenous oral culture. On 21 January 1913, Ntsiko’s poem ‘Ulizwi’ (Him who is the Word) was published in *Imvo zabaNtsundu*:

Lihlala lihleli  
Lingumkanyiseli  
Izwi lako Mdali,  
Lon’ alalupali.

Ufuman’ uyolo,  
Uvuyo noxolo-  
Umamkeli walo,  
Kwanobom ngalo.

Ekula amaza,  
Natisitingaza-  
Liyasixelela,  
Liyalat’ indlela

Luraul’utshaba:  
Gingci lwenz’ inqaba,-  
Lonceda kukubi.  
Izwi singabhubhi.

.....

It always remains  
The provider of light  
Your word, Dear Lord,  
It does not age.

One gets joy,  
Happiness and peace-  
If one accepts it,  
And everlasting life.

In these waves,  
Where we begin to doubt-  
It tells us,  
It points the way

It faces the enemy:  
It builds a fort,-  
For refuge in troubled times.  
So that we do not perish.

.....

Ntsiko’s poem is reflective of his deep sense of religious commitment. His religious verse demonstrates his deep inspiration. This is understandable if we consider the fact that he was a



trained priest, with extensive experience in the field. There is also an underlying intention by the poet, that of using his art to addressing moral issues. Ntsiko's good intentions are appreciated. The study however emphasises the significance of the context and the contextual relevance of this piece of art. Buckley (1959:27) notes that "writers of devotional verse are usually writing as they want to feel rather than as they do feel". This observation is valid when one considers the social and political factors that faced South Africans in 1913. Kuse's observations are relevant to this study. Ntsiko's criticism is more than merely literary. It also reflects the difference in the ideological orientation between *Imvo zabanstundu* and *Izwi labantu* (edited by Mqhayi at the time) (Kuse 1977:21). The shift of style by Ntsiko can be attributed to his desire to align with the dominant ideology which was also the ideology of his publisher at the time, *Imvo zabantsundu*, which supported the segregation ideology. The shift demonstrates how the Segregation ideology operated as discourse that interpellated writers and transformed them into subjects of the ideology. The following discussion will elaborate on the relationship between the writer, the publisher and the notion of interpellation.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.3.3 The writer, the Publisher and the Notion of Interpellation

In the post 1910 political milieu, the medium of communication with the black leadership was through *Imvo zabaNtsundu*, which was edited by John Tengo Jabavu, who worked very closely with Wauchope in the struggle for the establishment of Fort Hare University, and Ntsiko as a regular contributor of articles to *Imvo*.

Jabavu could not support the establishment of the South African Natives National Congress in 1912, as his main focus was on the development of his South African Races Congress, which he attempted to link with the Universal Races Congress. The ideology of Segregation, which was the dominant ideology of the time, had profound influence over *Imvo*. It is therefore beyond doubt that *Imvo*, and by implication its editor, publisher and the intellectuals / writers whose articles were accepted and published were in the words of Althusser (1971:47) and Therbon (1980:15) "interpellated" by the discourse of Segregation which was dominant at the time. They were formed into subjects of the dominant ideology. This was successful as Jabavu, who at the time, saw merit in the Segregation policy and the Land Bill, during the first decade of post-1910,

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<sup>36</sup> See Althusser (1971:47) and Therbon (1980:15).

ensured that the newspaper content did not conflict with the dominant ideology of the time. Davenport (1988:261) states:

His real test came over the issue of the 1913 Natives Land Bill, which *Imvo* supported in its columns, on the assumption that the Government's intentions were above suspicion and that real advantage was to be gained from fair territorial segregation. Jabavu's reaction was understandable in the light of the widespread conviction among prominent liberal thinkers that segregation should be given a chance to show that it could be fairly applied.

The point that is raised in the foregoing discussion is that the dominant ideology of Segregation, in the first decade of the twentieth century, had a negative impact on the development the vibrant culture of written poetry which was prospering in the newspapers of the time, particularly in *Imvo zabaNtsundu*. As Midgley (1993) indicates, there is a "symbiotic relationship" between the author, the ideology and the publisher. Midgley (1993:55) gives credit to *Imvo* as one of the earliest newspapers to print poems by African authors. He however supports the argument that the ideological shift of Jabavu, the editor of *Imvo*, had negative impact on the content of the newspaper. He states:

Jabavu supported the 1913 Land Act, despite almost universal criticism from other Africans. This move led to the downfall of his political reputation and sent support for his paper plummeting. *Imvo* continued to criticise other government legislation but, like many other African papers, fell into the trap of using liberal rhetoric to define racial ability.

This explains the ideological shift of some writers of poems that were published by *Imvo* in the first quarter of the the twentieth century. This observation is supported by Opland who says that "*Imvo* tended to publish in European form, whereas *Izwi* was more open to poems in the style of traditional praise poems"<sup>37</sup>.

Mtuzi in the *South African Journal of African Languages* (1991:14-20)<sup>38</sup> in his brief but rich and insightful article on "The muted voice of the modern Xhosa poet" attempts to reach out to literary scholars and make them "hear" the muted voices, protesting vehemently, and to make them appreciate the severe limitations under which the Xhosa writers had to operate. He states:

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<sup>37</sup> See Opland and Nyamende(ed): Isaac William Wauchope (2008:329). *Izwi la Bantu* newspaper was edited by A.K. Soga in East London and therefore competed with *Imvo zabaNtsundu*.

<sup>38</sup> Mtuzi's paper is published by the *South African Journal of African Languages* Volume II Number I of February 1991 pp: 14-20.

Their voices are muted because of the strict self-censorship and structural censorship to which Xhosa writers have been subjected, from the missionary era to the present times.

Mtuzé's observation explains the ideological contradictions exhibited by Wauchope's and Ntsiko's poems. One would wish to empathise with the pain that the writers are going through, but in their endeavour to align with the dominant ideology and to avoid censorship, their voices are 'muted'.

### 3.4. Analysis and interpretation of texts

Against the background of the contending Segregation Ideology, which was the Union Government policy during the period 1912-1934, and the Africanism Ideology which was advanced by the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), isiXhosa written poetry will be analysed and interpreted.

#### 3.4.1. Mqhayi, S.E.K. (1914) *Ityala lamaWele*

It is against this background of marginalisation by the only means of publication that Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi<sup>39</sup> explored the avenue of the book for publication of his poetry, and approached the missionary printing press in 1914. The strategic Mqhayi was able, in the first decade to include in his second publication by Lovedale press, *Ityala lamawele*, poems that advance the Africanist ideology. Mahlasela(1973:8) describes the original *Ityala lamaWele* as "an omnibus work that depicts Mqhayi as a master of the Xhosa language". He never gave up with *Imvo*, but as we shall see later, his voice could not come through loud and clear as it came out later, in *Umteteleli waBantu*<sup>40</sup>, in the second decade. In his introduction to his collection of Mqhayi's<sup>41</sup> works Opland (2009:26) states:

Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi was the greatest figure in the history of Xhosa literature, a predominant oral poet and the prolific author of books and newspaper contributions. His writings, however, have fallen victim to rejection and loss, to censorship and sanitation, to publication without ascription and to neglect.

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<sup>39</sup>Mqhayi took over the baton from the African intelligentsia of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See also Mona(1999) and Neethling and Mpolweni(2006).

<sup>40</sup> A newspaper that was funded by the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg in the 1920s.

<sup>41</sup>Mqhayi's contribution to preservation and conservation of the rich amaXhosa cultural heritage and history through newspapers is documented (Saule, 1989) and Opland(ed) (2009). His contribution into the development of language and literature is studied scientifically Kuse (1972 and 1977); Jordan(1973); and Qangule(1979).

Kuse (1977:34) says that it is D.D.T. Jabavu, who persuaded Mqhayi to publish his “manuscript” which had been in “cold storage” for several years. The relevance of the book in this study is that the original publication contained poems that were aimed at advancing the ideology of Africanism.<sup>42</sup> The focus of the following discussion, therefore, is on reflecting Mqhayi’s<sup>43</sup> contribution to the ideological contest during the period 1912-1934 through the following isiXhosa written poetry:

### 3.4.1.1 Irhafu yamakhandanda

### Polltax

Bathethise ooBambatha  
Babeke phants’ iimbadada  
Ubacenga nooMtshoveli  
Uthi ukho umVeleli.

Please talk to the Bambathas  
To take off their sandals/ shoes  
Also persuade the Machiavellis  
And tell them that the Lord is living.

Hehe!Hehe!maAfrika!  
Naal’ uluvo ndininika,  
Ma sixolele ukuwa  
Be sizama ukuphuma.

Hehe!Hehe!Africans!  
Here is an advice for you,  
Let us rather choose to fall down  
In a process of attempting to pull out.

Ukuphuma kwaba bantu  
Abampatho igadavu  
Siphatwe ngokwabeSutu  
Abampatho iluncuthu.

Let us work towards pulling out or these people  
Whose government / rule is harsh  
Let us be governed like the Basotho  
Whose government is just.

.....

.....

Phakamani maAfrika !  
Ezi zinto zisinika,  
Intlabiso nengqiqiso  
Yokuvela kosindiso.

Rise Africans!  
These things provide us.  
With a direction / and a vision  
Of the birth of salvation.

Mqhayi makes use of the Bambatha Poll Tax Rebellion of 1906 as a springboard for him to launch the Africanist ideology. In the foregoing poem he calls upon Africans to resist the oppressive Union Government. Bambata is presented as a hero who fell in a process of defending his people. He then recommends that Africans should consider the model of Lesotho (Basutholand) which chose to be a British protectorate than being governed by the oppressive Union Government.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup>The first part of Mqhayi’s book is prose (1914:1-55) the second part is a collection of poetry essays and historical information.

<sup>43</sup> See his autobiography “*uMqhayi wasentabozuko*”. 1939. Lovedale press.

<sup>44</sup> This view links with proposal by CPSA in Roux (1964:232). This is not the Apartheid homeland concept.

The Bambatha Rebellion has specific significance in South African history as it separates two phases / epochs of South African history: the period of wars of resistance and the period of struggle for democratic rights of the post-2010 South Africa. Bambatha was a chief in the Greytown area of Natal, who was deposed by government, which required a tax of one pound per head (*ikhanda* in Zulu, hence *irhafu yamakhanda*) from every male, over the age of eighteen years. The tax according to Roux (1964:88) had the dual purpose of raising revenue and of forcing Natives into employment. Failure to pay the tax was a criminal offence and Africans had to carry their poll tax receipt where ever they went, as failure to produce it, would lead to arrest. The strategies of forcing Africans into labourers resulted in a series of conflicts.

#### 3.4.1.2 Umkhosi wemidaka

#### The African army /Contigent

Ze niyidumis' iAfrik' ezizweni,  
Nizidumis' iinkosi zenu njalo;

Azifananga zanikhupha, ziya zidla ngani.  
Ze niwuthobel' umthetho nommiselo ;  
Wakuw' umthetho ze nenje nje,  
Nenje nje- nenje nje –nenje njeya !  
Ze niyidumis' iAfrika ngobukroti ;  
Ze niyidumis' iAfrika ngamandla ;  
Ze niyidumis' iAfrika ngokuvisisana,  
Niyidumis' iAfrika ngempilo ,  
Ngobukhali beliso nobendlebe ;  
Ngokuzinza kwengqondo nobuchopho,  
Ngokuthetha , nokuhamba , nokwenza.

Make Africa to be recognized internationally,  
Make your chiefs to be respected through  
you're actions;  
They selected you because they are proud of you.  
Obey the laws and instructions;  
When an instruction given given do as such!  
Continue doing as such;  
Bring Respect to Africa through your courage;  
Bring respect to Africa through your strength;  
Bring respect to Africa through co-operation,  
Bring respect to Africa through good health,  
With sharp eyes and sharp ears;  
Through a stable mind and brains,  
Through, speech gaity and action.

This World War is seen by Mqhayi as an opportunity to display patriotism, nationalism or Africanism and bring about recognition and respect for Africa. This optimism of Mqhayi did not change even after the sinking of the S.S. Mendiship. It is important to note that the new organization, the South African Native National Congress, pledged loyalty to the British Colonial rule, as the influence of colonial power was not fully withdrawn from South Africa. This information helps us to understand Mqhayi's Poetry on the sinking of the Mendi, and the content of his poetry to the Prince of Wales.<sup>45</sup> It is against this background that South Africa became deeply involved in the First World War. This is what led to Dr Walter Rubusana, Member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), on behalf of his organization to pledge loyalty to the decision by the Union to participate in the war. He promised that the SANNC will

<sup>45</sup> See 3.3.6.2 of this Chapter 3.

not criticize government during the course of the conflict and he offered 500000 troops to fight against German South West Africa. Unfortunately his offer was not accepted by the Smuts regime, which only recruited 83000 Africans in noncombatant roles in Europe. Of these 615 Africans of the South African Native Labour Contingent died when the SS Mendi ship sank off the Isle of Wight on 21 February 1917.

### 3.4.1.3. Ukutshona kuka Mendi

### The sinking of the Mendi

Be kungenganzuzo zimakhwezi- kwezi ;  
 Be kungengandyebo zinga ngeenkwenkwezi-  
 Sikwatsho nakuni bafel' eAfrika ,  
 KwelaseJamani yasemPuma-langa.  
 Be kungembek' eninayo kuKumkani,  
 Be kungentobeko yenu kwiBritani.

It was not the intention to benefit materialy;  
 It was not the intention to gain wealth and glamour.  
 This we also say to those who died in Africa,  
 In the German East Africa.  
 It was because of the respect you showed to the King,  
 It was through your obedience to Britain.

.....  
 Awu ! Zaf' iint' ezinkulu zeAfrika  
 Kwaf' amakhalipha, amafa-nankosi,  
 Agazi lithetha kwinkosi yeenKosi.  
 Ukufa kwawo kunomvuzo nomvuka ;  
 .....

.....  
 Awu! The great Africans died  
 Courageous men died, the last line of defence,  
 Their blood communicates with the king of Kings.  
 Their death has a reward and positive consequences.  
 .....

Mqhayi depicts the Africans that served the Union of South Africa in France, North Africa and South West Africa, without arms, as representatives of Africa. He extols them for courage and patriotism and promises them rewards. Unfortunately this was not to be. The great disappointment for the Blacks who participated in the war was that none of them received customary acknowledgement of medals and ribbons, and financial or material rewards (Davenport 1987:262) and HSRC (2004:149). After the First World War, the SANNC, in response to the legislation that was promulgated by the Union Government, sent a delegation to the Treaty of Versailles Post War Talks, without any positive results.

### 3.4.2. Jabavu, D.D.T. (ed) (1954) *Izithuko*<sup>46</sup>

DDT Jabavu, in 1954, published a collection of praise poems throughout the period 1917-1934, by various poets from diverse regions of the Eastern Cape. Jabavu, son of J.T Jabavu, the editor of *Imvo*, was educated in England. SEK Mqhayi in his article and poem 'Intlola' in *Imvo* of 11 February 1913, announced his return from Europe, with a Bachelor of Arts degree qualification.

<sup>46</sup> The word is used figuratively, the actual meaning is commendations or praises.

Jabavu (jnr) involved himself in a number of developmental projects in agriculture, the arts, culture, heritage and education. He was appointed as a lecturer at the University College of Fort Hare where he developed himself to being a senior staff member.

The poets see Jabavu as a representative of the oppressed Africans. He is portrayed as Africanism personified, and an epitome of the values of Africanism. But the question demands an explanation of why were these Cape Province poets seeing in DDT Jabavu a representative of the Africanism ideology. Jabavu made a mark firstly as an educator at Fort Hare University and secondly through his contribution in the political struggles for African rights, as a member of the Unity Movement (UM) and the All African Convention (AAC). Both Mqhayi and Mgqwetho in their poetry acknowledge the role played by D.D.T. Jabavu in the promotion of Africanism.

#### 3.4.2.1 Ngu-Rev. E. Mdolomba<sup>47</sup>: 1917 (eQonce)

.....  
Hlab' izidlanga zobudenge babantu bakowabo,  
  
Binzani umhlahlo madoda , nibeth'izandla zintombi  
Nivum'ingoma yeqirha  
Sanus' esangenwa yiminyany' emazants' eAfrika

.....  
Identify elements of shortsightedness amongst your  
people,  
Men come and dance, maidens clap your hands  
Sing the song of the indigenous doctor  
Senior indigenous doctor who met his ancestors in the  
Southern part of Africa

The poet deliberately makes use of the concept amaZantsi-eAfrika, which means the southern part of the broader Africa. This is different from South Africa, ie Mzantsi Africa, which means the country, which has a lower status than that of a continent. Jabavu is portrayed as a son of Africa, as a son of the soil of the continent of Africa.

Mdolomba, from Tamarha, King Williams Town was a teacher, clergy and ANC activist in Johannesburg. Mdolomba, though a leader in the African National Congress had profound respect for Jabavu, who was aligned to the Unity Movement and All African Convention.

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<sup>47</sup>See also Mqhayi in Opland (2009:509-574).

### 3.4.2.2. D.P. Mkosana: 15/9/24 (eNgcwazi)

.....  
Yilwa Jili nto ka Jabavu, kufa ayayo  
Atshonil'awakuni angath'akhanyile ngemfundo

Yilwa ngokholo nangethemba, lixesha namhla  
Lokub'avuke amadodan'aseAfrika.  
Nantso ke into yakho mfo kaNtengo.  
.....

Yinto yay' inkunz' eyoyiswayo yenye  
ngamandlakaz'amakhulu  
Kanti yenz'ithuba lokubaleka kakuhle.

Namb'edl'igoduka, mfo ka Jabavu

Nyani nyani mayibuy'iAfrika  
IJerusalem yakhiwa nguNehemiya yedwa  
Ngengqondo nokuthand'isizwe sakowabo.

.....  
Fight Jili, son of Jabavu, there is no turning back  
Your educated compatriots do not want to expose  
themselves  
Fight with hope and trust, this is the time  
For young men of Africa to rise.  
Here is your challenge, son of Tengo.  
.....

It is a strategy of the less stronger bull Ukufukula  
To come aggressively with all its might  
To create an opportunity for it to keep safe from  
danger  
The snake that makes home a priority, son of  
Jabavu  
Truly Africa must return to its owners  
Jerusalem was created by the lonely Nehemiya  
with intellect, and patriotism.

The observation of the researcher is that the poets also praise personalities who identify with the Africanism ideology in order to promote or advance the ideology of Africanism through their poetry. This seems to be a strategy of raising awareness, advocacy or as an appeal to the younger generations to follow the good example of the role model, and struggle for the return of Africa (*Mayibuy' iAfrika*).

### 3.4.2.3. J. J. Silwana: July 1928

Hamba ngoxolo sibongo ntliziyo-nkulu,  
Nyoka emnyama ecand' iziziba,  
Dolo-limdaka kukuthandazela iAfrika.  
Ndlela-ntle mnumzana, uligora lokubongwa.

Hamba ngoxolo, finca-finc'imilambo yase Jordane,

.....  
Malobola ngenkomo abuy' ayiphuthume kwezaseInglandi

Hamba gora lase Afrika, umzi uya kulandela;

Ukhatshwa ngaloo mibongo ngumzi kaNgubengcuka.

Travel peacefully great one, big hearted,  
Black snake the crosses deep waters,  
He who frequently prays for Africa.  
Farewell sir, you are a hero to be complimented.

Travel peacefully he who drinks rivers of Jordan and  
leave then dry,

.....  
He who pays .....with cattle but goes back to reclaim  
it from England  
Go brave one from Africa, the country is following  
you;  
Ngubengcuka house accompanies you with these  
praises.

In June 1927, Jabavu played a prominent role in the calling of the first Non-European conference at Kimberly. He and Dr A. Abdurrahman, the leader of the coloured people, sought to bring together representatives of all the Non-European organizations in South Africa. The



representation was good as the following political organization attended: The African People's Organization for Coloured People, the Native Voters Association, the African National Congress and the I.C.U. The conference agreed on working towards a Non- European United Front, a strategy for strengthening resistance to White oppression (Roux, 1964:174-). 175).

General Herzog's Native Bills, which were formulated in 1925, were published in 1926 and in 1927, and referred to Select Committee. The committee toured the country and collected evidence. Evidence was given to the Select Committee by a large number of eminent persons, representing diverse political organizations. The most important African witnesses were Professor DDT Jabavu, Dr.WB Rubusana and Rev Mahabane. However their evidence had little influence to select committee as the union Government was determined to move ahead with the promulgation of Bills. Finally in 1935 the Bills were passed and the implications were that no more Natives from Cape Province would vote or register as voters (Roux, 1964:287). It is against this background that DDT Jabavu is portrayed as a representative of Africanism. The argument is that through these praises of Jabavu the poets are promoting Africanism. This is evidence of existence of existence of the Unity Movement and the All African Convention ideology in isiXhosa Written poetry.

### 3.4.3. Opland, J. (ed) (2007) *The Nations Bounty: The Xhosa Poetry of Nontsizi Mqgqwetho*

While *Imvo Zabantsundu's* future, in its original form, was on the decline in the second decade, leading to its demise in the third decade, space was created for new African newspapers to emerge. In 1912 Pixley ka Isaka Seme launched the paper which would be recognised as the South African Native Congress mouthpiece, "Abantu Batho". The paper supported the Africanist ideology and used any opportunity to present to South Africa the example of the success of the then Negroes or Afro-Americans, who rose from slavery, to be successful citizens in all aspects of American life.<sup>48</sup>The largest and most heavily subsidised newspaper that played a significant role in the third decade of the century is *Umteteli waBantu*, a project that was conceived at the end of the second decade by African leaders in the Transvaal, seeking to find a newspaper that is not as

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<sup>48</sup> Ntongela Masilela (2003:15), in his article on the New African Movement, elaborates on this point.

‘radical’ as the Bantu/Batho.<sup>49</sup> An opportunity availed itself after the mining strikes of 1919 and 1920 when the Chamber of Mines, (Native Recruiting Corporation) influenced by their need for a propaganda tool for dissemination of their ideology to the industrial workers and miners, that is “guidance of educated Bantu opinion along right lines”, launched *Umteteli waBantu* in Johannesburg in 1921 (Roux, 1964:352). The financial muscle enjoyed by the paper, which was supported by the white business as it would assist them in protection of their capitalistic interest in the mines, made it to dominate other earlier established newspapers. While it was initially intended to be liberal, moderate and not anti-government, it soon became politically dynamic and influential<sup>50</sup>. A newspaper which was initially rejected by African intelligentsia transformed and became their mouthpiece. Mgqwetho makes reference to this in her poem “*Ukuqhekeka kweCongress*”. Some members of the SANNC were not pleased that Rev Maxeke, accepted editorship of the newspaper. The newspaper, nevertheless, became a medium for communication of both the dominant and alternative ideology. The *Umteteli waBantu* newspaper created a platform for a young woman, originally from the Peddie district of the Eastern Cape, Nontsizi Mgqwetho, to publish her poetry.

Extensive research was carried out by Opland on the creative work of Nontsizi Mgqwetho. Opland meticulously searched for relevant data on Mgqwetho, and other relevant newspapers namely *Bantu-Batho* and *Imvo zabantsundu* (Opland 2007:xv). His introduction to the publication of “*The nation’s bounty: The Xhosa poetry of Nontsizi Mgqwetho*”, provides the available information about Mgqwetho, her family background and a brief history of amaXhosa, from whom Mgqwetho emerges. Opland also paints the milieu within which Mgqwetho located herself in the rapidly growing capitalist urban Johannesburg. Opland’s summary presents the form and content of Mgqwetho’s poetry.

The purpose of my revisit of Mgqwetho’s poetry, therefore, is to go further than Opland by demonstrating how Mgqwetho, through her poetry, aligned herself with a particular subaltern

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<sup>49</sup>Midgley (1993) Author, Ideology and Publisher: A symbiotic Relationship. Unpublished MA Thesis, Rhodes University.

<sup>50</sup>See Midgley (1993:57) He quotes “Class Hatred” which appeared in *Umteteli waBantu*. Editorial, 30 August 1924.

ideology that dominated Africa in general, and South Africa in particular during the first half of the twentieth century. In support of this MacGaffey (1981:246) <sup>51</sup> states:

Pan-Africanism, which flourished from 1900 to 1945 coincided with a strong phase of colonial occupation, but it was provoked by the effects of the new European doctrine of racism rather than by colonialism as such. What was important about it was its international character and the publicity associated with it, which brought to remote areas of Africa the idea of collective political and economic action.

MacGaffey's input illuminates Mqgqwetho's creative work as it makes us understand Mqgqwetho's insistence on unity (*umanyano*) or collective action to fight the racial capitalism of the Union Government. What makes it difficult to analyse Mqgqwetho's poetry however is the fact that each poem covers a number of themes. We shall select ten poems, to illustrate her relevance to the socio-political and economic discourse of the twenties. Her call for unity of Africans is transversal but there are important issues, which constitute the fundamental tenets of Africanism which we shall lift from the ten poems, namely:

- Politically, the significance of unity of Africans/collective action which entails effective and efficient leadership.
- Economic development of Africans including resistance to exploitation and deprivation of resources.e.g land.
- Socially and Culturally, the restoration of the fast eroding moral and social fibre.
- Intellectually, education and training, particularly for workers.
- Political rights and privileges, including non-racial non-sexist and democratic values, and the issue of the national question or nationhood.
- Religious freedom and cultural preservation and conservation of all cultures equally.

In the foreword to the published collection of poems of Nontsizi Mqgqwetho, which Opland (2007) edited, Hofmeyr<sup>52</sup> suggests:

Nontsizi Mqgqwetho enters the discourse and debates formulated by figures like these, adding a female Xhosa counterpoint to these late nineteenth and early twentieth century discussions of Africa's future. In nearly every poem, themes of African unity, return and rebirth in the face of dissention and fragmentation emerge. Central to Mqgqwetho's concerns lie questions of leadership and there are few organisations which escape her stern admonishment for lack of direction, strategy and purpose in the face of colonial oppression, on the one hand and greed and materialism on the other. (My emphasis)

In his introduction to *The Nation's bounty: The Xhosa poetry of Nontsizi Mqgqwetho* which he edited and translated, Opland<sup>53</sup> states:

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<sup>51</sup>MacGaffey (1981:246) in *African Studies Review*, Vol 24 No 2/3, Social Science and Humanistic Research on Africa: An assessment "June-Sept 1981, pp 227-274.

<sup>52</sup>Isabel Hofmeyr is a specialist in of African Literature who is based at the University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>53</sup>Opland's publications of Mqhayi and Mqgqwetho poetry and anthologies by him and Mtuze, and Mtuze and Kaschula, and Mtuze and Satyo are acknowledged. Some of Opland's translations have been used in this study.

Apart from what is revealed in these writings, however, very little is known about her life. She explodes on the scene with her swaggering, urgent, confrontational woman's poetry on 23 October 1920, sends poems to the newspaper regularly throughout the three years from 1924 to 1926, withdraws for two years until two final poems appear in December 1928 and January 1929, then disappears into the shrouding silence she first burst from. Nothing more is heard from her, but the poetry she left immediately claims for her the status of one of the greatest literary artists ever to write in Xhosa, an anguished voice of an urban woman confronting male dominance, ineffective leadership, black apathy, white malice and indifference, economic exploitation and a tragic history of nineteenth century territorial and cultural dispossession. She finds her strength in her own Christian God, and in Mother Africa, Nursemaid slain by her suckling, who, she insists, has no need to respond to appeals for her return since she has never left, steadfastly standing by her disappointing people. (My emphasis)

Both Hofmeyr and Opland's views support the postulation of this study that Mgqwetho, through her poetry, diffused the Africanism ideology. This study, however, goes further and argues that Mgqwetho was organically linked to the Africanist/ New African Movement/African Nationalism ideology led by the South African Native National Congress. As an organic intellectual of the movement she took it upon herself to facilitate development of the ideas of the subordinate class, and realisation of the dream of the return of Africa (ie decolonisation or freedom) to her original owners. She was one of the thinktanks and organisers of her class. Through her natural talent of poetry, an aspect of culture, she disseminated the ideology of her class with the aim of securing consent, ie unity of action, and submission to the hegemony of Africanism. In her poetry we are able to discern the fundamental tennets of Africanism/ African Nationalism. She calls:

#### 3.4.3.1 Mayibuye! I Afrika! Awu!<sup>54</sup>

.....  
 Uti Maibuye? Makubuye wena izizwe zomhlaba  
 zix'witana ngawe,  
 Zipuma e Node zipuma e Sude kwas' empumalanga  
 nase ntshonalanga.  
 I Afrika ihleli ayiyangandawo kangela enc'eni  
 wofik' isahluma,  
 Kangel' imitombo yamanz' isatsitsa kangela yonk' into  
 imi ngendlela.  
 Woz' ufe na gxebe ungekho entweni wake nyizililo  
 uti maibuye,  
 Makubuye wena woshukuma nomzi zihambe nendaba  
 zime ngeJeriko.

#### Come back, Africa! Awu!<sup>55</sup>

.....  
 You say "Come back"? You must come back!!  
 You're profit to all the earth's nations,  
 They come from the North, they come from the  
 South, from the east and from the west.  
 Africa stayed! She's nowhere else:  
  
 Look how the grass continues to sprout, look at the  
 springs still bubbling with water.  
 Look all around, it's all in its place!  
  
 Will you go to the grave with nothing achieved, raising  
 your cry, calling "Come back"? If you come back  
 first thenation will rise and news of its stirring willring  
 out to Jerich But tell us, Africa, where else in the  
 world.

<sup>54</sup>Please note that all Mgqwetho's poems are written in their original orthography.

<sup>55</sup> Opland's translation is acknowledged.

Kautsho! Afrika kwakumlambo mni na ap' umnt'  
engazinto ati maibuye,  
Kuba ndibonanje sinempawuzonke ngazo zasebudengeni.  
.....

Uti maibuye? Makubuye wena wonwaya intkoko  
ulila ngabani,  
Nanko no Ntsikana kade akutyela zuyeke imali siqu  
sempundulu.  
Mfondin wotutu lwakud'e Afrika wazonela ngani?  
Phambi koYehova.  
Nalo ke ne China lize ngemithombo

Nalo ke nekula lize ngamaempty.  
.....

Can any old fool say "Come home"? From my  
point of view, we bear all the signs.  
As we stumble along in stupidity  
.....

You say "Come back"? You must come back!  
You scratch your head in search of a scapegoat.  
Ntsikana warned you a long time ago,  
"Money's the lightning-bird: leave it alone."  
Child of the soil of far-flung Africa,  
What have done to so offend God?  
Here the Chinese sells you malt for your home-  
brew  
There the Coolie buys up your empty bottles.  
.....

Mgqwetho's call in "MayibuyeliAfrika! Awu!" is emphatic that Africa can return if people acquire wisdom and knowledge. This will eliminate the signs or the manifestations of lack of wit. The implications of this statement are that those who wish to participate in politics must get educated and understand what politics mean or the responsibilities that go hand in glove with the restoration of socio-economic and political rights to Africans. She asks a question "how can a person who knows nothing say Africa must come back?". This rhetorical question is a call to Africans to acquire knowledge and skills and do the correct things at the correct time.

Critical issues in the Africanism discourse emerge in the poem: Communalism versus capitalism – Ntsikana warned us about capitalism – (iqhosa elingenamthunja) (capital). The non – indigenous Chinese and Indian communities are enjoying better trading privileges than Africans. Also Africans are encouraged to enter entrepreneurship, even if they start small. The need for education of leaders and community members was realized and the solution found was introduction of adult education. In 1925 a native adult education centre was founded in Ferreirastown, Johannesburg as result of efforts by the educated members of the Communist Party (Roux, 1964:437). These centres spread throughout the country. Govan Mbeki and Epainette Mbeki are examples of teachers who joined the Communist Party in 1938 and 1939, and volunteered for teaching in one of these centres in Durban.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> See Ndabula T (2008) Epainette Nomaka Mbeki: A humble journey of her footprints.

### 3.3.4.2. I Afrika ihleli Ayiyangandawo!!

.....  
Uti "Mayibuye?" makubuye wena  
Nezizwe zomhlaba zix'witana ngawe  
Zipuma e Node zipuma e Sude  
Kwasempumalanga nase Ntshonalanga

Zip' intombi zenu? Izwi liyintoni  
Sigqibe lomhlaba sishweshwe zihange  
Site nzwini nendlebe butywala bomlungu  
Kodwa yen' uMlungu akabudl' obetu

.....  
Namazulu ndiyabona amangele  
Into ekuyiyo ngapantsi kwelanga.  
Kuti kwakufika nabazali betu  
Sitshul' amak'obo singe asibazi.

Africa stayed! She's nowhere else!!<sup>57</sup>

.....  
You say "Come back"? You must come back!  
You're profit to all the earth's nations:  
They come from the north, they come from the south,  
Out of the east and out of the west.

Where are your daughters? What do you say?  
We roam the countryside, shackled up with gangsters,  
We're up to the ears in the White man's booze.  
But the White doesn't drink a drop of ours.

.....  
The heavens, I see, are shocked  
By all these goings-on.  
When our parents come to visit  
We blabber as if we don't know them".

Mgqwetho is also concerned about erosion of the cultural and moral fibre of the African community. In "IAfrica ihleli ayiyanga ndawo!!" she asks where the young women of Africa are? Instead of being married they are concubines who illegally stay with gangsters. Africans drink excessively the White man's liquor, though the White man does not drink the African beer. God is also amazed at the dishonest behavior of the youth from rural areas when they get into towns and get urbanized. They tend to undermine their roots and family. When they are visited by rural parents and relatives they get embarrassed and deny that they are their own parents. Africans pretend to be converted to the Christian religion, but practically the actions are the opposite of what is articulated verbally. Mgqwetho calls for conversion and abandonment of evil actions because if people do not, Africa will never return. Mgqwetho identifies flaws in the subaltern class, which derail the struggles for the Africanism ideology to succeed.

### 3.3.4.3 Sahluke Pina Tina ku Kayin?

.....  
Ulibhadubhadu njengo Kayin  
.....  
Pongoma ngokwenkomo ezigxwayibeni  
Kuba ungenadlelo ngamadlagusha  
Ngati apa uliramncwa lase mzini?  
Noko o Lukhanyo lweza kusidukisa.

.....  
Unazo nempawu zibuz'imvelapi

How do we differ from Cain?

.....  
You're a wanderer like Cain.  
.....  
Shy from the mire like cattle  
Mutton Gluttons have stolen your pastures.  
It is as if you are a foreign animal  
I think this Light came to lead us astray

.....  
You have signs that inquire about your origins:

---

<sup>57</sup> Opland's translation is acknowledged.

Seyinguwe na? Ngoku ongumfiki apa?  
Andikupinda nditshilo nje nditshilo  
Baza amehlo kade ndandibona.

Unjengonndwendwe namhlanje e Afrika  
Sowuhamba ubuta amabibi  
Hluba ik'hak'ha lilo izwe loyihlo  
Lusi sivivinya sayo imishologu.

Gquba kube mdaka, Mdaka we Afrika  
Njengo Moses epuma e Jipete  
Kawuyek' ukubuza nantso i Afrika  
Isi sivivinya sayo imishologu  
Nengonyama yobumnyama isagquma.

are you the Johnny-come-lately here?  
I won't repeat what I've often stated.  
Open your eyes: I've long seen it coming

Today you're a stranger in Africa,  
you go about collecting debris  
Expose your shield, this land of your fathers  
It is the abode of ancestral spirits.

Raise dust till you're dirty, dusky African,  
like Moses quitting Egypt.  
Stop asking questions, there Africa is  
It is the abode of ancestral spirits  
But the lion of darkness still roars.

In the poem “Sahluke phi na ku Kayini” Mgqwetho soldierson and urges Africans to fight for their political rights. She addresses herself to Africans who seem to lack the power to apprehend the fact that Africa was ‘created by God for them’. She says Africans are wanderers like the Biblical Cain.<sup>58</sup> Though there is progress with education, there are limited gains. She tells Africans that Africa was made for them, they must refuse to be made strangers in Africa, she urges them to fight for their land which was stolen feloniously by mutton gluttons (amadlagusha).<sup>59</sup> Like Moses from Egypt they must raise dust like in savage mood. The tone of Mgqwetho and her diction is hard hitting and vigorous, reflecting, frustration and anger. The land question and the question ‘who is an African?’ which were central in the political discourse of the twenties, are raised.

#### 3.3.4.4. Ukutula! Ikwakukuvuma!!

Silence! implies consent!!<sup>60</sup>

.....  
Ukutula ikwakukuvuma!  
Xa ungatandi ukuhlala ujanyelwa  
Ungapendula kwabezinye imvaba  
Akulunganga ukukonza unomkanya.

.....  
Silence implies consent!  
If you do not like to be constantly looked at sternly  
You will respond to members of the denominations  
It's no fun to worship looking over your shoulder

Lemiteto idlula eka Moses  
Lihasa kuwe eliza ngokutula  
Litupa lengwe lanyatel' esangweni

These laws outnumber those of Moses!  
They dish out your decayed portion if you sit silent:  
It is the footprints of the leopard at the entrance  
of the house.  
If you sit silent they say you agree!

Kuba ngokutula! Bati uyavuma!

<sup>58</sup> Genesis Chapter 4 Verses 1-24 tells the story of Cain who killed his brother Abel and was placed under a curse and could no longer from the soil, and be a home less wanderer.

<sup>59</sup> A no longer acceptable word for abeLungu (Whites). Originating from their farming large flocks of sheep for mutton.

<sup>60</sup> Opland's translation amended in the quoted stanza 1, & 2 above and 3 & 4 below..

.....  
Lemiteto idlula ekaMoses  
Isenze kanye sabasebudengeni  
Sesifana negusha ngokuba mdaka  
Nabasaziyo basahlula ngopawu.

Gquba! Ungatuli Mdaka we Afrika  
Boguqa bakedame nabalwa nawe  
Lovangeli yabo yokusikohlisa  
Mina ingangam ndigaqe ngedolo.

.....  
These laws outnumber those of Moses  
Have hobbled us in bemusement:  
We are as dirty as the sheep  
Even those who know us, recognize us with the  
branding mark.

Dark One of Africa, don't sit in silence,  
Those who fight you will kneel in humility  
This gospel of theirs, designed to deceive us,  
Stands as tall as I do down on my knees.

Mgqwetho argues that keeping silent means acceptance of the status quo. She detests the deluge of pieces of legislation that are promulgated by the Union Government. If Africans keep quiet they shall be perceived as having consented. They are advised to tell the truth and be free from fear. Africans are like elephants that are grazing within the limited confines of fences. She implores the Africans to “kick dust” and roar. They are urged to act, be aggressive and surprise the enemy. The use of vicious animal symbols like the leopard (ingwe), ingwenya (crocodile) is portentous of impending catastrophe, as Africans have lost patience. Mgqwetho here is referring to the pieces of legislation that were promulgated by the Union Government. The laws that were passed in the twenties are:

- 1924- Industrial Conciliation Act was passed.
  - 1925-Wage Act was passed.
  - 1926-The Colour Bar Act was passed.
  - 1927- The Native Administration Act with “hostility clause”.
  - In 1928- the first prosecutions under the Native Administration Act took place.
  - 1929- Riotous Assemblies Act amended.
- (Roux, 1964; Maylam, 1986)

### 3.4.3.5. Isizwe! Esingavaniyo! Nesingavelaniyo! Strangers strip a squabbling nation<sup>61</sup> Siyadwatywa Zezinye!!

.....  
Yakulo Ngubenc'uka kwezakowenu  
Utete ngelidala ngelika Hintsa  
Amagama enkosi ayandipazamisa.

Shu! Hay' into imbi ukufa kwe Sizwe  
obuzabuzayo ubuza nto nina  
Siluhlantlalala olungenabani  
Into zokudwatywa zicangaliswe.

Taru Afrika! Mfi ziyabizana

.....  
As in Ngubencuka's time:  
Speak as of old in Hintsa's voice.  
The names of kings confuse me.

Shu! The death of a nation is painful!  
Why seek the why and the wherefore?  
We're just a dispossessed rabble,  
Things to be flogged at the back parts

Mercy, Africa, the dead one, they invite one another

---

<sup>61</sup> Opland's translation amended in the quoted stanza 2.



Abantu bako ngumhlamb'onganandili  
Obantu bangajonganiyo bebodwa  
Ndalihamba llizwe ndingenancwadi  
.....

your people are a ravaged flock ,  
People who can no longer face each other.  
I travelled the land without papers.  
.....

Mgqwetho continues to urge the Africans to unite. In the poem “Isizwe esingavaniyo nesingavelaniyo siyadwatywa zezinye!!” she warns against the internecine attacks on one another by the leaders and their organizations of Africans. This makes it impossible to embark upon collective action. The events of the twenties support Mgqwetho’s observations. While the African National Congress was facing challenges in the twenties, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa and the Communist Party were enjoying a period of growth amongst Africans. One would expect that these organizations might join forces to fight together the racist Union Government. Instead the twenties witnessed conflicts arising from envy, and unhealthy competition. Duma Nokwe,<sup>62</sup> writing in *Sechaba* (vol 2 no.10 (1968:15) states: “from its inception and throughout its whole history, the ANC rejected race domination and minority government. He insists that it has always stood for Pan-African unity and it participated in the very first Pan-African Congress.

He goes further to say: “In addition to the task of uniting the African people the African National Congress has sought for and participated in the unity of all the non-white peoples in South Africa, and all persons of what ever colour, creed and ideology who believed in and believe in the destruction of racism in South Africa”. Nokwe points out: “But though the African National Congress went through a period of recess in the twenties, it never ceased to function” (ibid).

Nokwe’s remarks shed some light on the urgency and clarion calls, in the twenties for unity of action by Mgqwetho. Her analysis of the challenges facing the organization in her poem “Uqekeko lweCongress” exposes that there is a serious problem of disunity. She urges the then President of the ANC Makgatho to “Stoke up the fire” (kawkwezele), and strive for unity.

The following events make intelligible Mgqwetho’s anxiety:

---

<sup>62</sup>Duma Nokwe was secretary General of the African National Congress ANC and editor of *Sechaba*, the mouthpiece of the ANC.

- There was a dispute in accepting members of the communist Party in the ANC.
  - The ICU expelled its members who were also members of the Communist Party.
  - The ICU also split into two sections of Balinger and Kadalie, Independent ICU, and ICU yase Natal in 1929.
  - The emergence of a new organization, the All African Convention also posed a challenge.
  - The South African Trade Union Congress rejected ICU's application in 1928.
- (Roux, 1964:437-438).

The only strong glue that held all the above formations together was the ideology of Africanism. Hence Mqgqwetho's constant reference to 'Mother Africa', and the call for unity. On the other hand, the Afrikaaner nationalists were consolidating their power, leading to the Nationalist victory of 1929.

### 3.4.3.6. "Ub'inqo"! We-Afrika!!

.....

Mazitete Nembongi mhla kwaw' inyembezi  
Zo "Mb'inqo" we Afrika sincele Mhlekezi  
owawupilisa umpfumlo wo Hlanga  
Lwezizwe Zintsundu ngapantsi kwe langa.

Ezinye izizwezihlel' ekucaceni  
Owetu umzi uhlele' ebumnyameni  
Wawa ngenyani "Umbinqo" we Afrika  
Safuna ukuncama tina umzi ka Ngqika

Wawa! Ngenyani "Umbinqo" we Afrika  
Kwane Bhaibhile isongwa isomb'uluka  
Apo zikon; inkosi zasemlungwini  
Ezine bhaibhile ezingo mba'axa-mbini

.....

### Africa's petticoat<sup>63</sup>

.....

Let poets speak of the day of tears  
for Africa's petticoat-please, sir –  
which restored the soul of the land  
of every black nation under the sun.

Other nations, enjoy prosperity  
Our house is staying in the dark.  
Truly, Africa's petticoat's has dropped:  
in Ngqika's house, we were ready to quit.

Truly, Africa's petticoat's dropped!  
The bible slips from our hands and slams shut;  
In that world of white lords and masters  
Who bible speaks with duality of meaning.

.....

In "Umbinqo! We Afrika!!" Mqgqwetho paints a picture of people who were living in prosperity, who were reduced to being vagabonds and beggars. She says "Ezinye izizwe zihlel' ekucaceni owethu umzi uhlele' ebumnyameni". (Other nations are enjoying prosperity, our house is in darkness or backwardness). She uses the image of a calf skin petticoat that was worn by African women. She says that the protective petticoat/ skirt or loin cloth has fallen, thus exposing Africa to rape or exploitation by strangers. Mqgqwetho says the colonialists with their capital have brought misery to Africa "dropping the skirt/petticoat/ loin cloth of Africans. Another meaning might be that Africa needs to gird up her loins and prepare for the journey or effort to civilization and freedom.

<sup>63</sup> Opland's translation amended in the quoted stanza 2 & 3.

Mgqwetho's symbolism strikes similarity with symbolism that has been used by other male Pan Africanist poets in Africa. Goodwin (1982:XVIII) states:

But one literary difficulty in the way of a woman poet is the prevalence in both Anglophone and Francophone poetry of a myth that presents the land of Africa as a woman. She was in the past raped and pillaged by foreign invaders. Now, however, she is in the process of returning to natural subjectivity (rather than partnership with) to her indigenous lover. She has become his adornment and joy again.

This is evidence that the Africanist ideology was an African movement. With the African poets the raped Africa had returned when they wrote their poetry, i.e. they had attained freedom or independence. In Mgqwetho's poem the skirt is still down and the humiliation continues.

### 3.3.4.7. Isimbonono se Afrika!! Azi Ndingabhala Ngalupina Usiba?

.....  
Hai ukuhlala kwawo wodwa Umzi  
Nokungenwa kwamasango alo mzi  
Obantu babenikwe Intsikelelo  
N[a]mhla simanga ngumzi wembandezelo.

Lux'akax'iwe u Pondo lwe Afrika  
Nabalandelayo bobeta besotuka  
B[a]qwab' izandla nabadlula ngendlela  
Lomzi ungenayo nendawo yokudlela

.....  
Zay' konxa i Afrika ngamakamandela  
Nange Bhaibhile, Mipu, Zayikahlela  
Yabinza-Inkwenkwezi Isixela  
Zeniyeke izitixo notshabalala.-

Zipina Inkokeli ze Afrika  
Yemnka kwapelana niko i Afrika  
EJeriko zakangela nemfama  
Mazibone namhla nezetu imfama.

.....

### Africa's Lament!!<sup>64</sup> With what pen can I write?

.....  
Oh the house standing unoccupied  
With easy access of this house,  
Whose people once had plenty,  
Now it is strange, it is a house of suffering .

The horn of Africa's been twisted and turned:  
The next generation will gaze in shock,  
Passers-by will clap their hands in shock  
at this house without hospitality

.....  
They fettered Africa with shackles  
Hurled her down with bible and musket.  
The shooting star informed us:  
Abandon strange gods which cause you to perish

Where are the leaders of Africa?  
Will Africa slip off before your eyes?  
The eyes of the blind were opened in Jericho  
May our blind regain their sight today

.....

Mgqwetho paints the economic suffering of Africans in their country. She is pained by the sight of Africa which is invaded by foreigners because the gates are easily accessible. She sees the horn of Africa being twisted and turned and wonders what posterity will say about the generations before them. The wealth and heritage of the country is plundered. The bible is used to penetrate the Africans and weaken their resistance to economic plunder. She says: "Abantu babenikiwe

<sup>64</sup> Opland's translation amended in the quoted stanza 1,2 & 3.

intsikelelo. Namhla simanga ngumzi wembandezelo.” (people were blessed and had plenty but today suffering is the order of the day). A leadership void is identified.

#### 3.4.3.8 Azi le Afrika Iyakuze Ibuye na?

Will this Africa ever come back?<sup>65</sup>

.....  
Lomhlaba i Afrika ngumhlaba wetu  
Seyele kwisiziba ngobudenge betu  
I Afrika ihleli ayiyanga ndawo  
Binqa wena in'ca ngokuswel' inyawo.

.....  
Le Afrika iyakuze ibuye na  
Bati wa Yehova kodwa uyevana  
Baxap' amagwebu ngenxa yezwe labo

.....  
Iyakubuya noba akusatandi  
.....  
Umanyano nje kupela lunga "Mandla"  
Kuba lulo lodwa olunokusondla  
No Yesu uhlile ngo "tando" kwizulu  
Kwamanyana Ngaye Umhlaba ne Zulu.

.....  
Yabonani makowethu sibadala  
Nenyaniso yasiposa kwakudala  
Makowetu sisamelwe kukutyalwa  
Ze kuvele ubuhlanga sakulinywa.

.....  
This land of Africa is ours,  
But we sank in pools through our stupidity  
Africa stayed; she's not gone somewhere.  
Use a grass skirt when you can't go out.

.....  
Will this Africa ever come back?  
They say; "Jehovah, can you hear?"  
They froth at mouth fighting for their land.

.....  
It will come back, I say, like it or not,  
.....  
Unity only is our strength,  
it alone can nourish us.  
And Jesus descended from heaven with love  
to unify heaven and earth.

.....  
You see my people we're old,  
Truth threw us long ago  
My people, we need to be planted and watered  
To bring forth nationhood when we are planted.

In “Isimbonono seAfrica” Mqgqwetho asks” “Azi ndingabhala ngaluphi na usiba?” (with what type of pen (quill feather) can write (ie reduce spoken words into chirography). She says that in the past Africans enjoyed freedom, wealth and prosperity. “Abantu babenikwe intsikelelo namhla simanga ngumzi wembandezelo”.

Mqgqwetho is desperately asking “Will this Africa ever come back?” A panoramic view of the decade 1920-1930 will assist us to apprehend why Mqgqwetho is grief-stricken and dejected. Unhealthy Contestation in all political structures was a problem. The contest between Communist Party and ANC leaders within the ANC was escalating. The ICU expelled communists. Kadalie was also expelled and he formed his own ICU which was based in East London. The ICU lost its strength and influence. The Communist Party penetrated the ANC, and its leader Gumede became President. But the fight for domination continued and in the Bloemfontein conference of 1930 Seme challenged Gumede and was elected President. Dropping of ANC support, thereafter,

<sup>65</sup> Opland's translation amended in the quoted stanza 2 & 4

became a concern. Despite all this turbulence she comes out confidently to say that Africa will definitely return. She says: “Makowethu sisamelwe kukutyalwa ze kuvele ubuhlanga sakulinywa” (My people, we need to be planted and watered. To bring forth the spirit of nationhood). Through this poem Mgqwetho contributes to the “national question” discourse in South Africa, one of the central issues in the political discourse of the 20s. According to Southall (2013:31) at its sixth Congress of the Communist Party of South Africa, held in Moscow in 1927, and attended by La Guma and Josiah Gumede, who was the new president of the ANC, on behalf of CPSA, it was resolved (in line with a shift in communist policy, regarding how to respond to colonialism internationally) that the national question was the foundation of the revolution, whose moving force was the black peasantry allied with and led by the working class. As a result the CPSA declared its struggle would now be for an “independent Native Republic” and committed to working with the ANC in order to transform it into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organization “against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialists.”

#### 3.4.3.9. Umanyano basebenzi abantsundu!!

.....  
 Livakale ilizwi labasebenzi  
 Bawafumane amalungelo abo  
 Qhubani impucuko nzalo ka Palo  
 Bantwana botutu lwakude e Afrika.  
 .....  
 Tyap’ubeko Professor D.D.T. Jabavu  
 B.A. enobugqi benyamakazi  
 Ufakwe upawu usisinyaniso  
 Utete eMonti watsho wandosela.  
 .....  
 Zulu, Mxosa, Msutu, Swazi nawe Bala  
 Nonke niyamenywa akukho sabelo  
 Sizwe sini sona esi silubisi  
 Lungafikiyo nasezimvabeni.  
 .....  
 Igqira lendlela Dr. Rubusana  
 Into elila ekumbini lentaba  
 Uti impumelelo yeSizwe mayakelwe  
 Pezu kwezona nkokeli ezizizo.  
 .....  
 Umanyano! Basebenzi Abantsundu  
 Inkokeli mazambat’ izidabane  
 Zingahlazeki xa zifun’ukutoba  
 .....

#### Unity African Workers<sup>66</sup>

.....  
 Let the voice of the workers be heard,  
 Let them reclaim their rights:  
 Advance enlightened, offspring of Phalo,  
 heirs of the soil of far-flung Africa.  
 .....  
 Thank you for your presence Professor D.D. jabavu,  
 B.A. with an antelope’s guile,  
 You’ve earned a mark of distinction;  
 Your speech in East London delighted me  
 .....  
 Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Swazi and Coloured.  
 You’re all invited without exception.  
 What kind of nation are you whose milk  
 Does not reach the milksack.  
 .....  
 Dr Rubusana, roadside diviner,  
 Wails in a mountain cave,  
 He says our nation’s progress  
 Must be driven by genuine leaders.  
 .....  
 Unity, black workers!  
 Give our leader loin cloths  
 To cover their privates in bowing:  
 .....

<sup>66</sup> Opland’s translation amended in the quoted stanza 2,3 & 4

In the poem “Umanyano basebenzi Abantsundu” Mgwetho re-iterates the words of founders of the African Native National Congress, conveyed by Pixley ka Isaka Seme. She says: “Zulu, Mxosa, Msutu, Swazi nawe Bala nonke niyamenywa akukho salelo”. This call reminds us of Pixley ka Isaka Seme who called in 1906 and 1912:

The demon of racialism, the aberration of the Xhosa – Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and Tongaas, between the Basutho and every other Native must be buried and forgotten, it has shared among us sufficient blood! We are one people (Karis and Carter, 1972:72).

Further to her call for unity (“umanyanonje lwenene lungamandla”) and the return of Africa, she entreats African leaders to get educated so that they are not embarrassed when challenging moments arise. She says: “Inkokheli mazambat’izidabane zingahlazeki xa zifun’ ukutoba”<sup>67</sup> Mgwetho in this poem “umanyano basebenzi” demonstrates that she is a patron of learning and education. The “isidabane” is used in its figurative meaning of symbolizing a university degree. (Isidanga or isidabane is the front and rear hood). It therefore symbolizes education. When referring to leaders who have university degrees she always recognises their qualification e.g. Maxeke B.A and now Jabavu B.A, Both Jabavu and Rubusana are here presented as role models and true representatives of Africanism. Professor Jabavu is commended for his contribution to the struggle for unity amongst Africans, he is presented here as an example of an educated leader. Rubusana is quoted as having stated that the success of a nation shall be realized when it is built on the foundation of the informed, educated and genuine leaders.

3.4.3.10. Zemk’Inkomo Zetafa-Vula  
ndingene! (1928-1929).

On the plains they’re stealing our cattle!<sup>68</sup>

.....  
Wadlula umnyaka wemka unendaba  
Ezentshutshiso zona zodwa indaba  
Zabantu bonke kanye neze mikwa  
Ziyo kubikwa.

.....  
The year has passed bearing news  
Of nothing but persecution,  
of everyone’s including bad behavior  
all have been reported.

Utsho ke lo "nyaka" ndim low'utetayo  
Bikela mawenu uti ndim otshoyo  
Ndotintela ngoku yonke nemfundiso  
Eyinkohliso  
Mnininto zonke namhla siyacela

This year says, “These are my words;  
Tell your people I’m the one talking.  
Now I’ll restrain all teachings  
leading you astray”  
Lord of all creatures, we implore you to day,

<sup>67</sup> “Isidabane” is a traditional garment that is made of the skin of a wild animal. It is used as dress in fighting parties, or in dances at marriage feasts. It is usually fastened round the neck so as to hang loosely down the back as a kind of a hood, it is bound round the loins of fighters (Kropf, 1915:70).

<sup>68</sup> Opland’s translation amended in the quoted stanza 2 above and 4 below

Tina ma Afrika kuwe sikangela  
Ungawutati kwa nomhlaba wetu  
Ngokukona kwetu.

Kwintshabalalo nokuswel'ukutya  
Kwimbandezelo sibinqa imitya  
Kwimpatwano kubi nezibulalano  
Fika ngombono.

.....

we Africans look up to you,  
please don't take our land from us  
because of our wrongs.

In our distruction and starvation,  
In affliction, we are dressed in thongs,  
In persetution and blood feuding,  
Arrive with a vision.

.....

This is Mqgqwetho's final input to *Umteteli wabantu*. Her parting short and her last stone to the "Isivivane" of IsiXhosa written poetry. She ends with a prayer for previnient grace. This New Year, 1929, will work and bring an end to prevarication. She prays for a stop for further land dispossession. The persecutions or procecutions were real in 1928. As the Hostility clause of the 1927 Native Administration Act was implemented.

Mqgqwetho's prayers emanate from the experiences of the twenties where the contestation within political formations was proving to be a hindrance to political progress. As she always insists "Unity is power", but unity was hard to achieve as the following evidence of attempts for a united front will demonstrate:

- The African Native National Congress changed its name in 1923 to African National Congress. This was a giant ideological step as it implied welcoming in its fold non-natives. But the support from non-natives trickled slowly.
- Professor DDT Jabavu Professor at Fort Hare, and Dr Obdurahman leader to coloured people, called all resistance political Formations in 1927 in Kimberly for unity talks. The matter was not taken seriously by some political organizations. Represented were the coloured community (Abduraman), Cape Native voters Association (Jabavu), African Nation Congress and ICU (with reservations). (Roux 1964:174) Rivalry between ICU and ANC threatened unity.
- In 1929 the Communists in Johannesburg supported the idea of founding a new organization to be called the League of African Rights.<sup>69</sup> It was inaugurated by a public meeting in the Inchcape hall, Johannesburg, but died immediately thereafter.

Roux (1964:438) states that 1928 was marked by the first prosecutions under the Native Administration Act which shadowed the achievement of formation of the Non-European Trade Union Federation which brought hope to the workers as the demise of the ICU was inevitable. In 1928 the British trade union movement sent WG Ballinger as an advisor to the South African

<sup>69</sup>The League called upon all to join who were interested in the struggle for freedom in Africa ..... It took for its slogan "Mayibuy' iAfrika" (let Afrika return) and for its flag black, red and green emblem. It was joined by Gumede of ANC, (President) and Madiagotla of the ICU (V chair) Albert Nzula and Edward Roux (Secretary). The song 'Mayibuye iAfrika' was sung.

chapter of the Trade union movement. As these attempts to bring about unity failed, the lack of unity had a negative impact to all the political formations, leading to a dwindling support for ANC, and an end of ICU in the late twenties. However the ideology of Africanism withstood this test of time.

Mgqwetho also emphasises the need for proper education. In “Zemk’ inkomo zetafa” she says the New Year 1928-29 says: “.....ndothintela ngoku yonke nemfundiso eyinkohliso” (I shall prevent all guidance that is misleading). This implies leadership that has no clear vision. She prays and appeals for the Almighty to ‘arrive with a vision’ to Africans.

#### 3.4.4 Solilo, J. (1928) *Izala*

Reverend John Solilo (1870-1940) was born at Mgwali Village at Stutterheim. *Izala* (1925) is one of the first publications of a collection of poems by one author. It also was free from the censorship of the missionary press. The publication of his book was apparently sponsored by H.M.Taberer, a businessman who was a son of a missionary. He also contributed articles and poems to *Imvo zabaNtsundu* and *Izwi laBantu*. Solilo published poems, letters and articles containing Cradock news to *Umteteli waBantu*. Solilo’s poems, as may be observed in the poems in Rubusana’s<sup>70</sup> anthology and his publication, *Izala*(1925), cover a broad range of socio-political and religious themes. His Africanist disposition comes out in a number of his poems contained in *Izala*. As Mqhayi’s contemporary, he faced the challenge of taking isiXhosa poetry from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century. He was also facing the challenge of emancipating indigenous isiXhosa poetry from the nineteenth century cultural imperialism, and the reintroduction of the indigenous styles and idiom into isiXhosa written poetry. Solilo is conscious of the political content of his book, and states it categorically: “Ukushwaqa kwendoda emxelo wopayo ngokonakala kwento zakokwayo” (Excessive words from a man with a bleeding heart due to destruction/ deterioration of his heritage / national affairs).

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<sup>70</sup> Rubusana W.B. 1911. *Zemk’inkomo Magwalandini* . The poetry is outside the scope of this thesis.



### 3.4.4.1. Izwe lam<sup>71</sup>

Sashiy' izidimba neengcaca,  
Asacinga ntsimi nazitiya.  
Alahl' amakhab' akowethu,  
Indyul' inqwemesha newatsha  
sijonge phezulu;  
Bawuthath' umhlab' eAfrika.

Nezimbi zibuya zibaliswe,  
Ibhotile neBhayibhile<sup>72</sup> bubuthi.  
Ngamayez' abang' iinkenekene,  
Adol' amakhab' akowethu;  
Kwanqaba nokukhwaza izimpi,  
Alala amadoda nemipu.  
Lalathw' isang' elimxinwa,  
Kanti kuxelw' ibhotile;  
Sangena sonke sanxila,

Izwe lam lingenamnino;  
Lathathwa ngo Yobisa lowo,  
.....

Basenz' oomaqhinga qhingana,  
Bazahlula zingevan' izizwe;  
UZulu umXhosa nomSuthu  
Bawuthath' umhlaba wamagokra;  
Kungekho mfela-ndawonye,<sup>73</sup>  
Elinde kulaml' izulu.

### My country

We left our traditional attire,  
We forgot the mealie fields and gardens.  
Our youth threw away,  
Their traditional attire  
And looked up into the sky.  
They took the African land.

The bad ones are also narrated,  
The bottle and the bible is witchcraft.  
Medicine that cause imbeciles,  
And our youth becomes weak,  
And could no longer fight in the wars,  
And men slept with their guns.  
The narrow entrance was pointed out,  
Only to realise it is the bottle neck;  
We all got in and got drunk,

My country with out an owner;  
Was taken over through the Liquor,  
.....

They mislead /cheat us,  
They divide and make nations to;  
conflict Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho  
And they took the land of the worries;  
There was no unity,  
They expected God to prevail.

Solilo addresses issues that were at the centre of the Africanism discourse, the land question and the issue of substance abuse by Africans. The debate of the role of missionaries as associates of the imperialists has been raging for a long time. Wilson and Thompson (1969:267) aver that “some individuals ... scarcely differentiated between the spread of the gospel and the spread of the British Empire or at least white rule.” A recent study by De Kock (1996:27) demonstrates how:

...a colonial order partly based on evangelical colonialism (despite the many contradictions between missionaries and other colonial agents) seeks to rewrite the cultural precepts of identity for people made subservient by war and imperial expansionism, and how some of the colonized people internalised these texts and begin to rewrite them in an emergent narrative of African nationalism.

---

<sup>71</sup> See *Umteteli waBantu*: 28 June 1924.

<sup>72</sup> The Bible symbolizes Christianity. Huge volumes of books deal with the topic of the missionaries and political expansion in Africa, eg Majeke/Taylor (1952) Knorr (1964), Moon (1964), Wilson and Thompson (1969) and Flint (1976).

<sup>73</sup> Opland and Mtuze (1994:100) say: Amafelandawonye achazwa kwisitanza sokugqibela yayingabasetyhini abathi bavakalisa inkcaso yabo ekuxhatshazweni kwabantu kwezoqoqosho kwisithili saseHeshele.

The latter is what Solilo, who was also a priest, seeks to achieve. The issue of liquor, government beer, and wine was a serious political tool/issue. The problem of liquor was two-fold: The first struggle was about African beer that municipalities brewed and sold. African civil society members also brewed beer and sold it to communities in urban areas. In the Western Cape for instance, African beer sale competed with wine sales of wine farmers. But the government of the day focused on ensuring that communities buy government beer and that they also buy wine from the white farmers instead of abolishing liquor sale and consumption, what the political and religious leaders were asking for. Another liquor related struggle was the payment of remuneration with liquor. In the farms, particularly the wine farms in the Western Cape, farmers forced labourers, African and Coloured, to accept part of their wages in the form of a ration of wine. This was called the “tot system”. Temperance organizations in South Africa appealed to government, without success, to legally prohibit this practice. (Roux, 1964:234).

Solilo also addresses the challenge of lack of unity amongst Africans. He attributes the sowing of the seeds of divisions amongst Africans to the ideologues of segregation ideology.

#### 3.4.4.2. Ntab’elanga (Bullhoek)

#### The Bullhoek massacre

.....  
Halala! Yehl’ intlekele intw’ekade siyixela  
  
Nang’umhla wakho (Enoki) mfo kaMgijima  
Nanz’inkanunu zinokaTuluta.  
Int’eyafundela ukubulala nokukhuph’umphefumlo  
  
Ikrele likaSirayeli(lombheshi) malenz’imfanelo  
  
Vuma ndithethe sala kutyelwa, vuma ndithethe  
  
Kuvél’inyok’enenqayi kumthombo weNciba,  
Yamothus’umlungu zaphel’inyaniso  
  
Kwaphel’ubugqobhoka nasePalamenteni.  
  
Bamthum’uTuluta namawak’aliwaka  
Wabulal’abathandazi wamlibal’uMosisi  
Yawungcolis’into kaTuluta umhla kaFitoli.  
  
Ndibalis’imbali ngokwesiganeko  
Andimphumele nganto okaTuluta.  
NokaMgijima ndingamkhuseli.

.....  
Halala! the catastrophe happened what we  
anticipated  
Here is your day (Enock), son of Mgijima  
Here are the missiles carried by Truter  
A man who studied how to carryout murder and  
loss of life  
The Sword of the Israelite (the worshipper) must do  
its work  
Agree that I speak, you who does not listen,  
allow me to speak  
  
A snake with a bald head appeared from the source  
of the Kei River, and threatened the white man and  
truth  
disappeared Christianity was no longer observed by  
parliamentarians.  
They sent Truter with many soldiers  
Who killed the worshippers and forgot about Moses  
And Truter did a detestable act on the day of  
remembrance of Victoria.  
  
I am merely narrating history  
I am not against Truter  
I am not protecting Mgijima

KwanoRhulumente asikwam ukumsola.  
 Ilumk'elizayo malichub'inyaniso,  
 Kanjalo ngenene okwenzekayo

It is not mine to judge the government  
 The future wise man must find the truth  
 What happened is truly as I have narrated.

The Bulhoek Massacre, which resulted in shooting and killing of members of the Israelites religious group, took place at Bulhoek, near Queenstown, in May 1921. The cause of this catastrophe is complex. Enock Mgijima founded the Israelite Church in 1918 and attracted followers, mainly from the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal. Every year the Israelites met at Bulhoek commonage to worship, but in 1920 they settled at Bulhoek and built huts, intimidating the neighbouring farmers. The Government of the Union requested them to leave the area called 'Ntabelanga', or Bulhoek, but they refused to leave as they were preparing for the end of the world which was nearing. (Roux, 1964:135-40) Leaders of organizations like the South African Native National Congress urged them to leave, but they refused. In May 1921 a strong police force reinforced with defense force units shot and killed 163 worshipers and wounded 129. Armed with homemade weapons the Israelites fought the police. (Maylam, 1986:162) The leader, Mgijima, was given a six year sentence by the court after the trial. There were protests all over the country, expressing sympathy with the Israelites. The reason for this harsh action is explained by Maylam (1986:162) who says that another form of African opposition to colonialism and Segregation ideology is Ethiopianism. He says African independent churches in South Africa, ie not linked to European churches, had strong political undertones. He says independency was partly a reaction to the practice of those missionaries who tended to either frustrate African ambitions by closing of opportunities for African leadership within mission churches, or to cause more general offence by denouncing African culture and custom. But independence was also a wider expression of opposition to colonialism, and proved particularly attractive in the context of taxation and land expropriation (ibid:162).

#### 3.4.4.3. Ingoma yabantwana base Africa

#### The song of the children of Africa

.....  
 Makatheth'othand'ukuthetha  
 Andiva ntwimbi ndifuzil'imidaka  
 Andiyi ndawo ndofelap'eAfrika  
 Makancame nothiy'oKafile<sup>74</sup>

.....  
 He who wishes to speak must speak  
 I am not feeling bad I resemble Black people  
 I am not going anywhere I will die here in Africa  
 One who hates the Kaffir must give up

Ndiyayithanda ngenen'iAfrika  
 Kodwa yingxaki ukuhlala nomlungu

I truly like Africa  
 But it is difficult to stay with the white man

<sup>74</sup>Reference to Africans or Blacks. The term is no longer acceptable.

Akavumi sivane ngentlalo  
Sihlale sokhelan' imililo.

.....  
Masivane mlungu ngeAfrika  
Sewendele ungena kunyothulwa  
Ndode ndife ndiyibang' iAfrika  
Izwe lam lokuzalwa ngubawo.

He refuses to co-operate  
For us to stay together and develop one another

.....  
White man let us agree about Africa  
You are now rooted you cannot be taken out  
I will die claiming Africa  
My country of birth by my father

Solilo in “Ingoma yabantwana base Afrika” (The song of children of Africa) affirms his Africanist ideology. He claims Africa as his home, and insists that he will die in Africa, as he will not submit to any pressure that seeks to drive him away from Africa. He declares his affection for Africa, but regrets the fact that he is not able to get an opportunity for full enjoyment of what Africa offers, as White South Africans refuse to agree with Africans regarding peaceful coexistence. He sees this as a challenge, and therefore appeals to White South Africans, to agree to entering into negotiations with Africans for a dispensation that will be acceptable to all. He thinks that the negotiations are critical as Whites are also rooted in Africa due to their long stay. It is interesting to note the correlation of this argument with the later content of the Freedom Charter which was adopted by the African National Congress in Kliptown, in June 1955 which states: “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White”.<sup>75</sup>

#### 3.4.4.4. Ziyaguquka izinto

Yangxath' indlala kwesendod' isilili,  
Babinz' abanceda, oZisoyi noDamoyi.  
Yabindek' indoda kushiy' abantwana,  
Umfazi wayo nokuyola kwekhaya.

.....  
Watheth' Salaze ngengom' emnandi,  
Ebong' okaTebha nemigodi yeRhawuti,  
Enced' abaNtsundu bangafeli ehlazweni  
Nabadlezana bangafeli ezindlini

Tarhuni ma Africa koda kube ninina?  
Nisala icebo lokusindiswa kwenu!  
Ngemfundo neLizwi zinikwa nguMlungu

Yamkelan' elicebo, lonisindisa.

#### Things change

Scarcity of food dominated the man's  
Donations from Zisoyi and Damoyi could not help  
The man was pained as he was forced to leave children  
His wife and the happiness at home

.....  
Salaze spoke with a beautiful song  
Praising Taberer and the Johannesburg mines  
Which help Blacks so that they don't die in shame  
And women with infants so that they do not die in the  
houses.

I am appealing to you Africans when shall we stop?  
Refusing to accept an advice to save you!  
Through Education and the Word of God which you  
are given by the White man  
Accept this advice, it will save you.

The theme of education and Christianity is again emphasized by Solilo who is thankful to the White missionaries for bringing education to Africa. He was also a product of mission schools. It

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<sup>75</sup> Mancotywa argues that this principle precipitated a split within the ANC leading to the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress in 1959. This will be discussed in Chapter 5. (Daily Dispatch, Saturday 19 November 2011 p.15).

is important to note Solilo's objectivity in the narration of South African history. He recognizes the significant contribution to development of Africa that was made by the White missionaries and entrepreneurs. He acknowledges the positive side of the mining revolution, of job creation and poverty alleviation to the impoverished and starving African communities. He appeals to his countrymen to accept the good advice from the White man that Africans must be educated, and must accept the Christian religion, as it will save them. Solilo is one of the examples of the African intellectuals, according to De Kock (1996:5), who contested the missionary discourse, "as they were marked and changed by it". Solilo and his contemporaries appropriated the discourse of the white missionaries to make it serve their own interests in isiXhosa textual forms.

#### 3.4.4.5. Ndiyamthand' um Xhosa

Emnyama efana nobusuku,  
Ndiyamthanda uMxhosa endinguye  
Mazinciphe intshaba zoMxhosa.  
Ngokwazi nokuhlonela uThixo.  
.....  
Makavel' uMdali asikelele,  
Lo minqweno ingcwele ngoNtsundu;  
Nesimilo sifanel' uBabalo,  
Masivela nakwintshaba zontsundu

Phakamani bantsundu be Afrika,  
Yilwani ubudenge nomona,  
Zezona ntshaba zinkulu,  
Zichitha nezizw' ezikhulu.

#### I like the Xhosa person

Black like the night  
I like the Xhosa that I am  
enemies of amaXhosa must be reduced  
Through knowledge and respect of God  
.....  
God must prevail and bless,  
Those holy wishes about the Black man  
And respect to deserve blessings  
Even if it comes from enemies of Blacks.

Rise Black people of Africa  
Fight envy/stupidity and jealousy  
These are the greatest enemies,  
They destroyed great nations.

Solilo once more affirms his pride and affection for his identity. He emphasizes the negative effects of jealousies, apathy and shortsightedness of Africans, on the goal of unity for development. He makes an earnest appeal to Africans to fight these negative human frailties. The philosophy of Solilo was reintroduced into the Africanism discourse of the era of Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement, and Mangaliso Sobukwe's Pan Africanist Congress, later on. Solilo emphasizes the significance of respect for ethnic identity as a step towards respect for a broader African identity. Mandela (1995) in *Long Walk to Freedom* recalls his first meeting with Mqhayi.<sup>76</sup> According to Naser (2011:22-23) the poem shaped "his ideas about national and ethnic identities" and his reaction to "intersecting identities articulated and endorsed" by Mqhayi. The identities are ethnic (ubuXhosa) and African (Africanism).

<sup>76</sup>See 3.4.5 of this Chapter.

### 3.4.5 Mqhayi, S.E.K. (1927): *Imihobe nemibongo*

Throughout the 1920s and 30s, Mqhayi continued his campaign of fighting with his pen for the liberation of Africans from the oppressive government of the Union of South Africa. The following poems exhibit his Africanist inclination during this period:

#### 3.4.5.1 Uyeye

Ngubani na lo? Nguyeye  
Uhamba nabani? noyise  
Umphathele ntoni? Amasi  
Ngendeb' enjani? Ngebomvu  
Wayibeka phi? Esibaya  
Kwesingakanani? Kwesikhulu  
Hi! Mayisele, zidenge zodwa!  
Hi! Mayisele, zidenge zodwa!

#### Yeye

Who is this? It is Yeye  
with whom is he? With his father  
What is he bringing for him? Sour milk  
What is the colour of the container? Red  
Where did she place it? In the cattle kraal  
Which one? The big one  
He who drinks is a fool!  
He who drinks is a fool!

Literary critics only treat this as a jingle or dialogue games. Zotwana (1993:119) remains on the surface structure, and does not interpret the serious content or deep structure meaning. While Mqhayi's contemporaries were forthright and emotional in their condemnation of the introduction of western liquor to the Africans, Mqhayi decided to adopt an approach that is strategic, and impressed upon the children at a very tender age the challenges of substance abuse. Actually his position and the position of his contemporaries was that Africans must refrain from the use of Western liquor.<sup>77</sup> The red substance in the container which gives it a red color is brandy, which Africans were drinking heavily with dire consequences on their health, and negative social consequences. The "sour milk" the children discover, is actually not real sour milk and therefore "he who drinks is a fool". This is an appeal to young people to respect their customs and heritage and not to be attracted and overwhelmed by the negative aspects of Western culture.

#### 3.4.5.2 Itshawe lase Britane

Hayi kodw' iBritane enkulu!  
.....  
Yeza nebotile neBhayibhile  
Yeza nomfundisi, exhag'ijoni  
Yeza nerhuluwa nesinandile  
Yeza nenkanunu nemfakadolo

#### The Prince of Britain/Wales

Ah, Great Britain!  
.....  
She came with the bottle and Bible  
She came with the missionary and the soldier  
She came with the gun powder and gun  
She came with cannon, and the breech loader

<sup>77</sup>See 3.3.1. of this dissertation where Solilo also expresses concern over the contradiction of promotion of the bottle and bible by Colonialists in his poem 'Izwe lam', 1994.

Tarhu Bawo: Sive yiphi na?

O, Lord: which one must we embrace?

Usithumel' inyaniso wasivimb'inyaniso  
Usithumel' ubomi, wasivimb'ubomi  
Usithumel'u kukhanya kodwa sisebumnyameni

You sent us truth, denied us the truth  
You sent us the life, deprived us of life,  
You sent us the light, we sit in the dark,

Scholars have analysed Mqhayi's poem with an emphasis on the form. Jordan focused on the use of idiom, style and technique. Gerhard (1971:60-62) commends the masterpiece of irony, and conscious artistry. The Western civilization as presented to Africa is juxtaposed with the values that Africa reveres: truth, life and light. Zotwana (1993:152) says that Mqhayi exposes the contradictions of the British Government's policy in South Africa. The above-mentioned observations are supported. Further than what the scholars have observed is Mqhayi's commitment to the promotion of the Africanist ideology in the twenties. Mqhayi looked upon the former colonial power for restoration of the freedom of Africans.<sup>78</sup>

#### 3.4.5.3 S.E.K. Mqhayi, Umhobe kaNtu (1927)

Nkosi, sikelel' iAfrika,  
Maluphakam' uphondo lwayo  
Yiva nemithandazo yethu –  
Usisikelele –

Chorus:

Yihla Moya, yihla Moya,  
Yihla Moya Oyingcwele.

God bless Africa  
Let her lift up her lorn  
Hear our prayer  
And bless us

Come down spirit, come down spirit  
Come down Holy Spirit

Sikelela iinkosi zethu,  
Zimkhumbulue uMdali wazo,  
Zimoyike zezimhlonele,  
Azisikelele.  
Sikelel' amalinga ethu,  
Awomanyanao nokuzakha,  
Awemfundo nemvisiswano,  
Uwusikelele

Bless our chiefs  
Make them remember their creator  
And fear him and respect him  
For him to bless them  
Bless our endeavours  
For unity and self development  
For education and harmonious living  
Bless them

Mqhayi contributed in the development and popularisation of Sontonga's song<sup>79</sup>. His addition of stanzas made it to qualify both as a poem and as a hymn. The first stanza and chorus are lyrics of

<sup>78</sup>See also 3.1.2 "Umkosi wemidaka" for alignment of Mqhayi's views with the approach of SANNC represented by Rubusana.

<sup>79</sup>Jabavu writing at Fort hare, Alice CP, June, 1934, confirm that only the first stanza was originally composed by the author, but S.E. Mqhayi, with true poetic ability, made up the seven additional stanzas. The complete words were published in Umteteli wabantu in 1927 (issue June 11<sup>th</sup>.)

a song that was composed by Enoch Sontonga<sup>80</sup>, originally from the Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape but then based in Johannesburg. The song was sung by the South African Native National Congress on 08 January 1912 at the opening ceremony of its founding congress, and adopted by same as an official national anthem in 1925. Mqhayi, in 1927, published the additional stanzas in his anthology of verse. Mqhayi says:

Makucace kubafundi ukuba ivesi le yokuqala idumileyo ayiphumi kum yona, yaphuma kumzalwana wam umfi uEnock Sontonga, into yasemaMpingeni, eyayiphethe isikolwana samaWesile eRhawtini, ngaphambili nangasemva kwemfazwe yamaBhulu (1899-1902).

It must be clear to the readers that the first stanza which is well known is not my creation, it was written by my brother the late Enock Sontonga, from the Mpinga clan, who was principal of the Methodist Church in Johannesburg before and after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).

Mqhayi should be credited for revitalising this song and bringing it into the centre of the Africanism discourse of the twenties. His creativity added value to the song as, after his input, it now met the requirements of the stringent criteria of the ‘Amaculo aseRhabe Committee’ which approved its inclusion in the church hymn book. In 1928 Rev Shepherd had written to Mqhayi asking for permission<sup>81</sup>. Mqhayi acceded to the request but clarified his role and that of Sontonga. Thus the lyrics and melody of the song was included in the (Presbyterian Church Hymns) “Amaculo aseRabe”. This gave the song maximum publicity as a church hymn.<sup>82</sup>

#### 3.4.5.4. “U-1929”

1929

.....  
Balahleni bonk’oThixo basemzini;  
Nikhumbul’ekhaya ngemvo nomxhelo  
“Nisikelelwe maAfrika bantu bam!”

.....  
Abandon all foreign gods;  
You remember home with feeling and heart-  
“You are blessed Africans, my people!”

Ngenani zinkosi zesizwe, zohlanga!  
Kamnandi zinkokheli nonke ngabanye!  
Kamnandi mawethu! Kukude phambili!  
Kamnandi ngendyebo nangentsikelelo,  
Niphile kamnandi ngawo lo nyaka mtsha.  
“Nisikelelwe maAfrika, bantu bam”

Happily, Kings of the nation, of the ancestors!  
Happily all you leaders, one by one!  
Happily, countrymen! The road ahead is still long!  
Happily, by means of wealth and blessing-  
May you live happily throughout this new year.  
“You are blessed Africans, my people!”

It is interesting to note the different responses of the younger Mgqwetho and the matured Mqhayi from the same stimulæ of racial oppression and disunity. According to Gerard (1971:60):

<sup>80</sup> According to Swartz who is quoted by Gerard (1971:49) “Nkosi sikelel’iAfrika” was the first song to be published in staff notation as a complete piece of music, and not in the tonic solfa of the missionaries.

<sup>81</sup> Letter to Mqhayi. Cory Library, MS 16430/111, Rhodes University.

<sup>82</sup> See letter to Rev Shepherd. Cory Library. MS16430/111. Rhodes University.



... since the central preoccupation of the “izibongo” in its purest form is to promote the prosperity and the greatness of the group, it does not deal solely with the chiefs, but also with any public events that may be significant in that respect. Hence Mqhayi’s poetic treatment of topics that, to the European reader, sound hardly promising... therefore, the many New Year poems that Mqhayi composed<sup>83</sup>.

Gerard (1971:60) cites Jabavu whose comment about this and other poems is that “the topic of the expiration of one year and the incoming of a new one, is almost Mqhayi’s annual exercise and monopoly, and he does it with gusto.” The positive observations about Mqhayi are supported. However their limitation is that they both focus on form and function, and are silent on the most critical aspect of Mqhayi’s poem at that particular point in time, the content which entails dissemination of the Africanism ideology. Despite all odds, Mqhayi assures, over and over, the African people, that they are blessed. The rising Afrikaner Nationalism and the deluge of oppressive bills of Hertzog are the historical context. As already stated in 1928 the Pact Government was marked by the first prosecutions under the hostility clause of the Native Administration Act (Roux, 1964: 213). Despite all these challenges of the first epoch of the Union Government, Mqhayi insists that God has not withdrawn his blessings from the Africans. Regardless of the internal conflicts and the oppressive laws, Africans must not lose hope.

Mqhayi brings a close to a difficult epoch in the history of South Africa by reciting for the British Broadcasting Corporation the “izibongo zikaMakinana”<sup>84</sup>, to emphasise his respect for African customs, tradition and African values, and for the promotion of the ideology of Africanism.

### 3.4.5. 5. A! Silimela!

.....  
 Bizan’ izizwe kuza kwabiw’ iinkwenkwezi!  
 Iinkwenkwezi ezi mazabiwe.  
 Nina beSuthu, Thathan’ uCanzibe,  
 Niyakwabelana nabaTshwana nabaTshopi  
 Nazo zonk’ eziny’ intlang’ ezinezishuba.

Nina bakwaZulu, Thathan’ amakroza,  
 Niyakwabelana namaSwazi namaTshopi namaTshangana

Neziny’ intlang’ ezingamajarha.

.....  
 Invite the nations for allocation of stars  
 The stars must be allocated. You Sothos  
 Receive the Canopus,  
 You will share with the Tshwana and Tshopi  
 And all other nations with aprons you Zulus  
  
 Receive the orion’s belt  
 You will share with the Swazi, Tshopi and Shangans  
  
 And other nations that to not undergo initiation

<sup>83</sup>This observation is supported by Kaschula (1991:15).

<sup>84</sup> Opland and Mtuze (1994:51-53) transcribed Mqhayi’s live performance on British Broadcasting Corporation, of a poem he had published in *Umteteli waBantu* 02 November 1929. The poem is located at SABC archives in Port Elizabeth (Colombia AE 61; WEA 1826). See Opland’s analysis of the poem “Two unpublished poems by SEK Mqhayi” in *Research in African Literatures* volume 8 number 1, 1977.

Nina baseBritani, Thathan' iKhwezi,  
Niya kubambana namajamani namaBhulu

Noko nibantu bangakwazi' ukwabelana:  
Nisuke nenz' imfazwe yamaBhulu neyamaJamani.  
Siza kubambana ngeSilimela thina mabandla kaPhalo,  
Yona nkwenkwez'inkulu,  
Kuba yinkwenkwezi yokubal' iminyaka,  
Yokubal' iminyaka yobudoda,  
Iminyaka yobudoda<sup>85</sup>.

you Britons, Receive the morning star,  
You will share with Germans and Boers

Through you donot like sharing  
You rather start a war of Boers and that of Germans  
We the house of Phalo shall hold onto the Pleiades  
The greatest star,  
Because it is a starfor counting the years,  
For counting the years of manhood,  
The years of manhood.

The last stanza is the core and climax of Mqhayi's eulogy to Chief Makinana. At the end of eulogy Mqhayi allocates stars to South African ethnic groups. The allocation of the Pleiades to AmaXhosa is very significant. The month of June (Isilimela) is also very significant to AmaXhosa as it is the month of taking boys to the mountain for initiation. It is against this background tha Pleiades, the star associated with the rite of passage to manhood, is allocated to AmaXhosa who venerate the custom or tradition and subsequently the associated star and month of June. Mqhayi had profound respect for this African custom of initiation<sup>86</sup>. This custom, required females to go for female initiation (intonjane), and males go for circumcision (ulwaluko). The significance is not on the actual physically operation but the symbolic meaning of rites of passage from one stage to another in terms of adulthood. This is demonstrated by his undergoing this cultural practice against the will of missionaries at Lovedale institution. He made a follow up to this and wrote a manuscript "ulwaluko" (circumcision) where he argued for the acceptance of the custom by the Church. The manuscript was lost (Opland, 2009:14). His second attempt of publishing a manuscript that deals with cultural issues was not accepted for publication by Bennie.<sup>87</sup> The argument submitted is that Mqhayi regarded this custom as critical symbol of Africanism. Literary critics have overlooked this very significant aspect of Mqhayi's poem.<sup>88</sup> The argument of this paper is that Mqhayi's poem on Makinana goes beyond a mere eulogy to his chief. It is a vehicle for articulation of a discourse, the discourse of Africanism.

To support this argument we follow Mqhayi beyond 1932. Mqhayi spent his last years, 1935-1945, writing journalistic articles, poetry and prose. He also continued playing his critical role of

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<sup>85</sup>Mandela's encounter with Mqhayi in his *Long Walk to Freedom*, 1995 pp. 47-50. IsiXhosa version pp. 39-40.

<sup>86</sup>See uMqhayi waseNtabozuko (1939: 9) and Opland and Mtuze in *IzwilaBantu* (1994:154).

<sup>87</sup> Correspondence from Bennie to Mqhayi of 23 October 1931.

<sup>88</sup> Opland has analyzed two unpublished poems of Mqhayi, one being the praises of Makinana. Qangule has also critiqued Mqhayi's work, which includes this poetry.

“Imbongi yesizwe” (Poet Laurette). It is during this period that former president Nelson Mandela, while a student at Healdtown, in 1938, got a first-hand experience of Mqhayi’s poetry when he sang the foregoing praises of Chief Makinana, ending with “iminyaka yobudoda: iminyaka yobudo---da” (years of manhood)<sup>89</sup>, an experience that he reflects on, in his book *Long Walk to Freedom* (1995:47) / *Indlela ende eya enkululekweni* (2001:39-40). Mqhayi made a profound impact on the young Mandela and imbued him with the spirit of Africanism<sup>90</sup>. Mandela’s account of this encounter with Mqhayi at Healdtown, in the presence of Dr Arthur Wellington, the school principal, in 1938, supports this argument. Mandela illustrates how a positive self image about ethnic identity can contribute meaningfully towards the creation of a national and continental identity. He states:

Ngelo xesha ndaziva ndinelunda ngendlela engummangaliso, ndingazingci nje ngokuba ngumAfrika, kodwa ngenxa yokuba ndingumXhosa; ndaziva ngathi ndingomnye wabantu abanyuliweyo. Ndavuseleleka kodwa ndabethwa intloko yahiliteka yiloo nto yayisenziwa nguMqhayi ngaloo mini. Wayesuke wawuthi ty umxholo wakhe awuthandayo wobuzwe ngokubanzi nomanyano lwama-Africa, waya kojongana ngaphezulu nesakhe isizwana ejolise kwisizwe samaXhosa awayengomnye waso... Ndandiqala ukubona ukuba ama-Afrika anento eninzi afanayo ngayo, kodwa nanku lo Mqhayi wodumo ebonga amaXhosa ngaphezulu kwento yonke; ndabona ukuba umAfrica angakwazi ukuyimela inyaniso ... Ngenye indlela le nto yokuguquka kukaMqhayi kwindlela abeqhele ukuzimisa ngayo iimbono zakhe, yaba sisipili seyam ingqondo kuba ndandisithi ndiphambili ndibe ndisemva phakathi kokuzingca ngobuXhosa endibubo nemvakalelo yokwalamana namanye amaAfrika”(emphasis mine) (Translation by Mtuzze in Mandela 2002:39-40).

I felt such intense pride at that point, not as an African, but as a Xhosa; I felt like one of the chosen people. I was galvanized, but also confused by Mqhayi’s performance. He had moved from a more nationalistic, all-encompassing theme of African unity to a more parochial one addressed to the Xhosa people, of whom he was one. As my time at Healdtown was coming to an end, I had many new and sometimes conflicting ideas floating in my head. I was beginning to see that Africans of all tribes had much in common, yet here was the great Mqhayi praising the Xhosa above all; I saw that an African might stand his ground ... In a sense, Mqhayi’s shift in focus was a mirror of my own mind because I went back and forth between pride in myself as a Xhosa and feeling of kinship with other Africans. But as I left Healdtown at the end of the year, I saw myself as a Xhosa first and an African second. (emphasis mine). (Mandela 1995:49-50).

<sup>89</sup>Mandela’s: *Longwalk to Freedom* (1995:47). IsiXhosa version pp. 39-40. Published by Vivlia Publishers in 2001.

<sup>90</sup>See also Naser (2011:22-23) in her account of Mandela’s encounter with Mqhayi:

“Two popular texts have encouraged this study with their discussion of praise poetry in relation to questions about belonging and self in contemporary South Africa. The first and principal of these is Nelson Mandela’s autobiography, *Long Walk to freedom* (1994), in which the author recalls two performances of Izibongo that remained in his memory and shaped his idea about national and ethnic identities. His first experience of praise poetry was when the famous Xhosa imbongi SEK Mqhayi, performed at his school. Mandela describes his confused but powerful reaction to the intersecting identities articulated and endorsed by the great poet. What Mandela is struck by is the characteristic density and enigmatic nature of praise poetry. Mandela describes his confused but powerful reaction to the endorsed by the great poet”.

Mandela again reflects on this encounter in a television interview conducted by his daughter, which was beamed on SABC television immediately after his passing on in December 2013.

Mqhayi's eloquence and prolificity was acknowledged by the young Robert Sobukwe in his October 1949 address on behalf of the graduating class at Fort Hare College:

To the completers among whom I number myself, my exaltation is: REMEMBER AFRICA! ... This is a difficult period to analyse. It is a confused period. Such as only Mqhayi, or Bereng or Dickens could describe."(Karis and Carter, 1973:334).

Calata, in his endeavors to revive the African National Congress, in his presidential address as leader of Cape African Congress (4 July, 1938), quoted Mqhayi. "I say let us not get despondent and think that we have lost all. Our poet, Mr Mqhayi, has told us that the handle that turns the wheels on the universe is in the hand of God and a new world is about to be begotten." <sup>91</sup>

### 3.5 State Apparatuses

#### 3.5.1 Ideological State Apparatus

Publishing of isiXhosa literature has been a challenge as the writers lacked access to the means of production. The missionaries who introduced the amaXhosa to education, were willing to provide this service, but in their own terms. This is how Lovedale Press played a critical role in the publication of isiXhosa literature. During the period in 1912-1934 Lovedale Press was the dominant publishing house for isiXhosa written poetry. Gerard (1971:82) says: "Although a few books in Xhosa were printed in various towns and mission stations, Lovedale remained the stronghold of Xhosa writing throughout the years from 1920 to 1940". The shift from publishing literature in newspapers and the censorship by the editors of the newspapers did not encourage freedom of creativity to the isiXhosa writers. Zotwana (1993:104) is of the opinion that:

However, because the missionaries owned the publishing houses and ,..., had unlimited control over Xhosa literary production *Ityala lamawele* was abridged, by leaving the section that revealed the atrocities of the British and the hypocrisy of the missionaries.

An interpretation of Gramsci's analysis (as put forward in chapter 2) of the relationship between the writer and the state is provided by Bozzoli (1971:20):

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<sup>91</sup>Karis and Carter (1973:138).

Many subsequent writers have been deeply influenced by Gramsci's work and have sought to develop it further. On the one hand, Althusser has echoed Gramsci's distinction between 'government' and 'civilsociety' when he put forward his notion of the distinction between 'repressive' and 'ideological' state apparatuses - the latter being the concrete structures and systems outside of what is normally conceived as state - the school, the church, the trade union, or the family - which operate to prevent subordinate groups from challenging their subordination in meaningful ways.

The Lovedale missionaries, would be expected to play the role of "... traditional professional intellectuals, literary and scientific, and in the interstices of the society would be expected to play a role that has an interclass aura"<sup>92</sup>. But they were actually attached to a particular class the dominant class, and therefore promoting the ideology of the dominant class. The missionaries therefore played the role of the second category of intellectuals, the "organic" intellectual who were linked to the dominant ideology of Segregation. The challenges that faced the Black writers are reflected in the communication between the Lovedale Press and the prominent writers of isiXhosa written poetry,; Mqhayi, Solilo and Jolobe, at the end of the twenties of the twentieth century<sup>93</sup>.

The shift in publication of poetry from newspapers to book form had unintended consequences of limited readership and a limited market. Writers and publishers started focusing on the school market, ie ensuring that the material is prescribed for use in the missionary and government schools. Government ensured that literature that is used in the school is not contradictory to the ideology of government hence the consolidation of its ideological state apparatus<sup>94</sup>. The inspectors of schools were responsible for ensuring that the content of the school books is in line with the government ideology. Mr W.G. Bennie was the government official that played this role throughout the twenties. The missionary press and the government started forming a partnership which made publication of isiXhosa written poetry, in book form, an impossibility for those that were not prepared to conform to the dominant ideology. To ensure that Lovedale is not out of step in terms of government requirements, Lovedale introduced the Stewart Xhosa readers, an anthology of verse and prose that was edited by Rev R.W. Shepherd. Throughout the twenties this was the situation until Mr. W.G. Bennie, having retired as government official, was appointed. Gerard (1971:82) indicates that "...in 1929 arrangements were made with Mr W.G. Bennie,

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<sup>92</sup> Gramsci in Hoare and Smith (ed) (1971:1). The Intellectuals.

<sup>93</sup> Correspondence is in the Lovedale Archives at the National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre(NAHECS), University of Fort Hare and Cory Library at Rhodes University.

<sup>94</sup> See 2.2.6.1. of this thesis.

B.A., who was retiring from the position of Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Cape Province, to edit a new series of Xhosa School Readers, which were known as the Steward Xhosa Readers”. Writers of the time, Mqhayi, Sinxo, Jolobe, Solilo and others were requested to contribute prose and poetry to the Steward Xhosa Readers.<sup>95</sup>.

Evidence of censorship of some material in the Steward Readers is in a correspondence 12 April 1929 where some material from the articles that were already in the draft were to give space because Bennie thought that “ ... it might be good to have one or two pieces dealing with nature study or some simple scientific subjects.” The writers were faced with the reality, in the late twenties and early thirties, of having to comply with the requirements of Lovedale Press for their articles to be published. Instead of focusing on creating works independently, they had to strike a compromise, and also accept the responsibility of developing material for the Lovedale Readers. This kept Mqhayi’s and other writers’ hands full. On 19 April 1930, Bennie makes the following request to Mqhayi:

For STD 1 – Uqongqotwana; I should like this early for the MS is already in the printer’ hands. Do not confine yourself to what is stated: you might end up with some reference to games or other popular ideas of the insect. The same applies to the two following: For STD II – Unomadudwane and Inkuba – bulongwe. For STD V or VI No images of the Snake Park. This is of course, much too long. The important thing is the episodes, as illustrating the man’s bravery. A short account of the snake park and Johannes nationality would be necessary at the beginning.

This correspondence indicates the strict parameters that were set for the writers. But what destroyed the zeal and enthusiasm of isiXhosa writers of the twenties and early thirties is the use of their intellectual property by government or government associated individuals, and the missionary press without fair remuneration. In the same letter of April 1930 Bennie makes the following request to Mqhayi:

Further, if Sheldon Press agree, would you allow me to use some of your Imihobe nemi-Bongo?..... for Std I and II. I want to use uYeye, uQongqotwane, Ngqwangi nanqilo, iNqilo, and Isele. For the advanced, I should like to use uMendi, uMkhosi wemi-Daka, uMntwanana and perhaps another.

The test of Bennie’s commitment to promotion and development of the culture and heritage of AmaXhosa, which he failed, was 23 October 1931 when he responded to Mqhayi as follows :

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<sup>95</sup>See Lovedale file at the NAHECS at Fort Hare University and Cory Library at Rhodes University..

I enclosed A cheque of £ 215s to pay for : the use of Isililo semoto and and akuzazi intaka, the revision of the remainder of the std III lessons ..... and for translation of the How a cat becomes domesticated, Unomyayi and umsebenzi wemidaka.

This is a positive gesture for Mqhayi but the following paragraph is devastating:

I have read through carefully your MS of the Zijungqe you sent me to see. It interested me to read of the customs you describe, but there is not a great deal I could use for the Readers. (Emphasis mine)

If Bennie could not see value in a manuscript that would preserve and conserve the rich cultural heritage of amaXhosa, which piece of work could surpass this type of work? Instead of helping Mqhayi to publish this rich information he proposes to purchase the rights for the intellectual property and give Mqhayi a share of the proceeds. The book never saw the light. The ideological disposure of the editor of Lovedale Readers comes out in his next request:

Are not disposed to give me lessons on Ntsikana , Sarili, Makanda, Ndlambe, Hinsta, Maqoma or on some of them? You have had articles in Umteteli on some; but what I want is a series of biographies, written for young people, free from contentious matter<sup>96</sup>, giving a story of each man's life and character, with anecdotes to make interest.”(emphasis mine)

Mqhayi gave Bennie the liberty to use his intellectual property, as he deemed fit, and accepted Bennie's financial offer, including the 2/3 share of his manuscript, if published<sup>97</sup>. This demonstrates that Mqhayi, for the work done up to 1931, was not receiving royalties for some of his books as the rights were purchased by Lovedale and other publishers of the time.

Another writer of this period who was negatively affected by the ideological state apparatus of the time was John Solilo<sup>98</sup>. Bennie, on 11 February 1932, acknowledges receipt of Solilo's new manuscript “*Intloko zeNteto*” which he had read. He indicates that the manuscript will be sent to Lovedale authorities for consideration for publication in the original form. Bennie does not indicate whether he recommends the manuscript or not, or what his view is about the document, as Solilo would be keen to know. Bennie thanks Solilo for permission to use two poems from *Izala*, his earlier publication, and further requests permission to use three “pieces” from the above

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<sup>96</sup> Correspondence of Bennie and Mqhayi, 23 October 1931, at NAHECS, University of Fort Hare.

<sup>97</sup> Mqhayi's reply 28 October 1931. letters available a Cory library

<sup>98</sup> Correspondence of bennie and Solilo of 11 February 1933 and 21 October 1933, 03 November and 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1934 letters available a Cory library and at NAHECS, University of Fort Hare.

mentioned manuscript for the Stewart Readers. The pieces were “Izin To za–Komkulu kwa Xosa”, “Ubu –Ntu” and “Amatshivela” ama –Tatu”. These appeared in the Stewart Readers for Standard Four, indicating that Solilo acceded to the request. Again on 21 October 1933 Bennie thanks Solilo for permission to use “Uku-fa another piece “Uswazi” is rejected on 03 November 1933 yet another piece “Yenza from Solilo is acknowledged. We do not know what happened to the other “pieces” and the manuscript, probably they were lost.

Thus the African youth of the time missed being immersed more into the Africanism discourse, which was promoted by the above-mentioned writers, and which was raging at the time. Solilo and Mqhayi made a significant contribution to the debate, but they had to look for publishers outside the missionary and government establishments, as the missionary press had formed an alliance with the Union Government. The newspapers provided an avenue for the promotion and development of the discourse.

### 3.5.2 The Repressive State Apparatus

The government of the Union did not only rely on the organic intellectuals employed by the state for elimination of the ideology of the subaltern class. The repressive state apparatus was also consolidated. Elaborating on Gramsci’s theory of cultural construction as outlined in chapter 2 of this thesis, Althusser exposes us to the existence of the repressive state apparatus (RSA) which is used to complement or supplement the ideological state apparatus discussed above (See 2.2.6.2). During the period 1912-1934 the Union Government incrementally promulgated pieces of legislation that would ensure that writers do not have the freedom to express their alternative ideology. The following are pieces legislation that were passed:

- In 1927 the Pact Government passed the Native Administration Act with the “Hostility” clause.
- In 1928 the First Prosecutions under the Native Administration Act, took place.
- In 1929 the Riotous Assemblies Act was amended to include deportation powers.

Of these laws the one that affected creative artists, as they were also publishing in newspapers, is the Hostility Clause 29 of the 1927 Native Administration Act, which stated that:

Any person who utters any words or does any other act or thing whatever, with intent to promote any feeling of hostility between Natives and Europeans, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to imprisonment not exceeding one year or to a fine of one hundred pounds or both.



What was disastrous and what led to the loss of history and cultural heritage of this country is that “... presumably this gave the authorities the right to seize and destroy newspapers and books circulating amongst Natives” (Roux, 1964:203). All the above-mentioned Laws were used to ensure that no publication expressed views that resisted or opposed the Segregation ideology of the Union Government.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

The period 1912-1934 is historic and significant. The Union Government of 1910 excluded Africans from the socio-economic and political dispensation, resulting in the formation of an alternative African political organizational structure which sought to bring together all political formations that opposed the Union Government and its Segregation ideology. The period saw the emergence of a strong African Trade Union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa (ICU), and the establishment of the Communist Party of South Africa which started as a white party but later opened up to membership for Africans. The period also witnessed transformation of socio-economic life with the industrialization of the country and fast development of the mining industry. All these developments impacted profoundly on the cultural life of the people of South Africa. The Union Government in Gramscian terms needed to organize the South African white masters who were a heterogeneous group, and to “create the terrain on which they move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle etc”. Hence the implementation of the segregation ideology, inherited from the Colonial system, to ensure that Africans do not enjoy any socio-economic and political rights, and that in the growing industrialization, they are proletarianised. This was met with resistance by the heterogeneous masses of Africans who formed the (SANNC) South Native National Congress in 1912 who advocated an alternative ideology of Africanism. A contest, which manifested itself in culture and literature in general, and in isiXhosa written poetry, in particular, was ushered in, between the politically dominant segregation ideology and the alternative Africanism ideology.

Vestiges of colonial domination, liberal ideology etc, which had apparently interpellated some of the African leaders who had played a prominent leadership role in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, made the ideological resistance through isiXhosa written poetry to take off slowly. But the youth of the last quarter of the century, vibrantly and energetically linked the two

centuries. They played a prominent role that covered almost the first half of the twentieth century. Mention may be made of Mqhayi and Solilo, both belonging to the younger generation that took over the baton and aggressively made a clarion call for Africa to come back, “Mayibuye iAfrika”. They were joined by the next generation whose poetry first saw the light in the twenties. Mention may be made of Mgqwetho. All the poets promote the African ideology, which they say will be realized when Africans unite. At the economic level their focus is on the land question, anti-proletarianisation of Africans in the fast developing industrialization and mining industry and, equal opportunities of all races in economic development.

The legal framework must guarantee equality and development for all. In the political sphere equal political rights are demanded. There is a demand for enfranchisement of Africans. Various models of politically independent states are proposed. The national question is therefore raised by the poets. There is concern for the declining influence of traditional leaders due to loss of land. At the religious level there is a struggle suggestion for Africanisation of the Church. The good African values must be incorporated into the Christian religion. An appeal is made to the church to stand for justice and truth. Educationally the poets are urging Africans to acquire knowledge and skills for the development of Africa. They urge Africans to adopt the good aspects of Western civilization. Intellectual development for leadership and workers must be prioritized. Also skilling of workers and civil society is emphasised. Culturally and socially the focus is on promotion of African culture, including indigenous knowledge systems. There is a struggle against the negative aspects and influences of Western culture. Abuse of liquor is abhorred as it is seen to be an enemy to development of Africa. The blame is put squarely on the shoulders of the segregation and the preceding colonial ideologies. The erosion of the African moral fibre is detested. Africans are advised to go back to their roots and retain the good customs and traditions which united and sustained the nation. Poets say if the above issues are addressed, then “Africa will return”.

On the other hand the state continued to promulgate pieces of legislation that constrained writers in their articulation of the Africanist ideology. The state went on to strengthen its partnership with the missionary publishers who produced material for prescription in schools. The organic intellectuals of dominant ideology (editors, officials of government and educators) ensured that

the literature that was published for schools and public consumption was not “contentious”.<sup>99</sup> An opportunity emerged when the mining magnates wanted a medium of dissemination of information to their employees. This opened an avenue for isiXhosa poets, Mqhayi, Solilo and Mqgwetho to publish poetry that kept the African ideology alive in *Umteteli waBantu*. At the end of the first epoch of the segregation government of the Union we observe the aggression of the ideological state apparatus and the repressive state apparatus. The organic intellectuals of the Africanist ideology were strangled by lack of access to the means of production. The socio-economic realities forced them to accept exploitative offers from the state apparatus and the missionary press. Their resilience, however, made them to continue being a force to be reckoned with. The period 1920 – 1934 therefore was a period of great contestation between the Segregation and Africanist Ideology which was represented by the ANC, ICU, Communist Party and other smaller formations. The contest manifested itself in the isiXhosa written poetry of the epoch.

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<sup>99</sup>See correspondence of Bennie and Mqhayi, 23 October 1936 at NAHECS, University of Fort Hare.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE SECOND PHASE OF SEGREGATION: 1934-1948

#### 4.1 Introduction

The fourth chapter focuses on the contending Segregation ideology and the Africanism ideology during the period 1935-1948. Karis and Carter (1973) have dubbed this epoch a period of “hope and challenge” which saw Africans united under the threat of disenfranchisement between 1935-1937, and a period of “moderation and militancy” between 1937-1949. I shall present the efforts of the dominant class to impose hegemony of the Segregation ideology over the subordinate class, and then present the efforts of the then subordinate class to consolidate the Africanism ideology in order to resist domination.

IsiXhosa written poetry will be analysed and interpreted against the framework of the All African Convention which united Africans, particularly during the years 1935-1937 when they were under the threat of disenfranchisement, the revival of the African National Congress between 1937-1948, particularly the establishment of the Youth League in 1943 and the efforts of the Left Wing towards realization of African Unity and the promotion and development of the Africanism ideology. Against these activities of the subordinate class are the activities of the Union Government which were aimed at entrenching the Segregation ideology: the Hertzog Native Bill, the Native Trust and Land Bill, which were, during this period, promulgated as pieces of legislation. The impact of the outbreak of the Second World War, though it had external origins, will also be considered. In this study, the African National Congress, the All African Convention, the Non-European Unity Movement, worker organisations and the Communist Party of South Africa are perceived to be one ‘power bloc’ which promoted and developed the Africanism ideology which in Gramsci’s language was “the philosophy of the epoch” (Gramsci, 1971:228), “the central theme” in the lives of the various resistance formations, during this epoch. Hence the focus on the contest between Segregation and Africanism ideologies.

The concept of a power bloc is Poulantzian (1975:141 and 248-249). The view of the researcher is that there was hegemony within the African formations regarding the ideology of Africanism, though there would be slight differences in interpretation. They formed a 'power bloc' composed of 'several politically dominant classes or fraction to functions'. Amongst these one of them holds a particular dominant role which can be characterized as a hegemonic role. This, in my view, was the ANC in the subaltern classes. Gramsci (1971:345) further explains that:

The philosophy of a historical epoch is, therefore, nothing other than the "history" of that epoch itself, nothing other than the mass of variations that the leading group has succeeded in imposing on preceding reality. History and philosophy are in this sense indivisible: they form a bloc.

## **4.2 Contending Ideologies: 1935-1948**

It is against this background that the two contending ideologies will be presented.

### **4.2.1 Segregation ideology**

During the period 1935-1948 the Union Government continued with the implementation of its ideology of Segregation. The Hertzog government of 1924-1936 is recognized as the most segregationist era before the 1948 Apartheid. Davenport (1987:542), however, is not in agreement with this view:

The Hertzog era, commonly regarded as the most ideologically segregationist may not, in fact, have deserved quite so much emphasis in this regard. There was then a movement away from segregationism during the 1940s but a sharp swing back after 1948.

In 1934 the United South African Nationalist Party (shortened name being the United Party) was established. This was a merger of the National Party under Hertzog and the South African Party under Smuts. This was followed by a breakaway of dissatisfied Afrikaners Nationalists led by a young Cape leader, DF Malan, who rejected the fusion coalition and formed the "Purified National Party" in the same year, 1934. The foregoing political changes did not stop Hertzog Government with the refinement of the Native Bills. The Joint Select Committee was responsible for this ".... bid to give Africans the 'substance' of more land in return for the loss of a 'shadowy' common-roll franchise ...." (Davenport, 1987:309).

O' Meara is of the view that the Afrikaner nationalism of the period 1934-48 was “an organized attempt by specific class forces to secure a base for capital accumulation in the industrial and commercial sectors of the economy”. This helps us to understand why, during Hertzog's leadership, there was significant growth of the Afrikaner Broederbond<sup>100</sup>. In 1934 a document was circulated to members of the Broederbond which “... referred to the proposed “Afrikanerisation of South Africa in all its spheres”, and ended with the slogan that “our solution for South Africa's troubles is not that this or that party shall gain the upper hand, but that the Afrikaner Broederbond shall rule South Africa” (Davenport, 1987:321). The Broederbond also made an intervention on trade unionism. In 1936 the Nasionale Raad van Trusteers (N.R.T) was established with the aim of promotion of new Afrikaner unionism that observed Christian National Principles. The union would carry out negotiation, not strikes, and would seek to keep Blacks out of White jobs (Davenport, 1987:324).

At the international scene, the anti-Jewish attitude of Nazi Germany in the early thirties resulted in a huge number of people of Jewish origins fleeing to South Africa. By 1936 South Africa had to deal with refugees who landed in Cape Town, fleeing from the anti-Semitic persecutions of Adolf Hitler in Germany. Though immigration laws were tightened, a number of Jews reached South Africa and settled (Davenport, 1987:321). Their contribution would be significant in the development of both dominant and subordinate ideology. In 1936 the Union Government led by the United Party (with the slogan South Africa first) passed the Native Trust and Land Act. The new changes in land occupation proposed by the Act resulted in forced removals and resettlement of people. 1936 also witnessed the Cape Africans being removed from the Common Voter's roll by the passing of the Natives Act. This meant that the African petty bourgeoisie and the landless African workers both became “a nationally and politically rightless population; both were subjected to the intense and brutal forms of oppression and racism generated by South African Capitalism” (Davies et al. *ibid*:16). In 1937, the Native Laws Amendment Act was passed to ensure that a limited number of Africans were able to settle in the urban towns and cities.<sup>101</sup>The

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<sup>100</sup>Davies et al (1984:266) define the Broederbond as “a clandestine and highly exclusive Afrikaner national organization..... (which) sought to co-ordinate and direct the policies and activities of all Afrikaner political, cultural, ideological, economic and religious organizations”. Also read O'Meara, (1983:59-116).

<sup>101</sup> See also Mbeki, 1964:28 who says Hertzog's three Acts were ‘popularly known among Africans as Hertzog's unholy Trinity’.

Cape franchise had reserved the vote for all people, irrespective of race and creed, who owned property (Davies et al 1984:16).

At the international level, in 1939 Britain declared war on Germany. The Prime Minister Hertzog wanted South Africa to remain neutral, and not be involved in the European war. Smuts, his deputy, was in favour of supporting Britain and join the war. Parliament voted in favour of joining, resulting in Hertzog's resignation as Prime Minister. Many Whites went to various parts of the world to fight. This created space for Africans to move into towns and cities to fill the vacancies of Whites who went to war. Davies et al are of the view that the Second World War produced a period of very rapid economic growth in South Africa (Davies et al 1984:16). They state that the gross value of manufacturing output rose by 141% during 1940-1946. But Africans never benefited from this economic boom. This is not surprising as Smuts, in 1945, as quoted by Mbeki (1964:23), indicated clearly that:

There are certain things about which all South Africans are agreed, all parties and all sections, except those who are quite mad. The first is that it is a fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa.

In 1946 Smuts appointed a Fagan Commission to investigate the issue of pass laws, the position of Africans in urban areas and industry and the matter of migrant labour. The report of the commission which was presented early in 1948, found that the ideology of segregation was "impracticable". The report had positive recommendations on labour, pass laws and other critical political issues, but was late in the term of Smuts. D.F. Malan, the leader of the National Party, who took over in 1948 recommissioned a research to relook at the issues the Fagan Commission reported on. This Sauer Report came with different findings supporting total segregation which was given a new term, "Apartheid" (Davenport, 1987:357). In the elections of May 1948 the Nationalist Party under D.F. Malan won the elections. This ushered in the Nationalist Party with their Apartheid ideology.

#### 4.2.2 The Africanism Ideology

The ideology of Africanism continued to be a nexus that bonded together the diverse African ideologies. Attempts for Black national unity led to the agreement by the different political

formations to establish the All African Convention. In 1935 about four hundred delegates representing a vast range of political formations met in Bloemfontein to discuss the formation of the overarching political structure. The political ideology of Africanism was once more invigorated. A prominent delegate at the convention was the prime mover for the establishment of the African Native National Congress of 1912, Dr Pixley Ka Isaka Seme. The removal of Africans from the Cape voters roll was, however, a blow to Africanism <sup>102</sup>. This was made possible by the Representation of Natives Act of 1936. The positive result of this loss of franchise was that the African National Congress began to revive due to brutality of oppression to Africans by the Segregation government, and the increasing economic suffering.

The thirties were marked by a rapid proletarianisation of rural Africans and the doubling of the urban population. Government observed this and in 1937 Africans had to contend with the Native Laws Amendment Act which limited their access to towns and cities, where employment opportunities were. When the Second World War broke in 1939, the African National Congress again, as in World War I, supported government in the war effort (Roux, 1964:439). The oppressive laws of the Pact Government of Smuts were particularly resented by the young members of the African National Congress who were educated professionals. This led to the establishment of the Youth League of the African National Congress in 1943. The period 1943-1949 was a period of growth of the Youth League of the ANC. As products of universities and as students, the Youth League was profoundly influenced by the All African Convention politics, particularly during the period 1935-1936, when Professor Jabavu of Fort Hare led the opposition to the removal of Africans from the Cape voters roll. But, as Karis and Carter (1973:100) explains, the Youth League had a specific focus:

For those who were to enter the Youth League, however, the historic stand of exclusivism in African political thought and the desire to promote African self-reliance and national pride exerted a far stronger pull than did arguments for non-collaboration or Non – European Unity, their desire was to remold the historic national organization, the A.N.C.

The Youth League, developed the Africanist ideology, and made it to emphasise mass resistance, resulting in the African National Congress demanding “universal franchise” and embarking on

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<sup>102</sup>Mbeki (1964:29) says that the Hertzog Acts of 1936 destroyed “once and for all... in the African all trust in the word of his White rulers”.



mass organization and co-operation with other political organizations (Davies et al. *ibid*:17). The Youth League, in 1944, drafted and finalized their Constitution and Manifesto, ensuring that it has the blessings of the president of the ANC, Dr Xuma (Karis and Carter, 1973:101). When the leading intellectual of the Youth League, Anton Lembede, died at the age of 33 in 1947, this important work was accomplished. The rise of the Youth League of the ANC resulted in the revival of the mother body, the ANC. On the other hand the All African Convention's influence began to decline. The growth of the proletariat during the war led to the growth of Trade Unions. Davies et al (1984:17) say, by 1945, almost 40% of African industrial workers were unionized. Trade Unionism was strengthened, in 1938, with the formation of African Trade Unions. The miners also came together to form the African Mine Workers Union in 1941, followed by the formation of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions in 1942 (Roux, 1964:439; Davies, 1984:17). In 1943, the Non-European Unity Movement was established under the leadership of I.B. Tabata. This organization advanced a strategy of boycott which would be the most effective in ensuring that the segregation structures, such as councils, were made dysfunctional. The Unity Movement held a big Conference in Cape Town in 1945 (Roux, 1964:440).

In August 1946, the African Mine Workers Union mobilized Africans to embark upon a strike which was a great success. The police and army were deployed, who brutally suppressed the strike, leading to fatalities and physical injuries. As stated before, many Africans had moved into the cities to take over jobs of Whites who went to join the World War II. Davies et al state that even conservative bodies such as Native Representative Council saw the need to resist state oppression, leading to confrontation with government (Davies et al *ibid*:17). Once more the Communist Party of South Africa, the African National Congress and the Trade Unions regrouped to form a broad-based movement to strengthen the Africanism ideals and put a formidable resistance to the segregation ideology. Davies summarises this epoch's end as follows:

In the context of heightened class struggle, deep divisions emerged within the capitalist class; they fatally weakened the capacity of the ruling United Party to organize together all elements of capital and so enabled the Nationalist Party to build against it a new alliance of class forces, and to take power with a narrow parliamentary majority – on a minority of votes cast – in May 1948 (Davies et al 1984:17).

It is at this high point of contestation that this epoch of Segregation came to an end, and handed over to the more ruthless form of segregation which the Saur Report of 1947 gave the term “Apartheid” (Davenport, 1987:357).

### 4.3 Analysis and Interpretation of Texts

In this section the poetry that is contained in the anthology of W.G. Bennie, and the poetry that was written by J.J.R Jolobe, J.J. Vili and S.E.K. Mqhayi, will be analysed and interpreted.

#### 4.3.1 Bennie, W.G. (1935) *Imibengo*

The book is an anthology of isiXhosa prose and verse which is edited by W.G. Bennie. Published in 1935, the book contains prose, poetry and historical articles by the great isiXhosa writers<sup>103</sup> who had originally published their poems in books<sup>104</sup> and newspapers<sup>105</sup> in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The editor, W.G. Bennie is the grandson of the famous J. Bennie who was a missionary working amongst the Ngqika, a specialist in language studies, whose basics he used to study isiXhosa, reducing the language into writing. He is responsible for producing the first isiXhosa text. Following on the heels of his grandfather, Bennie was also a linguist who was born at Lovedale Mission in 1868. He was trained as a teacher and, later, was appointed as the first Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Cape Province of the Union Government. He worked closely with Rev. Shepherd of the Lovedale Press to publish isiXhosa language and literature books. As a government employee he was responsible for implementation of government policy of the time. When he retired in 1929 he was appointed by Rev. Shepherd to edit the Steward Xhosa Readers project. Using his connections in his previous government position, he occupied this position until his death.

Mqhayi was given a copy of “Imibengo” before it was published, for him to comment and recommend areas of improvement. Mqhayi thanked Bennie for his excellent attempt to preserve the rich cultural heritage of amaXhosa. He expressed his wish that the Lord can make amaXhosa

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<sup>103</sup>To name a few writers: Ntsikana, Mqhayi, Tiyo Soga, Gqoba, J.N. Solilo, S. Gawe, JJR Jolobe, M. Selane, W.D. Cingo, DDT Jabavu, S.W. Yako, HM Ndawo etc.

<sup>104</sup>The books are *Zemk'inkomo magwalandini*, *Ityala lamwele* and other important publications.

<sup>105</sup>The newspapers are *Imvo zabantsundu*, *Izwi laBantu*, *Isigidimi samaXhosa* and *Umteteli wabaBantu*.

realize the magnitude of what Bennie had done for them and for the benefit of posterity.<sup>106</sup> He reminded W.E. Bennie that his grandfather also did this for amaXhosa when he reduced the language into chirography. Mqhayi's poem "Aah! Mhlele" and Jolobe's: "Ingoma ka Velaphi" are the only 'pieces'<sup>107</sup> selected for analysis in this study.

#### 4.3.1.1. Aah! Mhlele: S.E.K. Mqhayi

Bayethe kumkani!  
Asinalizwi namhla,  
Asinamthetho nabuciko;  
Som' umlomo, sizidanele,  
Kuba sakunikel' umva,  
Wena, Nkulu yeminyanya;  
Yasinikel' umva ngoko

Neminyanyayamawethu.

Bayethe kumkani!  
Sithi, buya neAfrica,  
Kunye noonyana neentombi zayo,  
Buya neendyebo zayo zamzuzu;  
Buya nempilo nengqondo yayo;  
Buya namandla nolomelelo  
Buya nobunye bama-Afrika,-  
Sitsho kuwe, Nkulu yeminyanya.

Bayethe kumkani!  
Bayethe, Imanyuweli!  
Wawakhumbul' ama-Afrika,  
Mini wabalekel' eYiphutha.  
Wawakhumbul' ama-Afrika.  
Mini sakuthwalel' umnqamlezo.  
Namhl' inkxwaleko inathi,  
Namhl' amandla angakuwe.

Hail, you King!  
We have no word today,  
We have neither law nor eloquence;  
Our mouths are dry, we are resentful,  
Because we turned our backs against you,  
The most senior of our ancestors  
And they also turned their backs against us because  
of that  
Our ancestors and our forebears

Hail, King!  
We say come back with Africa,  
With her sons and daughters,  
Come back with her wealth of the past;  
Come back with her health and integrity  
Come back with her strength and resilience  
Come back with unity of Africans  
We say this to you, the most senior of ancestors.

Hail, King!  
Hail, Emanuel!  
You remembered the Africans,  
On the day you fled to Egypt.  
You remembered the Africans.  
On the day we carried the cross for you.  
Today the suffering is upon us,  
Today the power is yours.

The approach adopted by Zotwana (1993:133) in the analysis of this poem is supported. The fact that it is a religious poem cannot be gainsaid. However, contextualization leads us to a deeper meaning. The central theme of this beautiful poem is a prayer to God to bring about unity to Africa, to remember Africa, and to return Africa to the Africans. The poem is published by Bennie in 1935, at a significant epoch in the history of South Africa, when the efforts of African unity were far from successful. On the other hand, Afrikaner nationalism was engulfing the country; the union government had passed pieces of legislation culminating with the Hertzog

<sup>106</sup>See letter from Mqhayi to Bennie of 23 June 1934.

<sup>107</sup> Bennie's term for the articles of various writers. Bennie's (p.26) role as government representative is discussed further in 4.4.1 State Apparatus.

Bills which were getting ready for promulgation. Mqhayi, who was central in the political struggles of his time, and contributed to development efforts, was conscious of all these developments. Africans during this era, who had hoped for God's socio-economic and political salvation, were asking why God has abandoned Africa. Mqhayi who was at a mature age of sixty had seen it all but had not lost faith. He appeals to God to remember Africans though they were the first to abandon their ancestors, and by implication abandoning God who is the head of the ancestors. He is concerned about the young generation, male and female, he is concerned about the rising levels of poverty, and maiming and killing of people through violence and disease. God must remember Africans who assisted Jesus Christ when his parents Joseph and Mary had to flee with him to Egypt to escape the wrath of Herod<sup>108</sup>, and before crucifixion when Simon of Cyrene helped and carried the cross of Jesus<sup>109</sup>. The context of Mqhayi's plea for Africa is explained by Karis and Carter (1973:3) who state:

... the formation of the Hertzog-Smuts coalition government in early 1933 and its endorsement by the White electorate in the general election held later that year was followed in mid-1934, by fusion of the two coalition parties into the new United Party.

With economic recovery from worldwide depression under way, the new government began to reconsider the "Native Question" that had preoccupied the two previous nationalist-dominated governments headed by Hertzog. Hertzog, now, for the first time commanded a two thirds majority of the joint membership of both houses of parliament, the number required by the Act of Union to amend the entrenched clause protecting the Nonwhite franchise in Cape Province (Karis and Carter, 1973:3). Roux (1964:286-288) in a chapter entitled "*South Africa puts the clock back*", explains the origins of the Hertzog's Native Bills which were first formulated in 1925, published in 1926, and referred to the Select Committee in 1927. As indicated in the previous chapter representations by African leaders failed to persuade government to shift from its position regarding the abolition of the Cape vote, representation of Africans by Whites in the Senate, amendment of the 1913 Land Act, the establishment of the Native Council, and taking away of the franchise from the Coloured community of the Cape. By 1935 the Hertzog Bills, condensed into two Bills were presented to the two houses of Parliament.

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<sup>108</sup> Mathew 2:13-15 Jesus and His mother escape to Egypt.

<sup>109</sup> This was Simon of Cyrene who assisted Jesus Christ to carry the cross on the road to Golgotha, See Luke 23:26.

It is against this context that Mqhayi appeals to the Almighty to save the Africans from the suffering (*inkxwaleko*). Mqhayi advances a theological rationale for the Africanism ideology. He makes a claim of close relationship of Jesus Christ, Africa and Africans. This might have been Mqhayi's response to the bombardment by the ideologues of Afrikaner Nationalism, at the time, driven by the Afrikaner Broederbond, which advanced theological justification of Segregation ideology, through advancement of a rationale of the superiority of the White Afrikaner race. A vast range of scholars have branded Afrikaner nationalist ideology as Calvinist (Davenport, 1987:318). Though Davenport does not agree with this simplistic view he however concludes:

What happened in practice, as might have been expected, was that the neo-Calvinist and neo-Fichtean influences played upon each other to produce an array of political doctrines, some totalitarian like those of Hans Van Rensburg and Oswald Pirow, some democratic like the parliamentary credo of D.F. Malan, some with theological and some with secular rationales, whose variety itself helps to explain the political turbulence which characterized the politics of opposition between 1933 and 1948. (emphasis mine)

This is the context to Mqhayi's plea for the King, the Lord, to come back with Africa.

#### 4.3.1.2 Ingoma KaVelaphi

Irhawuti yembiwa, sithandwa sam.  
kwandim lo. Ndiyayazi, iyanqweneleka esweni.  
Ke kodwa, nzwakazi, yaphi na  
Efana njengawe, Nojenti sithandwa,  
Kwilizwe loobawo.

Gold was mined, my sweetheart  
By me. I know it is attractive to the eye.  
But which other beauty,  
is as beautiful as you are, Nojenti sweetheart  
In the land of our fathers

Ndiyeza, ndiyeza, sithandwa sam,  
Ungandilileli. Wupheze loo mhobe

I am coming, I am coming, my sweetheart,  
Do not cry for me. Stop the poem that is filled with  
sadness

Wosizi uhlab' intliziyo. Ndiyazi  
Olwakho uthando lolwami kuphela,  
Kwilizwe loobawo.  
Indoda kaloku, sithandwa sam,  
Imelwe kuphath' umahluko<sup>110</sup>, nomfazi  
Agcine intsapho ukuze luzale  
Olweth' ulonwabo, Nojenti sithandwa,  
Kwilizwe loobawo.

and piercing the heart  
I know your love is for me only,  
In the land of our fathers  
A man, sweetheart  
Should hold the "spade" and the wife  
To look after the family, for them to proliferate  
Our happiness, Nojenti my love,  
In the land of our fathers.

This song of Velaphi is a loaded short poem. Here Jolobe depicts the negative impact of the Segregation ideology on the most important unit of society, the family. Because of poverty in

<sup>110</sup> Probably a typographical error – Correct words is umhlakulo (Spade)

the reserves due to insufficient land, African men were forced to provide labour in the urban areas. Mbeki (1964:68) captures this state of affairs as follows:

Within a few years following the wars of resistance to White settlement there developed a class of men whose only stake in the reserves was a kraal site 70 x 70 yards – where a man put up a few huts to shelter his family, while he spent most of his time away at work on the mines (Emphasis mine).

As already stated, the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 was aimed at limiting the number of Africans who would be able to reside permanently in urban areas. What this meant is that the huge number of male labourers who converged in the cities had to stay in hostels or mine compounds. Velaphi tells his wife that African labour contributed to the development of the beautiful Johannesburg and its beaming economy. But appealing as it is to the eyes, Nojenti, the wife will never be able to see Johannesburg, as she is not allowed by the law to join her husband. Velaphi promises the wife that he will join her at home in the reserves. He tries to convince her and to make her accept that her role as a wife is to look after the home, bear and look after the children. This view conflicts with the view of the Women's League of the thirties and forties, which was led by women of the calibre of Charlotte Maxeke,<sup>111</sup> who were fighting discrimination and marginalization of women and who strove for the elevation of women into leadership positions. The ideologues of Africanism opposed the emergence of migrant labour in the mining industry and the resultant collapse of production in the reserves. The mining industry also created structures of national oppression, and was marked by racism as it divided the proletariat. At an economic level it centralized capital and developed racial capitalism in South Africa.<sup>112</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Jolobe, J.J.R. (1936) *Umyezo*

James Ranisi Jolobe was born at Indwe on 25 July 1902, where his father was a Minister of Religion. He was trained as a teacher and later as minister of religion at the University College of Fort Hare where he also completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1932, majoring in English and Ethics. In 1936 his first anthology of poems, *Umyezo*, was published.

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<sup>111</sup>Read "Social conditions among Bantu Women and Girls" address by Charlotte Maxeke at the conference of European and Bantu Christian Student Association at Fort Hare in 1930, June 27 to July 03.

<sup>112</sup>Read Davies et al (1984:7-15) and Bozzoli (1981:25-60).

#### 4.3.2.1 Isililo Sikandlebende

Sibuhlungu isililo sakho,  
Silondini sasendle, Ndlebende.  
Sikrakra eso sililo sakho;  
Sikhathaza intliziyo yami.  
.....  
Phakamis' ingal'akho, Afrika!  
Khangela phezulu, nyana kaNtu!  
Intliziyo yakho mayinabe.  
Kukh'eyenye na inkululeko?  
Thand' uMdali wakho nomelwane;  
Zondelel' imfundo usebenze;  
  
Unganakho na ukuthulula,  
Ungakhange uthe eselweni?  
Umntu oza nolutho kuni apha  
Ngothi, "Sebenzani, ndincedele!"  
Lowo uthi, "Nalu uncedo ese apha";  
  
Uthi, "Ndincedele ndisithele apha";-  
Iintlanti zamadoda ziphelile  
Ngokhotha-bexathula abanjalo

#### The cry of the donkey

Your cry is painful,  
You wild animal, long ears.  
Your cry is sorrowful;  
It breaks my heart.  
.....  
Hold up your arm, Africa!  
Look at the heavens, son of Africa!  
Your heart must spread.  
Is there another form of freedom?  
Love your Creator and your neighbor;  
Pursue education and work;  
  
Can you pour out sour milk  
Without first filling the calabash?  
A person who brings tangible ideas to you  
Is the one who says, "Work and I shall help you"  
The one who says "Here is help hidden this other  
side";  
Is actually saying, "Help me to hide;"  
The kraals of men have been emptied  
By such unscrupulous persons.

Jolobe's poems have been analysed by isiXhosa literature scholars, amongst them Sirayi (1985:190). According to Sirayi most of Jolobe's poems that reflect social and political commitment have used animal objects. In this particular poem, the ass symbolizes Africa and "the praying signifies the African's lamentation for freedom" (Sirayi, ibid:191). Sirayi argues that the animals are used by Jolobe as a metaphor for certain human conditions. Sirayi's observations are concurred with. Jolobe, in this poem, urges Africans to work hard and contribute to the economic development of their country. They must not expect windfalls and they must not expect things to be done for them. Foreign assistance must be requested in order to support ongoing initiatives. He urges Africans to immerse themselves in education as one day they will reap the rewards.

However, Jolobe's exaggerated use of the religious shield, which is obviously used to avoid censorship by the ideological and the repressive state apparatus, makes his Africanism disposition to be diluted. A case in point is his question 'is there any other form of freedom that surpasses the love of God and one's neighbor?' Jolobe's close proximity with the missionaries and Christianity made him to overlook the negative effects of missionaries and Christianity on African culture and religion. He avoided conflict with the powers that be, and tended to direct

blame to the subjugated class and their non- Christian past. This might be the reason that made him to inadvertently perpetuate the stereotypes of the dominant class and its dominant ideology.

The authorial ideology of Jolobe's poem which is exposed by the content of these last four lines of the stanza contradicts the dominant discourse of the subaltern class of Jolobe's time. Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, a clergyman and former president-general of the ANC, in May 1935, in his call for a national convention, asked "How long shall the African people who form the integral and inseparable part and parcel of the population of the Union be contented with a position of political inferiority and political helotry and of exclusion from the civil organism of this land of their birth?"<sup>113</sup>Meli (1988:81) tells us that since the twenties the mobilizing slogan of the ANC was "Freedom in the land of our fathers".

#### 4.3.2.2 Uthuthula

.....  
Kodwa babe sebehlawule nabo  
Ngobo bomi babo emfazweni,  
Kuba baba kutya kwexhalanga.  
Naye uThuthula wagoduswa,  
Yaxolelwa inzwakazi kuba  
Yayenziw' uchuku esigwini  
Sokukhand' uNgqika noNtsikana

Ngabo kubulawa iVangeli.  
Yalunyulw' inkosi eLizwini  
Saba siyathomalal' isizwe,  
Kodwa noko yasolok' incwina  
Ithi ibindekile emxhelweni,  
"Uba bendinomntu nge endibika  
Ezulwini." Awucim' umbono waphezulu

Gqala kokaMlawu  
Bonke aba namhla sebadlula.  
Umhlekaz' uNgqika akasekho.  
Abasekho ooNtsikana imboni,  
Le Nyaniso yona isahleli.  
Yazifumanela abalandeli.  
Laliphuma ngoko eli Langa

Lizishiyil' iintaba namhla.  
Liya kuphakama eAfrika

.....  
But they had also paid  
With their own lives in the war,  
Because they became food for the vultures.  
And Thuthula also was sent home,  
And the beauty was pardoned because  
She was made a bate in a trap  
Aimed at hitting hard at Ngqika and Ntsikana.

In order to kill Evangelism.  
And the King was divorced from the Word  
And the tensions in the nation were normalized,  
But the King continued to complain,  
Saying he is grief-stricken  
"If I had someone I would be communicatin  
They extinguished the Heavenly vision.

Get more information from the son of Mlawu.  
All these have passed on  
King Ngquka is no more.  
Ntsikana the visionary is no more,  
But the truth is steadfast.  
It found itself followers,  
The sun rose

It went past the mountains  
I will rise in Africa

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<sup>113</sup> Karis and Carter (1987:13)



Lide liwachithe amathunzi  
Ayo obumnyama nokungazi  
Awabang' ubukho bezo mfazwe  
Ezifana nale kaThuthula

And clear the clouds of  
Darkness and ignorance  
Which caused the occurrence of those wars  
Like the one of Thuthula

According to Mahlasela (N.D.) Jolobe was awarded first prize for his poem uThuthula in the May 1936 Esther Bedford Literary Competition. In the same year his first collection of poems, *Umyezo* was published as No2 in the Bantu Treasury series. Soya Mama, writing in *South African Outlook* (1976:186) says “The narrative poem Thuthula is regarded as the best love poem in the Xhosa language to come from his pen”.

Jolobe's interpretation of this aspect of South African history supports the Colonial historiography. The war, between Ngqika and the regent, Ndlambe, is presented by him as a war that was caused by “Shadows of darkness and ignorance which caused the occurrence of wars like the Thuthula war” This is perpetuation of the colonial myths, which were accepted as truth by some earlier converts of missionaries, which thrived during the segregation period. Bennie's anthology, *Imibengo*, (1936:13) contains a version of the Thuthula War (Imfazwe kaThuthula) which is written by William Kobe Ntsikana.<sup>114</sup> This is the myth that there was a “War of Thuthula” between Ngqika and Ndlambe. Opland (2009:311) has published the article with the heading “Ukutelekiswa nguMlungu” (1818-1819) (White provocation)<sup>115</sup>, which is a challenge by Mqhayi to this colonial version.<sup>116</sup>

Mqhayi's view<sup>117</sup> regarding uThuthula and the Battle of Amalinde is that the battle erupted out of provocation by the White Colonialists. Peires (in Opland 2009:VIII) interpretes Mqhayi's article as follows:

His primary objective is to correct the popular perception that this battle between Chief Ngqika and his uncle Ndlambe, arose out of the domestic quarrel over Ndlambe's wife Thuthula, whereas the real reason was colonial intervention in Xhosa internal politics.. Mqhayi writes that the other Rharhabe

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<sup>114</sup>*Imibengo* pages 13-15

<sup>115</sup>Peires, in the introduction to “Abantu besizwe” which is edited by Opland (2009:311) says the article by Mqhayi first appeared in *Umteteli wabantu* in 1928. Bennie in 1935 again published the article, but leaving out the subtitle “Ukutelekiswa nguMlungu” (White provocation) and also leaving out the important opening paragraph. But the finding of the researcher is that Bennie published W.K. Ntsikana's version, which was challenged by Mqhayi in 1928.

<sup>116</sup>*Imibengo* pp. 158-161 by Bennie (1935).

<sup>117</sup>Which is supported by later historians e.g. Peires, J.

chiefs “realized that this youngster (Ngqika) had sold them to the Whites. They resolved to embarrass him and deprive him of power before he went too far... and so the principal reason for the Battle of Amalinde was to disempower Ngqika, and it was not over Thuthula as most people believe.

Mqhayi in a letter dated 23 June 1934<sup>118</sup> to Bennie says:

Kwibali elingoThuthula noko ayihli kamnandi kum into ethethwa futhi nangamaXhosa amadala yokuba uNdlambe noNgqika balwa ngoThuthula ngeyamaLinde ka1818 – 1819. Ewe kambe sabakho isiphithiphithi nenxwabaxu elapheliswa kwangamaNgqika, kuba wona ngokwawo elichasa elonyala lenziwayo. Ngowe-1818-1819 kwakuthiswa amagunya kuNgqika okuzenza ngaphezulu koKhawuta .

In the story about Thuthula what is constantly said even by the amaXhosa elders that Ndlambe and Ngqika fought about Thuthula in the battle of AmaLinde of 1818 – 1819, does not convince me. Yes there was conflict and controversy which the AmaNgqika themselves defused, because they themselves rejected the immoral act that was committed. In 1818- 1819 the aim was to reduce the power of Ngqika who pretended to be senior to Khawuta.

Mqhayi was requested by Bennie to read and comment on the manuscript *Imibengo* that he was editing. Bennie, nevertheless, decided to overlook this view and proceeded with the publication of *Imibengo* with the article “Imfazwe kaThuthula” by William Kobe Ntsikana. This is the version that might have influenced Jolobe when he wrote his poem which was published in 1936.

The argument put forward in this study is that Jolobe, by diffusing the colonial interpretation, supports the segregation ideology.

#### 4.2.2.3 Ukwenziwa Komkhonzi

#### The making of a servant

Andisenakubuza ndisithi kunjani na  
Ukukhanywa yintambo yedyokhwe emqaleni  
Kuba ndizibonele kwinkabi yomqokozo,  
Ubumfama bamehlo busukile ndagqala

Kuba ndikubonile ukwenziwa komkhonzi  
Kwinkatyana yedyokhwe.

Ndiyibone inyuka iminqantsa yomendo  
Ithwele imithwalo enzima ixelenga,  
Iludaka kubila ingenisela omnye.  
Incasa yomsebenzi yinxaxheba kuvuno .  
Kuba ndikubonile ukwenziwa komkhonzi  
Kwinkatyana yedyokhwe.

I can no longer ask how it is  
To be strangled around the neck by the strop  
Because I have witnessed this in the inspannedox,  
Blindness of the eyes was cleared and I gained  
understanding  
For I have witnessed the making of a servant,  
In the young yoke ox.

I saw it going up steep roads  
Carrying heavy luggage working hard,  
Muddy and sweating for someone else's profits.  
Sharing in the profits makes one to enjoy working  
Because I have witnessed the making of a servant  
In the young yoke ox.

<sup>118</sup> This letter is available at Cory Library, Rhodes University and is dated 23 June 1934 in the Lovedale Collection.

Ndiyibon' ilambile ngaphantsi kwaloo mbuso  
liso liinyembezi umxhel' ujackle,  
Ibe ingasakwazi nokuchasa imbuna,  
Ithemba yimigudu ezond' inkululeko

Kuba ndikubonile ukwenziwa komkhonzi  
Kwinkatyana yedyokhwe.

I saw it hungry under that rule  
Tears dripping from the eye, spirit dejected  
No longer able to resist, tame.  
The hope being the success of the struggle for  
liberation  
For I have seen the making of a servant  
In the young yoke ox.

Jolobe, in this poem complements his religious shield<sup>119</sup> with a deep look into the African indigenous tradition of oral lore. The result is a stylistic device of a metaphorical language. The metaphor is that of a bovine animal that is tamed and domesticated to prepare it for menial tasks of the master e.g. pulling wagons, ploughs, carts etc. Jolobe observes the ox enjoying freedom, which manifests itself in its perfect physical and mental outlook. Then man makes an intervention in the life of the ox with an intention of appropriation of the ox into serving the interests of the self-centred man. The ox resists the intentions of man. However the superior power overcomes and succeeds and makes the initially aggressive and vigorous struggle to subside. The ox submits to the conqueror or subjugator. Then exploitation and ill-treatment follows, and when the oppressed resists more exploitative measures are introduced. The ox therefore, continues laboring and making profit for the master. Truly, this poem is not apolitical as Sirayi (1985:184-190) and Zotwana (1993:151-152) have argued. The argument of this thesis is that Jolobe, in this poem, which he later translated and published in his “Poems of an African” served to diffuse the ideology and philosophy of the Africanism epoch. The poem contains the central theme in the lives of South Africans at that point in time. It explains how the hegemonic apparatus of the ruling group was constructed. (See Gramsci, 1971:228). Jolobe might have assessed the status quo in the thirties in the Union Government, and observed the pieces of legislation that allowed government to mete out violence and force against any form of resistance, and the high levels of exploitation of workers.

Jolobe observes that (ubunzima bedyokhwe budal' ugxe kwano) the burdensome yoke makes the suffering to find faults in another sufferer. This is reference to the antagonistic forces that were fighting together power as to resist oppression which suddenly turned against one another. Located within the context of the early thirties Jolobe might have observed the nationalist victory of 1929 which led to strengthening of Afrikaner nationalism and the powers given to the

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<sup>119</sup>Umkhonzi (servant) has biblical connotations

Ministers of Justice for deportation of people who resisted the government segregation laws (Roux, 1964:438). There were demonstrations by Black and White workers in Johannesburg in 1931, leading to antagonisation of Native trade unions in 1932, and more agitation by African unemployed and those who were exploited in the industrial and mining sectors in Johannesburg and other urban centres. In rural areas farm labourers were exploited. More Africans were forced to move into White farms as land was appropriated by government. By 1934 and 1935 it was becoming clear that the oppressive Hertzog Bills were getting ready for promulgation. This was achieved in 1936 when the Native Representative Act and Land Act were passed. (Roux, 1964:438-439). Also relevant to the study is Jolobe's observation and prediction which later came true:

Ithemba yimigudu ezond' inkululeko                      Hope lies in struggles aimed at attainment of freedom

The historical context of Jolobe's observation is explained by Karis and Carter (1973:99) who state:

The franchise crisis of 1935-1936 and the leading role taken by professor Jabavu of Fort Hare in opposition to removing African voters from the common roll stimulated further student interests. Some of the men who were later to join the Youth League became active members of the ANC after 1937.

The link with Jolobe's observation is that it is the members of the ANC Youth League who, in 1960, when all avenues of peaceful struggle were closed by the Apartheid government, established Umkhonto weSizwe (MK),<sup>120</sup> with Nelson Mandela setting up the high command (Barrell, 1990:7). This was the beginning of the armed struggle for attainment of freedom. A significant contribution by Jolobe in the ideological discourse of the late forties is his three poems which were not included in his published collection of poems, but were published in *Umteteleli* and *Umthunywa* newspapers in 1952. The poems are "Oseboniselweni", "Abakhululi belizwe" and "Imbumba yolutsha". Opland and Mtuze published the poems in *Izwi labantu* (1994:115-117). They are included here because their content shows that they were written in the late forties.

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<sup>120</sup> According to Barrell (1990:7) the original high command embraced Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Andrew Mlangeni, and Raymond Mhlaba. Nelson Mandela was given the leading responsibility by ANC, while Joe Slovo was appointed by the South African Communist Party.

#### 4.3.2.4 Abakhululi Besizwe

Ndalama umfo ezolile  
Ondele kumwonyo wekamva,  
Ethe cwaka ethungw'umlomo,  
Izandla zibotshwe ngobhedu,  
Imbonakal'isoyikeka  
Ziimpawu zokutshutshiseka,  
Uvuyo luvangwe nosizi,  
Uxolo luxutywe nentlungu,  
Idin' elithozamileyo

Ukuvul' amaty' entliziyo,  
Ukuhluphez'otyhafileyo.  
Ndabon' ethunzini ngasemva  
Kumi impulsuwa yenzwana  
Incuma ingenamaxhala,  
Inyembezi sezisuliwe,  
Umlomo ukhululekile,  
Eqhawulwe namakhamandela  
Ijonge kumxokelelwano  
Ubomvu ligazi lotyabuko.

Yathi ngelizwi lenzukiso,  
"Intyatyambo yenkululeko  
Inkcenkceshelwe ngomgudu  
Negazi nokubandezelwa  
Kwabanjengawe gorhandini"

#### The ones who will set the nation free

I saw a quiet gentleman  
Looking into the deep future,  
Being quiet, his mouth closed,  
Hands tied with copper  
He had a fearful outlook  
Signs of oppression,  
Happiness mixed with sorrow  
Peace mixed with pain  
A disciplined sacrificial human being.

To open the rocks of the heart  
To encourage the one who has lost hope  
I saw in the dark background  
A healthy young man standing  
Smiling without any fear  
Tears wiped away  
The mouth enjoying freedom  
The shackles broken  
Looking at the chain  
Which was red with the blood from the scourging

He humbly uttered words of praise  
"The flower of freedom  
Has been watered by the efforts  
Struggles and the blood and the suffering of  
persons such as you courageous one!"

Jolobe sees in the ANC Youth League which was founded in 1943, "The ones who will bring about the freedom of the nation". Jolobe has a vision of a man in chains, signs or effects of oppression showing in his face and body, peaceful but enduring pain, dejected, grief stricken, having been a sacrifice on behalf of his people. In the background Jolobe sees the handsome young men, good looking, smiling, fearless and articulate. The young man looked at the old man with chains that were red with blood oozing from the chafed skin, abraded by the chain which has caused lacerations due to the scourging. The young one acknowledges the role of the previous generation in the struggle, and utters the words that "the flower of freedom is being watered by the blood of courageous persons like yourself". It is interesting to note the influence of these short poems of Jolobe on the next generations of South African activists who were involved in the struggle for liberation. Mirriam Makeba<sup>121</sup>, one of the greatest artists that sacrificed their lives in the struggle for liberation composed and sang a song "Ndinomqokoz' obomvu, ndawuphiwa ngubawo" (I have this red chain which I inherited from my father). Makeba's red chain is

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<sup>121</sup>About Makeba see Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa 1988: 416-419 "Swinging with the 'Jazz Maniacs'".

oppression by the Apartheid ideologues. She testified about Apartheid before the United Nations in 1963. This led to her citizenship and right to return to South Africa being revoked, making her homeless. Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu<sup>122</sup>, the young Umkhonto weSizwe freedom fighter of the African National Congress, who was executed by the Apartheid regime, before going to the gallows, in 1979, he said: “Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the fight. My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom, Aluta continua!” It is against the background that Jolobe’s poem is interpreted as a contribution to the Africanism discourse of the late forties which followed the establishment of the Youth League of the African National Congress.

#### 4.3.2.5 Oseboniselweni

He who has a better view/perspective

Ndeva izwi lisithi,  
 “Mlindi, kuxa liph na  
 Ebusuku?” Wakhwaza,  
 “Isifingo sidlule  
 Ngums’ obomvu. Ukuza  
 Kwemini sekumbovu.  
 Umyalel’ uyenziwa.  
 Ungekho kuyalindwa.  
 Iyathamb’ iAfrika.  
 Ithemba lengomso  
 Luqeqesho. Kuyasa.”

I heard a voice saying,  
 “Night Virgil what is the time  
 Of the night? “He called loudly,  
 “The rolling up of the night has passed  
 It is the dawn of the day  
 The coming of the day is nearing.  
 The message is being crafted.  
 If there is no message people wait.  
 Africa is getting civilized  
 The hope of the morrow / future  
 Is education / training. The day is coming”

Jolobe reflects the hope that was brought about by the rise of the ANC Youth League<sup>123</sup> and their programme of action during the period 1943-1949. He has this vision which makes him to hear someone asking what the time of the night is. The answer to the night virgil is that the dawn of the day is nearing and the light of the day will come soon. The night is obviously the Segregation regime of the time, and the day is the freedom of Africans from oppression. An important statement “Iyathamb’ iAfrika”, reflects the hope for freedom of South Africans which was brought about by the freedom of other African states from colonial rule. The hopes were raised by the announcement that Ghana shall obtain her freedom from colonial rule. This indeed happened on 06 March 1957, making Ghana the first South Sahara country to attain freedom. But Jolobe warns that education and, or training is critical in order to prepare for the anticipated freedom.

<sup>122</sup>Mahlangu was arrested, charged and convicted for murder by the Apartheid, government.

<sup>123</sup>Read Karis and Carter (1973:98-107) on the rise of the Youth League and the Programme of Action.

Goodwin (1982:X) in his introduction to his work on African Poets says that “the notion of the poet as a visionary, diviner, oracle, prophet, and social conscience has come to seem much more immediate”. He goes on to quote Wole Soyinka’s statement at a Dares Salaam conference of 1971 who said:

The writer is the visionary of his people, he recognizes past and present not for the purpose of enshrinement, but for the logical creative glimpse and statement of the ideal future. He anticipates and he warns.<sup>124</sup>

Unfortunately Jolobe, who died in 1976 was not able to see the realization of his vision as the 1943 Youth League, in 1994, played a significant role in bringing about democracy to South Africa.

#### 4.3.2.6 Imbumba Yolutsha – The Youth League

An overt contribution by Jolobe, in the ideological discourse of the late forties, is his poem which is one of those not included in his published books. Sirayi (1985:190-195), sufficiently argues that it exhibits Jolobe’s politico-philosophical thought. Mdaka (1992:171) also makes reference to the poem to argue that some African writers have defended “violence in order to change an intolerable, unjust social order”. Jolobe says:

Umlisela weAfrica  
Umthinjana wesizwe  
Ulibo olumkhitha  
Abantwana bothuthu  
Balibanga ngezenzo  
Ilizwe lokuzalwa.

Male youth of Africa  
Female youth of the nation  
Vibrant and beautiful generation  
Children of this land  
Claim through their actions  
The land of their birth

Ookhala beliduli  
Amadela-konwaba  
Afikelwe ngumbono  
Wenkululeko yomntu  
Kanye ngexesha lethu.

Vanguard of this struggle  
Who sacrificed pleasure  
Have been struck by a vision  
of the freedom of the African  
Precisely “in our lifetime”

Akhokelwa sithatha  
Igqange lenkwenkwezi  
Ingeyontshotsholoji

They are lead by a very brightlight  
A scintillating star  
But not the shooting star

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<sup>124</sup>Wole Soyinka: “The choice and use of language”, a paper delivered at the UNESCO ‘Meeting of Experts’ on ‘The influence of Colonialism on the Artist, his Mileu and his Public in developing countries. Dares Salaam, 5-10 July 1971, in Cultural Events in Africa No 75 (1971),

Yona ikhany' icime.

Okwalanywe lulutsha  
Akasayi kucima  
Ngumlilo ethanjeni  
Ophemba intliziyo  
Ivuthe ngeAfrica

Kulindelwe izenzo  
Kubathandi besizwe  
Huntshu! Mafa-nankosi!  
Huntshu! Mbumba yolutsha

Which give a bright light which soon dies.

What the youth had dedicated themselves to  
Will not fade away  
It is like fire on the bone  
Which kindles the heart  
To let it burn about Africa.

What is expected is actions  
From the lovers of the nation  
On to victory! You last line of defense  
On to victory! Youth League.

The significance of this poem is its clear demonstration of Jolobe's support for the Africanism ideology, which was given impetus in the early forties by the founding of the Youth League of the African National Congress. At the 1943 Annual Conference of the African National Congress, the then president, Dr Xuma, in his presidential address, included a call to youth and women, resulting in the adoption of a resolution that established the Youth League and the Women's league. In 1944 the Youth League was formally established, and Mr. Anton Lembede was elected as the first president. A manifesto and a constitution were endorsed, which were followed in 1948 by the "Basic Policy" document (Karis and Carter, 1973:102-107).

Jolobe's poem, in many respects, resembles the "Policy of the Congress Youth League"<sup>125</sup> which is contained in an article by Lembede which was submitted to *Inkundla yaBantu* in May 1946 (Karis and Carter 1973:317). The policy of the Congress Youth League's first principle is that 'Africa is a blackman's country, and Africans are the natives of Africa'. Jolobe's two opening lines identify his objects of praise as "Umlisela weAfrica" (Male youth of Africa) and "Umthinjana weSizwe" (female youth of the nation). The policy elaborates that Africans have inhabited Africa, their motherland, from times immemorial and that Africa belongs to them. Jolobe describes his objects of praise as "abantwana bothuthu" (indigenous children) who, with their actions, lay a claim to the land of their birth (motherland in terms of the policy). Jolobe says that the young people who are the vanguard of the struggle (ookhala beli duli) had a vision of freedom of the African people (Afikelwe Ngumbono Wenkululeko Yomntu Wase Africa). The policy of the Youth League indicated that "the divine destiny of the African people is national freedom". It argued that as a result of educational and industrial colour bars young African men and women were converted into juvenile delinquents, and proposed as a "panacea" for all the ills,

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<sup>125</sup> See document 53 in Karis and Carter (1973:317-318).



national freedom. Jolobe says that the youth's vision is for freedom "exactly in our time" (kanye ngexesha lethu). This closing line of the second stanza is the closing line of the policy document which indicated as the motto of the Congress Youth League (CYC) the phrase "Freedom in our life time"<sup>126</sup>.

Jolobe's poems, which were not published in the collections of poems intended for consumption by school learners and students, probably because the organic intellectuals of the segregation regime would have censored the poems or the entire book, expose how censorship has deprived South Africa of a rich cultural heritage. Jolobe had profound influence on the next generation of revolutionaries. Sobukwe, the first president of the PAC delivered an address at the Basutoland Congress Party in Lesotho in 1957. In an emotional 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,  
Zithi zonk'izizwe zilirogole.  
( Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, undated:166)

Wherever your blood has dropped,  
Will blossom a flower of exceeding sweetness,  
Whose scent will be carried on by the wings of the air  
And all the nations will inhale it.

We have already made reference to Mirriam Makeba's lyrics ' Umqokoz' obomvu' and Solomon Mahlangu's speech at the gallows.

#### 4.3.3 Vili, J.J. (1936) *Napakade*

Very little is known about Vili, who, in 1936, published his book *Napakade* with the Palmerton Missionary Press. In his introduction, which was written in Cape Town in 1933, he requests patriots, particularly teachers and civil society leaders, to read the book. He urges Africans to develop and reach the level of other developed nations. He claims to be the author of a book "Ntshumayelo ne Ntetho zom-Africa" and "Ntshotsholozo – Mfana waku-Centane". His slogan is "Africa advance!", "Organise together!" The front cover of his book mentions "Amanzi, Samente, matye" and "Tribalism-racialism – nationalism".

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<sup>126</sup> See basic Policy Document in Karis and Carter(1973:102-117).

## Umntu Ondinguye.

Wena Mntu Ontsundu Uyinina?  
Wena Mntu Ontsundu Uvela Pina?  
Wena Mntu Ontsundu Usinga Pina ? .  
Wena Mntu Ontsundu Uhlala Pina ?  
Oh! Hai! Umntu Ondinguye Kweli!

Mna Mntu Ontsundu Ndiluhlanga,  
Mna Mntu Ontsundu Ndivela Eluyolweni,  
Mna Mntu Ontsundu Ndisiwa Ekubhangeni,  
Mna Mntu Ontsundu Ndihlalisw'emeveni,  
Oh ! Hai ! Umntu Ondinguye Apa E-Afrika.

.....  
Ukuteta Ndiyakurafela M-Afrika  
Ndiyawatenga M-Afrika  
Inkuni Ndiyazitenga M-Afrika,  
Amandl' am Libhaso M-Afrika  
Ububele Bam Yingozi KuM-Afrika  
Utando Lwam Ngumgibe M-Afrika  
Akako ondini kayo Mna M-Afrika  
Ndimiselwe Ondehlutayo M-Afrika  
IRawuti Bubudala Bam M-Afrika  
Idayimani Libala Lam M-Afrika  
Oh! Umntu Ondinguye M-Afrika  
Ngubanina Ongabususayo Obundzima?  
Ngubanina Ondembhesayo Obubuze Kuti?  
Ngubanina Ongakululayo Kwezimbhophelelo?  
Ngubanina Ongancedisayo Kulamaqina?  
Wonke Um Afrika Umelwe Kukhuza  
Eze Nomhlakulo, Nebhaketu, Ne Trowel,  
Okululayo Ngonemvelwano Komnye.  
Oncedayo ngomizamo ingenamkhete,

Ondembhesayo ngozimbho zikhutazayo;  
Sukani, yimani ngenyawo M-Afrika,  
Vukani, hlalabani, bongozani, nonke.  
Ndizivile ziteta ngani e-Geneva<sup>127</sup> izizwe,  
Liphenjiwe iziko e-Jo'burg *Race Relations*<sup>128</sup>

.....  
Inye into, linye icebo, lu Manyano qa,  
U-Manyano yinyengane, lulwandle,  
U-Manyano yidayimani, yindlela,  
U-Manyano ludonga nqi, olomeleleyo,  
U-Manyano yindlu nqi, eyomeleleyo,

## The Person That I Am

You Black person who are you ?  
You Black person where do you come from?  
You Black person where are you going to?  
You Black person where do you stay?  
Oh! how difficult it is to be who I am in this country.

I Black person am a member of a nation,  
I Black person come from happiness,  
I Black person am forced towards extinction,  
I Black person am made to sit upon thorns  
Oh! how difficult it is to be who I am here in Africa.

.....  
I pay tax for speaking, African  
I pay for water, African  
I buy firewood, African  
My labour is free, African  
My kindness is a danger to me, African  
My love leads to my entrapment, African  
No one gives to me, African  
Someone is placed to impoverish me, African  
Johannesburg is where we shall age, African  
The diamond is my colour, African  
Oh! The person that I am African  
Who can take away these tribulations?  
Who can provide clothing and cover our nakedness?  
Who can release me from the chains?  
Who can assist to resolve these intricacies?  
All Africans should protest in amazement  
And bring a spade, a bucket and a trowel,  
He who sets one free is the one who has empathy.  
He who helps is the one with non-discriminatory  
endeavours,

He who can clothe me is one with encouraging acts;  
Move, stand up on your feet, African,  
Wake up, initiate, negotiate, all of you.  
I have heard nations discussing you in Geneva,  
A centre has been established in Johannesburg  
*Race Relations*.

.....  
Only one thing, only one plan, Unity only,  
Unity is a rock, the sea,  
Unity is dynamite, the road ahead,  
Unity is the wall that is strong,  
Unity is a house, that is strong

<sup>127</sup>This might be reference to the Geneva Conventions which are international treaties binding on all states which have accepted them. The conventions started in 1864 when governments were invited to send representatives to a diplomatic conference.

<sup>128</sup>In 1928 the Race Relations Institute was established with headquarters in Johannesburg. Joint councils of Africans and Europeans worked under the aegis of this body, the aim being to deal with mutual problems of Europeans and Africans.

U-Manyano lwendza impumelelo  
U-Manyano ludala impakamo  
Ludala imvano, lwendza imikwa-  
Eyomeleleyo, ethembekileyo, ethandekayo,  
ZONKE IZIZWE MAZIMANYANE KWELI'

Unity leads to success  
Unity elevates people  
Unity creates harmony, results in actions  
That are strong, reliable, and admirable,  
ALL NATIONS MUST UNITE IN THIS LAND

The Africanist ideology is diffused by Vili's poem, "Umntu endinguye". He first asks questions "Black person, who are you? Whence do you come? What is your destination? He answers in the second stanza when he says that he, the black person, is a member of a nation that was happy in the past, but now is led to extinction and placed in difficult circumstances in Africa. He abhors the fact that he has to pay tax, to pay for water and firewood. He notes that his humanity, kindness, and love are abused to his disadvantage. No one is prepared to provide sustenance, instead he is impoverished. He asks who can relieve him of the suffering, provide shelter and clothing, free him from bondage. He says that all Africans should come together and work as a collective. Africans that attempt to free one another, who have empathy, who help without discrimination, who are encouraging to others, can contribute to improving the lives of others. He calls on Africans to stand up and rise. He says the international community has raised the South African question in Geneva, and that a centre has been established in the Johannesburg Institute of Race Relations. The success of all these efforts depends on unity. He urges all the South African races and nations to unite:

Xolelanani iziroro. Bambanani betu,  
Bambanani ngezandla, nithuthuzelane

Forgive one another's resentments. Please hold one another  
Hold one another hand, and console one another

Vili's poem reflects the discourse of all the Africanist political formations in South Africa during the period 1925-1935, which led to a period of Africans finally finding unity in 1935-1937 when they were facing disenfranchisement through the Hertzog Bills, and leading to a period, 1937 to 1949, which historians have dubbed "moderation and militancy. The "Policy of the ANC" which was issued in a statement of the Executive Committee of the All African Convention in 1937 summarises the views that were collected since the publication of the Hertzog Bills in 1925. The policy stated clearly that Segregation, with all its laws, is rejected. Africans were encouraged to embark upon vigorous agitation for their political rights. Africans had to meet all their needs. All discriminatory laws relating to land were to be abolished. Government was given the responsibility to deal with the unemployment crisis. There was a demand for equal pay for equal work. A proposal for the abolition the Native Tax was made. Pass laws should be abolished. The education of Africans was to be fully supported by government, particularly education in agriculture. Government was required to deal

with the health crisis leading to death by disease. Africans were to be provided with all opportunities for economic advancement. All the above led to unanimous agreement that Africans must unite to fight for the above rights and privileges (Karis and Carter, 1973:61-63).

Roux (1964:287) states that the above views were presented earlier by Professor Jabavu, Dr Rubusana and Rev Mahabana to a Select Committee where they were witnesses on behalf of Africans, with, however, little effect on the Select Committee. The founding of the All African Convention (AAC) in Bloemfontein in 1935 was, therefore, a significant response to Vili's call for unity, under the banner of Africanism. The AAC was an organized body of diverse African political formations who were all antagonistic to the Union Government policies.

#### 4.3.3.2 Izinto zine, pakati kwazo lipitsi lokufa

Yinqulequ usapo lwe Afrika

Lulobeni luyatshona esizibeni,  
Luposeleni intambo ezomeleleyo  
Qinisani ibreki indawo iyehla  
Kubi lenqwelo ifuna iremtyatanga.

.....  
Ngubanina ongaligxotayo: Ishologu  
Elishwangusha liwugqibile: Umzi nqi  
Bantu kongozelan nina: Usindiso  
Bantu zisezeni ngokwenu: Eliyeza  
Nini abagulayo, nini abalambileyo.

Umane usiti uyaqatwanje: zi Nkokeli  
Nguwe kanye oziqatayo! Ayizizo  
Umane usiti uyalahlekiswa: Zityalike  
Nguwe kanye ozilahlekisayo! Ayizizo,  
Sidengendini, siyata, ipi indima yako?  
Landela owaziyo, kokelwa ngobonayo.

There are four issues and one of them leads to death

The African people are going through  
difficult times  
Save them, they are drowning in deep waters  
Throw life lines that are strong  
Apply the brakes, the road is steep  
It is difficult the wagon requires a drag chain.

.....  
Who can drive away: the misfortune  
The calamity has finished: the nation  
People, receive: the Salvation  
People, drink yourselves: the medicine  
It is you who are sick, you who are hungry.

You always say you are cheated by: the leaders  
It is you who is cheating yourself! not them:  
You always say you are deceived: by the churches  
It is you who is misleading yourself: not them:  
You fool, you dunderhead, what effort have you made?  
Follow the knowledgeable one, be led by a visionary.

Vili raises the issues that were raised by the ideologues of Africanism since the inception of the movement. Africans must cease being the stumbling blocs in Africa's development, due to their failure to adhere to discipline and sound ethics. In the narrative preceding this poem he says there are four issues, which if not addressed, lead to death, destruction and pain. He states that these are money, men, women, and liquor. His explanation is as follows: a man leaves the rural areas to the urban areas to seek employment, which he gets, he gets remunerated for his labour and becomes financially sound. Unfortunately, he misuses the wealth on women and liquor. At home the family

starves. This leads to further unethical conduct. People start blaming one another. This behavior also affects the leadership in all spheres: social, political and religious. He says:

Inkikheli ma-Africa mayingabi ngumntu olalela izisulu, ukuhluthisa isisu sakhe, nokuzalisa ingxowa yakhe, mayingabi li-Zimu litye igazi labantu, mayingathi kuba imfundo yakhe inindzi, ibe ingqondo yakhe yemveli yona ibe isisidibi, mayingabi ngumntu onolunya onomsindo, owonqenayo ukuthetha, angatati umntu omgca ongengowakhe, ati efundele inkwenkwezi abe yi president yeFarmers Association, angati efundele ukucwela abe yisecretary kwi Theological Society, ayilungi inqwelo endleleni kaloliwe, uloliwe akahambi esporweni sikaTram, iblade ayilisiki ilitye ifolokwe akutyiwa ngayo isoup. Ezi zinto zonke ziyimfuneko koko nganye nganye inomgca ehamba ngawo.

A leader, Africans, must not be an opportunistic person, ready to feed his stomach, and to fill his bag, it must not be an Ogre that sucks people's blood, he must not have high education qualifications that are not balanced with natural intellect, he must not be arrogant and bad tempered, but taciturn. A person must not follow a career that is not his/her field of specialization, having studied astronomy but accepting a responsibility of presidency of a Farmers' Association, having studied carpentry but becoming a secretary of a Theological Society. A car cannot be driven on a railway line, a train cannot use the rails of a tram, a blade cannot cut a stone, a fork cannot be used to eat soup. All these things are necessary but each and everyone has to move on its specific terrain.

Vili admonishes Africans to stop blaming others for their failures and to carry out an introspection which will make them understand their weaknesses so that they can decisively deal with them.

#### 4.3.4. Mqhayi, S.E.K. (1942) *Inzuzo*

With the declining influence of chiefs Mqhayi's objects of praise were predominantly social, religious, educational, business and political leaders. His 1942 publication "*Inzuzo*" is evidence of this fact. Kaschula (1991:15) correctly observes:

It would seem however that praising is today not limited to the chiefs, and has been extended to other facets of life which did not previously exist in Xhosa society.

This observation is supported by Opland (2009:27) in his introduction to "*Abantu besizwe: Historical and biological writings, of SEK Mqhayi*", when he says:

Mqhayi was passionately committed to the restoration of black rights; to countering the discrimination suffered by black people, but also the progress of all South Africa's people to the point where they could share in the nation's bounty.

The central argument of this concluding discussion on Mqhayi is that the vehicle for realization of

the above-stated goal, was the development and promotion of the ideology of Africanism<sup>129</sup>. Mqhayi's poetry (1935-45) reflects his resoluteness as an "organic intellectual, the thinking and organizing element, who performed "an essential and mediating function in the struggle of class forces"<sup>130</sup> in South Africa during his time.

#### 4.3.4.1 UTebha

Kumk' isixhaso somhlaba nezizwe;  
Kumk' intsika yobom nokuphila.  
Ngumfo kaTebha ke lowo mawaba:  
Khuzani kumk' umnt' omkhulu!  
Lisok' elinenqayi laseShowe!  
USikhalima njalo kwaMzilikazi;  
UBijel'izizwe ngokweChanti;  
Uyise weentlanga zeAfrika.  
Isikhulu sakwaNyhithi-nyhithi;  
KwaQoboqobo naseNqolonqolo.  
Ngumfo kaTebha ke lowo zidweshu:  
Khuzani kumk' umnt' omkhulu  
Rholan' iqhinga lokuphila!  
Madoda rholan' amacebo;  
Ziza kwambathiswa ngubani na  
Namhl' iintombi zeAfrika?  
Aza kwambeswa ngubani na,  
Namhla la makhosikazi  
Emkile nje lo rno kaTebha?  
Khuzani kumk' umnt' omkhulu!

#### Harry Taberer

The support of the land and nation has passed on;  
The pillar of life and survival.  
That is the son of Taberer fellowmen / compatriots:  
Pay tributes, a great person has departed  
The bachelor of Eshowe who is bald!  
One called Sikhalima njalo by Mzilikazi people;  
One who coils around like a snake;  
The father of the nations of Africa  
The great one of Nyhithi-nyhithi;  
At Keiskammahoek and Nqolonqolo.  
That is the son of Taberer, compatriots:  
Pay tributes, a great man has passed on!  
Come up with a survival plan  
Men, come up with plans;  
Who is going to provide support  
Today to the daughters of Africa?  
Who is going to provide protection  
Today to the these women  
Now that the son of Taberer has departed?  
Pay tributes, a great man has departed!

The post - 1910 segregation ideology had an impact on the mining industry in South Africa which had assumed a dominant position in the last decade of the nineteenth century. As the segregation laws in the decades that followed unfolded, the mining industry reflected these developments, becoming more segregationist and racist. As the mine owners desired to accumulate more capital, more racism evolved, as the racist environment favoured fast accumulation of capital by the mining magnates. Despite this hostile environment, African labourers were flocking into the mines as the segregation laws expropriated land resulting in reduced agricultural activity in the rural areas, particularly the reserves. This made Africans to willingly offer their labour power to the mining industry despite what the All Africans Convention described as "deplorable rates of wages" (Karis and Carter,

<sup>129</sup>See also: Neethling and Mpolweni. 2006. "S.E.K. Mqhayi: Forerunner to democratic South Africa" in the *South African Journal of African Languages* Vol 26, No 3.

<sup>130</sup>Gramsci (1973:1) *The Intellectuals*.

1973:64). As the economic situation in the reserves declined, the mines became the only source of employment for the semi-skilled and unskilled Africans.

With the economic recession which left even the educated Africans jobless, the mining industry became the only avenue of saving families from extinction. At a political level, the All African Convention, in the statement issued in December 1937, made clear demands on wages: (a) equal pay for equal work (d) Wage Act and industrial conciliation Act to cover Africans. It is against this background that Mr. Harry Taberer, who ran a recruitment agency throughout the country and the then neighbouring Basutholand, Mozambique and the then Rhodesia, earned the respect of the African community. African miners and the community seem to have had a perception that he was playing a role of alleviating their suffering, under owners of the mines. His contribution to development projects and to the preservation of culture and heritage of Africans, earned him respect amongst Africans. It is against this background that Mqhayi heaps praises on him. He sees him as the father of African nations, as his recruitment agencies went beyond the borders of South Africa. He repeatedly calls upon Africans to pay their last respects to the eminent person who has passed on. As the men who laboured in the mines came back home with money that sustained families, provided shelter, clothing and food, he is asking a question “How will, with Tabarers demise, the girls and women of Africa, be provided for, by the young men and husbands?” He pleads with Taberer to continue looking after Africans when he reaches heaven.

#### 4.3.4.2 UMaFukuzela

.....

Phindel' edabini nto kaDube!  
Ukuzalwa wedwa ngumluwanyama;

IAfrika ayizalang' izalele phantsi;  
Nempundan' ekhoy' ibulew' intliziyo, -  
Yaf' ihamba yaxel' umkholonjane.  
Sibe kuy' egqirheni lahlal' ishwangusha,  
Ichanti, nohili, nomgubo kaphezulu;  
goodluck; Sakunyuka nengalo lihla noNondyola.

Phindela phesheya mfo wakwaSenzangakhona!  
Ndibev' apha isimbonono;  
Bathi, “Kwathi Afrika mayibuye,”  
De ndabuz' ukuthi: “Ningoobani na nina?”  
Unanamhla' andikeva mpendulo.  
Bholish' ikrikithi Langelibalele!  
Le nt' asinguwo mdlalo ngumtywabulo

#### Mafukuzela

.....

Go back to the battle son of Dube!  
To be born alone is a great disadvantage;

Africa has not produced off springs;  
The only one available is spiritually dead,-  
Dead alive like a crowned hornbill bird.  
When we consulted a diviner, he smelt evil spirits,  
The river snake, and dwarf, and powder for  
When we asked for more he disappeared.

Go back overseas son of Senzangakhona!  
I have heard them making a continual lamentation;  
Saying “Africa must return,”  
I asked, “who are you?”  
Till today I have not heard an answer.  
Play the cricket ball well langelibalele!  
This is not a game but a difficult task

Bholishani nzima nikhuph' iBritani!

.....  
Hamb' ubuye kakuhle Langalibalele!  
Wenz' iindaba zokubuya kweAfrica;  
La mathambo mhlawumb' angarhashaza ,  
Lith' ithambo liye kwithambo lalo.  
.....

Bowl strongly to bowl Britainout!

.....  
Go and come back safely Langalibalele!  
And bring news of the return of Africa;  
The bones may start moving close to one another  
One bone joining another bone.  
.....

Mqhayi presents Rev John Langalibalele Dube as an epitome of Africanism. Dube was born in Natal in 1871. He was educated at Inanda and Amanzimtoti Theological School (later Adams College). This son of a pastor of the American Zulu Mission, studied at Oberlin College, in America, and, in 1904, he returned to South Africa and founded *Ilanga lase Natal*. He later established Ohlange Institute at Inanda in 1909. In 1912 he was elected, in absentia, as the first president-general of the new South African Native National Congress (later African National Congress). His first fight as president of the SANNC was against the Native Land Act of 1913. He represented the SANNC in a delegation to London in 1914 to protest against this land act which had negative effects on Africans, both rural and urban (Meli, 1988:80). Dube continued to be associated with the political struggle after his term ended in 1917, supporting the Natal branch of the ANC. In the twenties he focused on church work and also peace initiatives when racial relations in South Africa were very low. In 1930 he, Mahabane and Mapikela orchestrated the removal of Gumede as president of ANC and his substitution by Pixley ka Isaka Seme, the prime mover for the establishment of the ANC (Davenport, 1987:301). In 1935 Dube became a member of the executive of the All African Convention. In a letter to Mandela, IB Tabata, of the All African Convention, accused Dube of smashing the idea of the All African Convention through breaking away from the All African Convention to rebuild and strengthen the African National Congress. To Mqhayi he was “a practical politician and in fact an epitome of all virtues,” not a “willing stooge”.<sup>131</sup> Dube was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Philosophy degree by University of South Africa for his efforts in education and community development. He died in 1946, a year after Mqhayi's death. Meli (1988:80) evaluates Dube's contribution as follows:

The strategy and ideology of the early ANC leaders, such as John Dube, did not move with the times. This is not to say that they changed from their early radicalism. They did not become “reactionary” but the world around them changed. Their theories about the demands for racial equality, justice and African unity challenged the very basis of white power, ...

---

<sup>131</sup>See letter to Mandela from I B Tabata in Karis and Carter (1987:365).



The point that Mqhayi demonstrates with his eulogy on Dube is that Africanism is non-ethnic. His selection of this figure of praise is not immune from his ideological disposition. Mqhayi's views contradict Tabata's view of Dube as a "willing stooge" that "led the Zulus back to tribalism" (Karis and Carter, 1973:365). He lauds praises on Dube, the African leader, who has to come back to the battle and create news of the return of Africa. This is reference to Dube's come-back to politics in the thirties and forties after focusing on education and the church in the twenties. He commends him for contributing to the revival of the African National Congress by equating him with the Biblical Ezekiel who prophesied to dead dry bones and put breath into them and brought them back to life<sup>132</sup>. He pleads with him to ensure that Britain, the former colonial power, is outplayed, implying that Africa should be set free from Colonialism.

#### 4.3.4.3 UProfesa C.M. Doke

Aa! Ngqingqel' iilwimi!  
Zembe sangqingqana,  
Uye wabeth' eGoso,-  
Waye wabeth' eGuburha.  
Thole loManeli loMfundisi,  
Umahlal' emithonjeni yempilo.  
Emithonjeni yolwazi nengqondo,  
Kub' uhlal' eziYunivesithi,

Apho kusel' ucwambu lwesizwe;  
Khon' apho kusel' uluhle lohlanga  
Mbethelen'ingqongqo ma-Afrikakazi,  
Ngunanko-nanko min' angayikhona!

Nanko maFiji nanko maNyanja,  
Nanko baNgoni nanko baVenda!

OkaPlaatje sitheth' uTshekiso.  
Uthi kowab' iilwimi zisawa ngokuwa,  
Kowabo ke kukwelabaTshwana.  
AbaPedi khawuphind' ubazingele.  
Bath' abazani bona nabaRolweni.

Yihlel' ezants' asikeva mfo kaDukwe!  
Bath' uNongadlel' ungxamel' ukunama-nama,

#### Professor C.M. Doke

Ah! You who is working hard to develop languages!  
With a short handed axe,  
He has been to Goso  
He has been to Guburha.  
Son of a clergyman,  
He who stays at health fountains.  
Fountains of knowledge and intellect,  
For he stays at Universities

Where the cream of the nation drinks.  
Where the best of the nation drinks  
Make the music of cowhide for him female Africans,  
He who is always seen even when he is not going  
that direction!  
There he is Fijians and Nyanjas,  
There he is Ngonis and Vendas!

The son of Plaatjie, I mean Tshekiso.  
Says at his home languages are at variance of,  
His home is in the Tswana land.  
Search for the Pedisagain.  
They say they have no relationship with the  
Barolong.  
Come down we have not yet head you son of Doke!  
They say Nongadlala, is making unclear  
opervations,

<sup>132</sup> See Ezekiel chapter 37 vs 1-14. The Valley of Dry Bones:

"The hand of the LORD was upon me, and he brought me out by the Spirit of the LORD and set me in the middle of a valley; it was full of bones. 2 He led me back and forth among them, and I saw a great many bones on the floor of the valley, bones that were very dry. 3 He asked me, "Son of man, can these bones live?" I said, "O Sovereign LORD, you alone know." 4 Then he said to me, "Prophesy to these bones and say to them, 'Dry bones, hear the word of the LORD'!"

UNongadlela nguHendisini kaSoga,  
 Hlel'ezantsi mfo kaDukwe!  
 Khawuphendule mfo kaDube,  
 Langalibalele kaMafukuzela,  
 Khawuphendule mfo kaFuba kaZibi,  
 Uyatheth' umfana kaDyokhwe.  
 Uth' iintetho mazidibane,  
 Ziphononongw' amabatha namakhwiniba,  
 AmaSwahili sel' ekuy' engxoweni,  
 AbakwaZulu sebekwangaphakathi.  
 Mandikushiy' apho kwedini kaDyokhwe!  
 Mgawuli wezint' ezisemeveni;  
 Mahlahl' iintsunguzi zobudenge;  
 Ehombis' iAfrika ngemixhaga,  
 Ngamanquma, neentshinga, nezambalo  
 Tarhu mfo kaMfundisi!

Nongadlela is Henderson Soga,  
 Come down, son of Doke!  
 Respond, son of Dube,  
 Langalibalele of Mafukuzela,  
 Respond, son of Fuba of Zibi,  
 The son of Doke is proposing something  
 He says languages must be harmonised  
 And be cleared of all flaws and errors,  
 The Swahili are already in his pocket,  
 The Zulu language is also in his pocket.  
 Let me leave you, son of Doke!  
 You who ventures into difficult propositions;  
 He who clears darkness caused by stupidity;  
 Decorating Africa with ivory rings  
 Decorative knots, and other shiny African decorations,  
 Goodbye, son of a clergyman!

In a period of racial polarization, when Afrikaner nationalism, and African Nationalism were at loggerheads, Mqhayi demonstrates that Africanism ideology is not based on racial considerations. He identifies Dr Doke as a true African. According to Mqhayi, a person, irrespective of race or creed who contributes to development of Africa is an African. Dr Doke contributed significantly to the development of African languages, in his capacity as an academic at the University of Witwatersrand<sup>133</sup> and the role he played in government initiated language development projects<sup>134</sup>. Mqhayi worked closely with Doke who was the national chairperson of the Central Orthography Committee which was appointed by the Government of the union to review the orthography of South African indigenous languages. The Cape was represented by W.G. Bennie, Dr Eiselen and Prof D.D.T. Jabavu. S.E.K. Mqhayi, Henderson Soga, Canon C.J. Wyche, Dr Engelbrecht, Prof Jabavu and Mr W.B. Bennie were members of the IsiXhosa sub-committee which was co-ordinated and chaired by the government representative Mr W.B. Bennie. It is the work that Doke did from 1928-1937 that made Mqhayi to recognize and respect his efforts as a committed African. The elderly Mqhayi seems to have also made a positive impression on Doke. Doke seems to have developed appreciation for his gift of poetry. The instruction that he gave to Lovedale Press was for a wide circulation of Mqhayi's *Inzuzo* to highly eminent persons and big libraries of the country. He recommended that a copy be sent to the British Museum in London as well.

<sup>133</sup>See Doke's letter of 30/11/42 suggesting wide circulation of Mqhayi's *Inzuzo* at Cory Library.

<sup>134</sup>See letter from Welsh, Chief inspector for Native Education on proposals for developing Bantu Education. See also Education Gazette 23/11/33. At Cory Library, Rhodes University. It is summarized in 4.41 of this thesis.

#### 4.3.4.4 Umfikazi uCharlotte Manyhi Maxeke

The poem is a tribute to Mrs Charlotte Maxeke<sup>135</sup>. Mqhayi introduces Mrs Maxeke<sup>136</sup> as follows:

Lentombi kaManyhi noko inguMsuthukazi, yaqala ukulibona ilanga kweli lizwe lakowethu, lakwaNgqika; yafunda apha yawela ukuya eMerika, isuka phakathi kwethu apha, yade yabuya neloxhoba liyimfundo yeza nalo ekhaya. Latiyiwa ngawo onke amaAfrica- into leyo ezingabeleyo iimfundi nemfundikazi...

This daughter of Manyhi, though she is Sotho, first saw the sun in this land of ours, of Ngqika; she studied here, and from among us here she travelled overseas to America; and when she returned with education as her prize she came to her home here and shared it with all Africans - a difficult thing for educated men or women to do...

Shukumani bafazi!  
Ushenxil' uMamarhixi-rhixi  
Ufinyis' amagruxu.  
Ushenxil' okad' esaakh' umzi,  
Egutyul' iirhanga zamanxila;  
Egodus' amahilhil' agoduke;  
Kubuy' amadungudwan' emazweni.

Itye lesiseko seTiyopiya!  
Shukumani bafazi!

.....  
Maz'emabele made yaseAsefrika  
Okwanyis' usapho lukaNtu luphela,  
Azi nonyaka yaphusile nje, -  
Logangwa yintokazi kabanina?  
Menzelen' ilitye lokukhunjulwa,  
Ze siqhayisele ngal' amavilakazi.  
Az' angaz' alityalwe kowabo;  
Az' angaz' alityalwa'emhlabeni;  
Az' angaz' alityalw' eAfrica!

Be active, women!  
The Mother of the destitute has departed;  
She who helped the snotty clean their noses.  
The house builder has departed;  
She who swept out corridors of drunkards;  
Bringing back home the vagabonds.  
She who forced the good-for nothings/street roamers  
in urban areas, to return to their rural homes.  
Foundation stone of Ethiopian Church!  
Be active women!

.....  
The long breasted woman of Africa  
For suckling all Africans.  
Since this year her breasts have dried up;  
Whose daughter will take her place?  
Erect a stone to her memory,  
For us to brag about it, to lazy women.  
May she never be forgotten by her people;  
May she never be forgotten on earth;  
May she never be forgotten in Africa.

Scholars have analysed this poem from various perspectives. Qangule (1979:127) classifies it as one of Mqhayi's praises of national patriots and provides data that proves that she met the requirement of that stature in society. Jadezweni (2013:182-190) classifies the poem as one of poetry about women in traditional leadership and politics. He argues that these are fields that are dominated by men. Jadezweni (2013:190) observes the non-ethnic quality of the object of praise and her commitment to the African people:

<sup>135</sup> The poem is published in *S.E.K. Mqhayi: Abantu beSizwe*, edited by J. Opland, (2009:525). It was originally published in *Bantu World*, 09 March 1940, p. 6. It was reprinted in *Inzuzo* (1942:35-36).

<sup>136</sup> Published in *The Bantu World*, 9 March 1940, p6. Reprinted in *Inzuzo* (1942:35-36).

The use of “amabele” is to indicate her motherliness. She visited Tembuland as a mother of the nation. This can be interpreted to mean she showed generosity as a mother to the people of Thembuland... That the breasts are big is deliberate to represent her generosity and her ability to reach out to as many who need help.

The additional perspective of this study is that Mqhayi, furthermore, through this poem promotes the Africanism ideology which is represented by his figure of praise. Mqhayi portrays Maxeke as an epitome of Africanism. This is another contribution by Mqhayi that exposes one of the fundamental tenets of Africanism: non-sexism. As already stated in Chapter 3, Charlotte Manyhi Maxeke was born in Uitenhage, in the Cape Province. She went to study at the Negro University at Wilberforce U.S.A., where she obtained a BSC University degree, becoming the first African woman, to achieve that high level of education (Roux, 1964:81). Dr Xuma, the then President of the ANC, presented her as “the mother of African freedom in this country”(Karis Carter, 1973:43). She came back to South Africa where in 1913 she played an active leadership role in demonstrations against the Union of South Africa Government imposition of pass laws for women. She lead a delegation to Prime Minister Botha, expressing disagreement with oppressive laws of the Union Government. In 1918 she spearheaded the establishment of the Bantu Women’s League. Qangule (1979:127) lists among her achievements the founding of the Wilberforce Institute in Pretoria, opening of a labour bureau for Black women at the magistrate’s court in Johannesburg, where she was employed as a welfare officer. She married Reverend Maxeke, who in the twenties edited *uMthetheli waBantu*, which became a true mouthpiece of the oppressed masses. She participated in the formation of the All African Convention which aimed at uniting all South African Natives (Karis and Carter, 1973:43-44). Mqhayi sees Maxeke as an African woman whose contribution influenced the entire Africa. He describes her as the woman of Africa with long breasts which are able to reach out to all Africans to provide them with sustenance. With her passing on, he sees a huge hiatus and wonders who will be able to close that gap.

#### 4.3.4.5. Dr AB Xuma

The last published poem of Mqhayi is his praises of Dr. A.B. Xuma<sup>137</sup>, who was the President of the African National Congress from 1940 to 1949. According to Karis and Carter (1973:90):

Xuma was both an Africanist, calling for African unity and selfreliance, and a multiracialist, welcoming co-operation by Whites of goodwill but turning increasingly to cooperation with nonwhites.

Mqhayi introduces Dr Xuma as follows:

Lo mphakathi ngamaling' akhankanywe ngasentl' apha uthe kuyo le minyaka ikufuphi nje, wazibalula ngokulibhala igama lakhe ezintliziweni zoluntu luphela. Andazi ukuba ikho inkonzo exabiseke ngaphezu kwaleyo, enokwenziwa ngumntu kwisizwe sakowabo. Ngako oko ke, andazi ngathi angayifanela imivimbo embalwa yokumvathisa.<sup>138</sup>

Through initiatives previously mentioned, this councillor has within a few years made a name for himself in the hearts of the entire community. I believe no greater service can be performed than in the interests of the nation. And so, I think he deserves some lines to adorn him.

This comment is followed by the following exaltation:

.....  
Igqirh' elindoq' emagqirheni, -  
Ndincame mhla lanyang' uNomvingwa,  
Inkazan' ebidume ngokuthand' amadoda.  
Ndilincame ngokumis' uKhongolosi  
Sel'entsuku sixhenxe wanchwatywayo.  
Sekulil' uDube noMakgatho;  
Ethwel' izandl' okaQalata<sup>139</sup>,  
Wakhwaz' okaNgojo<sup>140</sup> nokaMdolomba<sup>141</sup>

Camagu Zweliyanyikima!  
Camagu Gqirh' eliyindoda!  
Int' ehlal' ihlal' iiNqakra-Zili!  
Ixel' uGcalek' eNxinxholo.  
Sibeke, sibuzane sifun' ukuncama:

Qhaphu-gqi! Seyithwel' uMamlambo!  
Atshw' amadod' aw' iziqaqa.

.....  
A diviner more skilled than others.  
I couldn't believe when he healed Nonvingwa,  
A young woman known for her love of men.  
I couldn't believe when he raised up Congress  
a week after its funeral,  
with Makgatho and Dube in tears,  
and Calata at sixes and sevens,  
and Ngojo and Mdolomba making upriver!

Peace, Earth Tremer!  
Peace, male diviner!  
One who was remains ateetotaller  
Like Gcaleka at Nxinxholo!  
We prize it, debate it, then try to quit it:

Here it comes! Mamlambo's still talking a blues streak!  
And there go the men tumbling down cliffs.

<sup>137</sup> The poem is published in *S.E.K. Mqhayi: Abantu beSizwe*, edited by J. Opland, (2009:527). It was originally published in *Imvo zabaNtsundu* 01 April 1944, p. 8

<sup>138</sup> *Imvo*, 01 April 1944. p. 8.

<sup>139</sup> Correct spelling is Calata (1895-1983) Anglican Minister in Cradock 1928-1968. President of Cape ANC 1930-1949. Secretary General of ANC 1936-1949. See Duka (2011) for biography of Calata.

<sup>140</sup> Ngojo James President of the CapeANC. Karis and Carter pp. 132, 138 and 140.

<sup>141</sup> Elizah Mdolomba Secretary General of ANC from 1930-1936. Karis and Carter pp. 41 and 132.

Madoda mncamen' uNontsendwana, -  
Ulahleke kabin' ebuzweni:

.....  
Ndineentloni kuya kojub' imikhuthuka!  
Ngozintsinga ngathi ziintsimbhi!

Uyalithwal' ikhulu lamadoda,  
Awaxhom' onk' awoManyano.  
Ngomithambho ngathi ziingcingo,  
Zokuxhom' umXhosa nomZulu, -  
Kujing' umSuthu nomTswana.  
Emadodenii kwedini kaXuma!  
Kad' izizwe zixhuma ziphethuka!

Men, give up on Nontsendwana -  
Twice he strayed from his nation<sup>142</sup>:

.....  
I'd be reluctant to see the old guard rebound!  
The one with guts like iron

can carry a hundred men;  
lifting All Manyano members.  
The one with veins like wire,  
To lift a Xhosa and a Zulu -  
a Sotho and Tswana will swing.  
Join the men, Xuma's kid!  
The nations have long been jumping and swerving!

As Mqhayi passed on in 1945, his assessment of Dr. Xuma reflects his perception of the first half of Dr. Xuma's leadership as President of the African National Congress. Dr. Xuma's achievements during this period were:

- The revision of the 1919 Constitution of the ANC, and ensuring its adoption by the 1943 Conference. The document was simplified and made more clearer. It made the ANC non-racial as it accommodated "any person...willing to subscribe to the aims of Congress" moving away from "the aboriginal races of Africa". The new constitution was democratic and progressive (Karis and Cater, 1973:85).

In 1941 Xuma and his executive started a membership recruitment campaign which, by 1945, resulted in 4176 fully subscribed members. Karis and Carter (ibid:86) also state that:

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<sup>142</sup> Opland's translation of the poem, above and below, is acknowledged.

Before Xuma's presidency, the ANC's reputation was tarnished by charges of financial irresponsibility... As president Xuma made the first systematic effort within the ANC to keep a public financial accounting as well as to build up Treasury. He also sought to confine participation in conferences to dues-paying members in good standing, thus implementing the 1919 constitution.

- Another achievement of Dr. Xuma's first term was the drafting of the African Claims Document, a statement of objectives which was adopted at the annual conference of the ANC in December 1943 (Karis and Carter, *ibid*:89).
- Before the 1943 annual conference of the ANC, Dr. Xuma and the young members of the ANC met to conceptualise the formation of a permanent Youth League. The meetings resulted in Dr. Xuma, in his presidential address of 1943, making a call for the establishment of the Youth League and the Women's League. Xuma further supported and approved the constitution and the manifesto of the Youth League which were developed in 1944.

It is against this background that Mqhayi extolls Dr Xuma as a true Africanist. He acknowledges his significant contribution in the revival of the African National Congress.

Dube and Makgatho are former presidents of the ANC who were concerned about its future. Calata was then the Secretary General of the ANC, who realized the fact that the ANC needed a younger leader. Ngojo and Mdolomba were also stalwarts of the ANC. Mqhayi also exposes the challenge faced by the ANC, of contestation with other political organisations. Dr Xuma seemed to rise to the occasion and to be strong enough to compete successfully with the strong leadership of other political formations of the time. These are definitely the All African Convention, the New Unity Movement and the Communist Party which also sought to win membership from the same pool of Africans. He also commends Xuma for unity of African ethnic groups, to name a few: Xhosa, Zulu, Suthu (sic) and Tswana.

## **4.4 Consolidation of the State Apparatus**

### **4.4.1 Ideological State Apparatus**

A vexed question is whether the orthographical changes in South African indigenous languages, that were proposed by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (IALC) that

was led by Dr Dietrich Westermann were ideologically motivated or not. Why did the institute seek to standardize the spelling systems of all the African languages? Why was the motivation for this change extrinsic?

Did the IALC of Dr Westermann influence the Union Government, or was it a mere co-incidence that the Government Advisory Committee on Bantu Studies appointed a Committee to see what could be done to bring harmony to the orthographies of the Bantu languages of the Union Government. The organic intellectual who was holding a key government function in the twenties, when these proposed changes were initiated, was W.G. Bennie, who gave full support to this transformation process. Opland (1998:3) states:

W.G. Bennie's new orthography was introduced in a storm of controversy in the face of strong opposition from Xhosa speakers, imposed severe constraints on the production of Xhosa literature, and in turn underwent a major revision after only twenty years.

The study, however, finds that the blame should be put on the shoulders of the Department of Education and the Union Government as the process continued and got implemented after Bennie's retirement. The consequences seem to be unintended, but dire.

On 23 November 1933, the *Education Gazette* contained a Department of Education Circular<sup>143</sup> which stated that the Department will more incrementally implement the new orthography in all examinations of the Department, starting in 1935. By 1937 it was expected that all literature in Bantu schools will be in the new orthography. A summary of the Education Gazette is that it sought to announce the decision of the Department of Education regarding how the proposed revision of Orthography will affect schools, school books and examinations. It explained that during the twenties up to 1930 various sub-committees, representative of specialists in phonetics, representatives of missions, educators and community members were requested to submit recommendations to the Central Orthography Committee which made the proposed changes to the existing orthography and how they intended to shape orthography of Bantu languages. In 1930 the Xhosa recommendations, were accepted by the central committee and published for general information. Teachers, missionaries and community members were made aware of the proposed

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<sup>143</sup> See *Education Gazette* of 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1933, p. 1131, in the Cory Library, Document 16,436 of the Lovedale Collection.



changes. The members of the Committee were the Chief Inspector for Native Education, Mr W.G. Bennie, Mr D.D.T. Jabavu and Mr S.R. Mqayi<sup>144</sup>. Having accepted the recommendations, the Department resolved to implement the new orthography in the Department of Education examinations of 1935 and 1936 and to make the orthography compulsory in 1937 and the following years. Xhosa books prescribed and used in Native Schools were required to be in the new orthography during and after 1937. In 1941 Bennie, working during his retirement period, published in seven articles in *Imvo*, the new orthography. The relevance of this orthography discussion is its negative impact on the production of isiXhosa literature during the period 1935 – 1948. In a covering letter to Rev Shepherd, Chief Inspector for Native education, Mr G.H. Welsh, captured his correspondence as “Proposals for developing Bantu Literature” The immediate and short term consequences were, however, the opposite of this intention. The Stewart Xhosa Readers, which were produced by Lovedale Press and Bennie were written in the new orthography. This was added justification for their prescription in schools above any other book. This disadvantaged writers of isiXhosa Literature who operated independently outside the Lovedale Press. The new orthography also closed the avenue of making use of overseas publishers,<sup>145</sup> as they had to immediately print their books in the new orthography.

The new orthography, therefore, assisted in protecting Lovedale Press from the overseas competition. Shepherd wrote to Bennie asking for the isiXhosa version of Mqhayi’s biography for publication. Old John<sup>146</sup> was requested to read the manuscript and make recommendations. Shepherd also read the manuscript in English. When Mqhayi’s autobiography was about to be published in London in English, Lovedale was warned, and Lovedale hastened the publication of the book in isiXhosa<sup>147</sup>. Mqhayi who was vigilant about his rights as a writer delayed signing of agreement for *uDon Jadu*. Bennie had to play a mediating role. On payment arrangements for the autobiography he also advised Shepherd on how to strike a deal with Mqhayi. The argument here is that economic forces also played a major role in the production of literature during this period. The macroeconomic forces at play also influenced the micro economics. To take this argument further, on 9 October 1928 Lovedale wrote to Mr H.Soga saying:

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<sup>144</sup> S.E.K. Mqhayi’s name in the old orthography.

<sup>145</sup> See letter from Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) Northumberland Avenue London of 11 March 1938, 30 May 1938 and 9 June 1938.

<sup>146</sup> One of the reviewers of isiXhosa Literature at Lovedale Press

<sup>147</sup> (See letter 09 May 38) (see letter of 21 June 1938) and 4 June 1938 at Cory Library.

In future if you have any book or pamphlet of your own which you wish published, I hope you will give it to us here and give us the opportunity of helping you and yourselves as well as the Native people by such publication. To confess I regret very much that your translation of the *Pilgrim's Progress* has gone elsewhere.

A combination of the above-mentioned repressive state apparatuses had an impact on the quantity of poetry produced during this epoch. However, the quality of the few books published is commendable.

#### 4.4.2 Repressive State Apparatus

The government also issued out pieces of legislation aimed at enforcing compliance with segregation policies:

- The department of Education's Decree of 23 November 1933 was promulgated in the *Education Gazette*. Its focus was on new orthography. It stated that "Xhosa books for Native schools shall be in the new orthography in and after 1937" (p.1131.)
- The newspaper and Imprint Act, 1934, stated that newspapers journals etc had to apply for a certificate of registration from the Minister of the Interior. Lovedale Press applied for the South African Outlook on 2nd May 1934.<sup>148</sup>
- The Native Representation Act and Land Act of 1936 had an impact on all aspects of life, social, cultural and economic. Though indirectly, literature was also affected.
- The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1944 also had a negative impact on cultural development and social life.

The argument put forward in this study is that the repressive state apparatus of the Segregation State of the period 1935 to 1948 had a negative impact on the development of IsiXhosa written poetry. The study builds on the foundations of earlier scholars, eg A.C Jordan<sup>149</sup>, who, in his paper "*Nascent Apartheid as witnessed by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Xhosa writers*" argues that:

One could go on ad infinitum et ad nauseum, enumerating instances of ruthless, discriminatory and oppressive legislation in South Africa a century and more before 1948. The point being made here is that the policy of Apartheid that brought the Nationalists into power in 1948 is fundamentally not a

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<sup>148</sup> Cory MS 16, 436 Rhodes University.

<sup>149</sup> A.C. Jordan's undated paper, *Nascent Apartheid as witnessed by 19<sup>th</sup> century Xhosa writers*, was written for the African studies program at the University of Wisconsin. It is at NAHECS, UFH (ACJ 129) (6P54).

new policy in South Africa. Apartheid, as a policy, sought to evolve a machinery to eliminate all inconsistencies in the practical application of political, economic, and social segregation and discrimination, in order to perpetuate the policy of White supremacy to which the South African Whites, as a group, became committed about a century before 1948.

Having analysed and interpreted literature that was published in newspapers of the nineteenth century, Jordan concludes his paper with the statement:

The foundations of Apartheid were laid by the British long before the Boers (Afrikaners) ever thought they would, one day, come into power in South Africa.

#### 4.5 Aesthetic Ideology: 1912-1948

To avoid repetition and redundancy, the aesthetic ideology of the authors of isiXhosa written texts of both the first and second epochs of the contestation between segregation and Africanism, is hereunder discussed. But it will illuminate our discussion, if as a background, we briefly look at the situation during the last quarter of the last century of Colonial era. *Isigidimi*,<sup>150</sup> the first publisher of isiXhosa written poetry, contains a comment by J.T Jabavu, the editor, on a poem submitted for publication by a Mr Skepe Nzeku:

Ubunyaniso bale nteto bafunyanwa kudala ngama Latine awada afumana isiteto sokuba “Imbongi ayenziwa, iyazalwa” ... Kukho izipho ngezipho mfo kaNzeku.

The truth of the saying was discovered long ago by the Greek (who spoke Latin) who went on to coin a phrase “a poet is not made but born”. People are endowed with different talents, son of Nzeku.

This I see as the inception of the contest between isiXhosa written poetry text that is influenced by the aesthetic of the dominant ideology, and the aesthetic of the subaltern ideology which resisted the extrinsic influence. This contestation carried on in the second medium that carried isiXhosa written poetry, *Imvo*, which was edited by the same J.T Jabavu.<sup>151</sup> The dominant colonial ideology manifested itself in the isiXhosa written poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth century which were mainly stanzaic, and had much emphasis on rhyme. The influence of the missionaries was evident in the poetry of this period, which was also a period of production and publication of Church hymns, poems tended to resemble the eighteenth and nineteenth century English hymns.

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<sup>150</sup> See *Isigidimi* 15 April, 1884 (pg 4). Also Opland and Nyamende (2008:329-330).

<sup>151</sup> Opland and Nyamende (2008:329) have also observed this.

Jabavu seems to have been in favour of the models with English influence as the next paper that he edited, *Imvo*, was dominated by writers who were heavily influenced by the European aesthetics<sup>152</sup>, but the newspaper *Izwi*, which afforded a platform to young emerging writers like Mqhayi, accommodated the contending model which was heavily influenced by indigenous oral poetry.<sup>153</sup> The contest between the dominant colonial aesthetic and the alternative/ subaltern Africanist aesthetic continued up to the early twentieth century. During this period the poetry that later came to be recognized as modern poetry was dominant, as the *Imvo* publication continued to exist while the *Izwi laBantu*, in 1909, collapsed, due to lack of financial backing.

It is the view of this researcher that there is a correlation between the modern – traditional contest and the ideological contest in South Africa of 1912-1948. The observation of this study is that the corpus of poetry selected in this study, which exhibits the Africanism ideology, from the repertoires of poets selected, few poems attempt to write in the “modern format” which is distinguished by stanzas, rhyme etc. The poetry that exhibits a strong Africanist disposition adopts the “traditional” format.

This strengthens the argument advanced by students of literature and ideology that there is a correlation between an author’s socio-political ideology and his aesthetic ideology. A combination of socio-political ideology and an aligned aesthetic ideology enhances the quality of the artistic product, while on the other hand, a disjuncture compromises the quality of the artwork. In clearer terms an aesthetic that is not compatible with the content of the poem has a reductive effect on the quality of the poem. Though his focus is on African poetry written in English, Goodwin (1982:V) helps us to understand the origins of the “modern traditional” analytic couple. He says these modern poems, whose quality varies, are:

... derived from English models and are naïve, sometimes even pathetic, in their acceptance, or partial acceptance, of the white man’s values.

Tracing their origins he says:

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<sup>152</sup>Kuse’s (1977:20) view is that Jonas Ntsiko used a model of Alexander Pope’s “Essay of man” in his 86 line rhymed verse.

<sup>153</sup>Mqhayi wrote in *Izwi* during the period 1897-1900. See Kuse (1977:20-34) and *Imvo* 1900 onwards.

Much of this poetry is based on such models as the eighteenth – or nineteenth – century English hymns. The stanzaic poems of the English and American Romantics and their successors, or early twentieth century English and American free verse.<sup>154</sup>

An example of this modern poetry is Jonas Ntsiko's<sup>155</sup> 86 verse poem which was expressing discomfort with the young Mqhayi's "plagiarism" of another poet Xholo's work, and a defence of Jabavu when he was accused of "harbouring sympathies with the Afrikaner Bond".<sup>156</sup> The movement of compilation of hymns for the various denominations might have contributed to popularisation of the modern poetry model which exhibits influence of the British tradition.

Mqhayi's emergence in the world of journalism and literature coincides with the end of the nineteenth century, a period which Udentia (1996:23) says is marked in the British Colonies by increasingly radical and genuinely anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-racist line "and a struggle for dismantling of colonialism and imperialism".

Udentia (ibid) writes:

The significance of all these developments to literature, especially revolutionary poetry, is obvious because the literary artists of the time were observers, participants, and commentators of the world situation, and, more importantly, because literature, as a form of social consciousness, is dialectically interrelated with imperatives and sources of signification. It is little surprise, therefore, that writers of democratic sympathies and progressive opinions crossed over to the side of the working class and used their art in concretizing the yearnings of the oppressed people in the literary sphere.

Mqhayi's indigenous aesthetic introduced a revolutionary aesthetic which challenged the influence of romanticism, that had a profound influence on the earlier generation in isiXhosa poetry of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first poem that is analysed in the third chapter of this study shows that Mqhayi also was not immune from the Western ideology. He also tried to produce a rhyming verse as indicated in this poem discussed earlier:

Irhafu yamakhandia

Politax

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<sup>154</sup> Goodwin (1982:V) makes an example of a poem "The Congo" written in 1914 by an American poet Lindsay to illustrate equal lack of authenticity though the poems are written by Africans.

<sup>155</sup> Jonas Ntsiko wrote in *Imvo* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, sometimes using his nom-de-plume "UHadi waseluhlangeni". He had a column in *Imvo* "Ibala lembongi" (playground of the bard). See Kuse (1977:19).

<sup>156</sup> See Kuse (1977:20).

.....  
 Bathethise ooBambatha  
 Babeke phants' iimbadada  
 Ubacenga nooMtshoveli  
 Uthi ukho umVeleli.

Hehe! Hehe!maAfrika!  
 Naal' uluvo ndininika,  
 Ma sixolele ukuwa  
 Be sizama ukuphuma.

Ukuphuma kwaba bantu  
 these people  
 Abampatho igadavu  
 Siphatwe ngokwabeSutu  
 Abampatho iluncuthu.

.....  
 Phakamani maAfrika !  
 Ezi zinto zisinika,  
 Intlabiso nengqiqiso  
 Yokuvela kosindiso.

.....  
 Please talk to the Bambathas  
 To take off their sandals/ shoes  
 Also persuade the Machiavellis  
 And tell them that the Lord is alive.

Hehe!Hehe!Africans!  
 Here is an advice for you,  
 Let us rather choose to face falling down  
 In a process of attempting to rise

Let us work towards freeing ourselves from

Whose government / rule is harsh  
 Let us be goveren like the Basotho  
 Whose government is just.

.....  
 Rise Africans!  
 These things provide us,  
 With a direction and a vision  
 Of the birth of salvation.

The meaning and the logic of the first stanza is not easy to understand. The enforced rhyme has compromised the meaning or the content of the poem. These might have been the challenges of a foreign aesthetic, that Mqhayi observed when he took the decision to re-introduce and to develop the indeginous aesthetic with a heavy influence of oral culture. These four stanzas demonstrate the negative impact of an effort to impose rhyme on isiXhosa poetry.

Mqhayi, who pioneered and championed the revolutionary aesthetic, was an inspiration to his contemporaries and to the poets of the following generation and he made the great contribution, ensuring the preservation and conservation of the heritage of amaXhosa. The poems analysed and interpreted in the third chapter which contain a revolutionary content, have moved away from the Victorian aesthetic and tapped on the rich indigenous aesthetic of the oral bards. This applied to Solilo, Mgqwetho and the other Africanist poets of this epoch.

Udenta (1996:26) argues that:

It is not only in Eastern Europe that revolutionary poetry attained great height in the 1920's and beyond. In the period 1920 and 1970 progressive poetry with deep and abiding revolutionary content and world view blossomed also in other parts of the world.

The content and form of the poetry of the period 1935-1948 which is dealt with in this fourth chapter also reflects the contest between revolutionary poetry and the "modern poetry" which is

modelled on European aesthetics. Udentia (1993:9) elaborates further on the concept of revolutionary aesthetics:

Revolutionary aesthetics is a specific ideological reaction to the contradictions of capitalist and semi-capitalist societies and a purveyor of a new vision of social reality embodied in the theory and practice of revolutionary change.

A brief history of revolutionary aesthetics demonstrates that it is relevant to the analysis and interpretation of the South African literature that is produced in indigenous languages. Though its history and origins are in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia, before the socialist Revolution of 1917, its influence can be found in South Africa<sup>157</sup>. Its history and origins are in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia, before the socialist Revolution of 1917, its influence can be found in South Africa. By 1934 in Russia, revolutionary aesthetics was adopted as the main method and guiding philosophy of Soviet art and was defined as a “truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development”.

(Udentia, 1993:9) and again in Udentia (1996:28) writes:

The history of revolutionary poetry is a continuous one. New historical phases and epochs generate impetuses from where the tradition finds substantial ideo-aesthetic basis of expression. Already in the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's revolutionary poetic sensibility could be detected in African poetry, in the continent itself and the diaspora.

Jolobe, Vili and Mqhayi, and other writers of the period 1935 to 1948 seem to have realized the constraints, imposed by the Western rhyme and metre and have discarded these and, instead, assimilated in their poetry African rhythms. Their poems which contain the revolutionary content, adopted the indigenous style and idiom. The images used are African and indigenous. What makes their poetry good poetry is the rich symbolism and metaphoric language used which enriches the quality of the poetry. This sometimes is a strategy of escaping censorship by the Segregation ideologues. The Christian religion and the bible also is a source of images that are used by the poets to illuminate their political content. During this period there is, therefore, a notable increase of indigenous style and idiom and a notable fading of the British influence.

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<sup>157</sup> Roux (1948:129 and 198) has traced the influence of Russia in South Africa which resulted in the establishment of the Communist Party and the active role of the International Socialist League in 1915 which merged into the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921 and the active role of the Communist Party in adult education.

## 4.6 Conclusion

The argument of this second chapter is that isiXhosa written poetry of 1935 – 1948 continued to be influenced by both the dominant ideology of segregation and the alternative ideology of Africanism. The dominant ideology was diffused through the ideological state apparatuses, at the time the Department of Education was playing a prominent role, in collaboration with the missionary printing press, the most prominent being the Lovedale press. The negative effect of legislation was the censorship of the content of the anthologies and school readers that were produced by Lovedale Press. The intervention of academic institutions e.g. the University of Witwatersrand resulted in the publication of two significant poetry collections by Mqhayi and Jolobe. The assessment of this epoch therefore cannot be in terms of quantities but in terms of the quality of the few publications that were able to see the light.

Within the limitations imposed by the publishers and the state, isiXhosa poetry writers depicted the socio-economic and political reality of the time. Their poetry seized any available opportunity to disseminate the ideology alternative of the time, Africanism. On the other hand, the repressive state apparatus continued to promulgate legislation that created an unfavorable environment for development of isiXhosa written poetry, and introduced changes that inadvertently contributed to delays in the production of literature in indigenous languages.

The approach adopted by government for literature for schools, of anthologies and school readers, ensured that the state was able to expurgate the content of the books of anything that was considered by the state and the missionaries to be ‘noxious’ to the state and Christianity. This favoured the development of the Segregation policy of the state, as it limited prospects for development of Africanism.

In summary the following are observations of this chapter:

- The ideological contest is raging, and the manifestations are clearly visible in isiXhosa written poetry’s form and content.
- The anthologies strategy created space for censorship and gate-keeping.
- Intervention of educational institutions assisted in the preservation and conservation of a heritage that would have been lost.



- Newspapers and other missionary publications helped to expose the “philosophy of the epoch”.
- The key tenets of Africanism emerge from the poetry: Non-racialism, non-sexism, non-ethnicity and a call for democracy.
- The State Apparatus was consolidated and made more effective through pieces of legislation and policy changes.
- Aesthetic ideology reflects a shift from Victorian aesthetics to revolutionary aesthetics, exhibiting greater influence of orature. This helped poets to use the metaphorical language and symbolism to articulate their revolutionary content.

It is against this background that the poetry of the second phase of the segregation epoch, 1935-1948 is seen to be exposing that the Segregation ideology maintained both political and ideological dominance during this period. But the ideological domination was not absolute as Mqhayi, Jolobe and Vili found assistance which made it possible for them to express their Africanist views. The chapter that follows analyses poetry in relation to the apartheid era.

## CHAPTER 5

### FIRST AND SECOND PHASES OF APARTHEID: 1948-1973

#### 5.1 Introduction

In this, the fifth chapter, the study shall focus on the contending ideologies and their impact on written poetry that was published during the period 1948-1973. This is the period which is dubbed the first and second phases of the apartheid epoch. According to Omer-Cooper (1994:193) the Apartheid ideology developed through three definable phases: The first phase begins in 1948, the year of the introduction of the ideology of Apartheid by the Nationalist Party Government, up to and including the crisis of 1961-1963, which was its aftermath. Historians have dubbed the period 1948-1961 the 'Baaskaap Apartheid' period.<sup>158</sup> An important milestone of the Afrikaners was the achievement of the rule of the South African Republic by Afrikaners in 1961. On the other hand, the growth of African Nationalism had its significant milestones namely: the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the ANC in 1955, and the founding of the Pan Africanist Congress which led to the Sharpeville-Massacre of 1960. These pressures led to a situation where the Apartheid ideology had to be amended to what came to be termed "Separate Development". This is the second phase which started in 1963 and continued until 1973.

First, the study shall provide a concise exposition of the ideology of Apartheid, and the variety of laws in which it manifested itself. Secondly, It will explain the alternative ideologies that contested this dominant ideology, namely: Africanism of the African National Congress (ANC), which developed into Charterism in 1955, and Pan Africanism of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). A brief discussion of the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, a significant event that marks the beginning of 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 "post Sharpeville crisis"<sup>159</sup>. A discussion of the second phase of the Apartheid epoch (1963-1973) which starts when the underground ANC was discovered at Rivonia, to 1973 just prior to the outbreak of crisis for the Apartheid ideology (Lodge, *ibid*:326), will ensue. The study

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<sup>158</sup>See Omer Cooper (1994:193-214).

<sup>159</sup>See Davies et al (1984:26-27).

will 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), and then analyse and interpret selected poetry that was published against the above-stated historical backdrop of contending ideologies. A brief discussion on the state apparatuses and the aesthetic ideology during this period will be followed by a conclusion.

## **5.2 The Contending Ideologies**

### **5.2.1 The Apartheid 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 had consolidated under an Afrikaner nationalist ideology (Davies et al 1984:17). 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.

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 (1984:20-21) state:

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.

From its inception Apartheid was hallmarked by institutionalised ethnicity and racism, which was engineered through direct state intervention in the politico-socio-economic scenario in South Africa. The outcome was 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>160</sup>. Subsequent to this, was, a tremendous growth of the racist industrial capitalism and an unprecedented improvement of the Afrikaner economic status<sup>161</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.

A myriad of oppressive laws characterised the Apartheid epoch. 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, and lead to the dissolution of the Communist Party (Roux, 1964:380-381). 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 (Omer-Cooper, 1994:196-197). 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.

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<sup>160</sup>Davies et al (1984:16-26).

<sup>161</sup>For a 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) *The Political Nature of the Ruling Class: Capital and Ideology in South Africa 1890-1933*.

Apartheid prevented Blacks from engagement in the mainstream economy of the state. 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 the Apartheid 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.

Interracial intimate relations were forbidden. Marriages across the colour line were prevented by the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (Davenport, 1987:362). 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.

#### 5. 2.2. Africanism and Charterism of the ANC

In 1948, just like the Nationalist Party, the ANC was an alliance of a variety of classes of the oppressed people (Davies et al *ibid*:283). However, it was diametrically opposed to the Nationalist Party in the sense that it was a non-ethnic, non-racial and democratic movement. 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, as stated in the previous chapter, 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.<sup>162</sup>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 adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

Also of profound influence in the ANC of the forties was the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). African members of the party were also members of the ANC, and some were members of the executive (Lodge, 1990:29). Africanists within the ANC who were against Communism failed in 1945 and in 1947 to purge the Communists from the ANC. The Communist Party and the ANC will therefore continue to be treated as one power bloc until 1950 when Communism was banned by the Apartheid government through the Suppression of Communism Act, resulting in the dissolution of the Communist Party (Roux, 1964:421).

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.

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<sup>162</sup> As stated in the previous Chapter many Africans moved into the towns and cities during the Second World War to fill vacancies left by Whites who joined the war in Europe. See Davies et al (1984:17).

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 the 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 creating of a united nation out of heterogenous tribes;
- ii. The freeing of African 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, particularly members of the communist party, worked closely with the ANC. According to Roux (1964:378) the Nationalist Government was faced with strong opposition from the communist Party which worked closely with the ANC, particularly after the war.

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. 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. 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:

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 as 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. 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. 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.



The state shall provide free, compulsory, universal and equal education for all. Pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary education shall be provided. Financial assistance to the needy will be given. Teachers' rights will be respected. All people shall be free to worship, pray and preach at any convenient place at any convenient time. There shall be religious tolerance. All races and creeds are free to develop their own language, customs and all other forms of culture. Marginalisation of peoples 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. (Freedom Charter, 1956)

In 1960 the ANC and the PAC were banned. Government, after the Sharpeville Massacre, considered these organisations to be subversive.

### 5.2.3 The Ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress

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) are of the opinion that:

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 states:

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 of '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 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 ...

The study shall briefly outline the position of the PAC regarding the following crucial issues: Africanism, Multiracialism, fundamental human rights and racialism.

Responding to the question, "who are Africanists?" Sobukwe, in *The Africanist* of January 1959, replied:

A simple answer would be that they are the members of the Africanist Movement. But, if one wishes to go deeper into the question, one would say that they are those Africans who believe that African Nationalism is the only liberatory outlook that can bind together the African masses by providing them with a loyalty higher than that of the tribe and thus mould them into militant disciplined fighting force. (Karis and Carter, 1977a:506)

A concise definition of African by the PAC which sheds lustre on Sobukwe's formulation regarding the Africanists is provided by Dyani in the *DailyDispatch* of 25February 1993<sup>163</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 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 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. 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 at the inaugural convention of the PAC 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:575-576)

Sobukwe's statement brings us to the crucial question of fundamental human 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 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. Regarding the 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 the 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

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<sup>163</sup> 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 ..."

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. (Karis and Carter, *ibid*:516)

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 7<sup>th</sup> 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. The concrete 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).

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. Sobukwe, an ardent ideologue of Pan Africanism, in his inaugural speech, stated that the political aim of the PAC is Africanist Socialist Democracy which he explained as follows:

...government of the Africans by the African for 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. (Karis and Carter, *ibid*:516)

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, was rated supreme by the PAC.

#### 5.2.4 The main counter-hegemonic discourses

The emergence of the Pan Africanist Congress widened the political spectrum and increased the number of competing counter-hegemonic discourses in South Africa. It brought the number of the main counter-hegemonic discourses in the second half of the first phase of the Apartheid epoch, including the post-Sharpeville crisis, to three: the Apartheid, Charterism (ANC) and Pan-Africanism (PAC).<sup>164</sup>

The above- mentioned Black Nationalist Movements, the ANC and the PAC, struggled for the total liberation of Blacks from the Apartheid domination. However in terms of ideology and strategy for realisation for 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. 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. The position of the ANC regarding this question is explicitly stated by Mathews, who wrote in the *Liberation* of July 1959:

But the whole point is that in countries where the population is nothomogenous, 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 groups 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 (Karis and Carter, ibid:541).

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’

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<sup>164</sup> See also Reddy (2000:169-215) on Counter discourses to White hegemony in South Africa.

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. Another point of divergence between the ANC and PAC ideologies was their respective multiracialism and non-racialism. ANC ideologues rejected the doctrine of exclusive nationalism and embraced inclusive nationalism/multi-racialism. The criticised the PAC for being unrealistic and 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. Besides the ideological and strategic differences both the PAC and the ANC “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).

Both the PAC and the ANC discourses were diametrically opposed to the Apartheid discourse 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, internationally 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.

#### 5.2.5 The Sharpeville Massacre and post Sharpeville-Massacre crisis

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 Sharpeville massacre which he perceives as closure of an old chapter, Pheko (1984: 94) states:

The “Sharpeville” campaign had not achieved the abolition of passes or 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. 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 view 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.

#### 5.2.6 Consolidation of the Apartheid ideology: 1963-1973



The discovery by the Nationalist party government, of 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. 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>165</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>166</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 expel from “white” South Africa. The Black (Urban Areas) Act, with its dreaded section 10, was more effective. In terms of section 10 of this Act 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 amended 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 (1988:43):

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 tabled the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Bill. In order to solve the political problem it confronted, Bantustans would be established, would be

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<sup>165</sup> See Bunting (1986:234-236).

<sup>166</sup> See Davies et al (1984:170).

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 what is his country”<sup>167</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 Bantu 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 Bantustans 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>168</sup> 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) stating:

Through these measures, and in particular the success in subduing the challenge of the oppressed masses, the ruling class created the conditions for nearly decade of uninterrupted boom from 1963-1972. This period was the real golden age of apartheid for those class forces which benefited 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 the publication of isiXhosa literature by a few conglomerate publishers who worked hand in glove with the Department of Education. These publishers collaborated 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

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<sup>167</sup> *Op. Cit.* (204).

<sup>168</sup> See Pheko (1984:148-159).

withstand any form of internal rebellion and worker industrial actions. A terse exposition of “the other side of the boom” by Bunting (1986:518) states:

The riches of South Africa, which enable the whites to enjoy one of the highest standards in the 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.

It is against the foregoing background that the period 1948 – 1973 is perceived to be an epoch of Apartheid hegemony.

### 5.3 Analysis and interpretation of texts

It is against this backdrop of contending ideologies that literature of 1948-1973 will be viewed by the ensuing analysis and interpretation. Nine key writers are selected, namely: Mama and Mbebe, Ngani, Tshaka, Yali-Manisi, Jordan, Ntloko, Nyoka, Magona and Qangule.<sup>169</sup>

#### 5.3.1 Mama, S. and Mbebe, A.Z.T. (1950): *Amaqunube*

The poems selected for analysis and interpretation from this co- authored anthology are from the pen of Goodwell Soya Mama. He was born in New Brighton in Port Elizabeth on 11 November 1919. He received education from New Brighton Primary, and Patterson High School where J. J. R. Jolobe was his schoolmaster. In 1950, at 25 years of age, he co- authored this collection of poems, entitled *Amaqunumbe*, with A. Z. T. Mbebe. It contains 53 poems by Mama, and 11 by Mbebe. At the time he was employed as a clerk at local offices. Some of his poems appeared in “Imvo”, “Umthunywa” and other newspapers of the time.<sup>170</sup> 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 Africa,  
Andilulo undwendwe;  
Ndizalelwe eAfrica.  
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.

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<sup>169</sup> See other writers of the period, namely: Yali-Manisi (1952), Jolobe (1959), Sinxo (1959), Manyase (1960) and Msingale (1966) in Mona (1994). “Ideology, hegemony and Xhosa written poetry: 1948-1990”.

<sup>170</sup> See undated article by Post Reporter at UNISA Documentation Centre for African Studies, 336/81/1.

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 banning's 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 is not quoted, 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 Africanist 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 isiXhosa written poetry is patriarchal and racist. This lady, who was affectionately addressed as Nozizwe, is the late Edith Rheinalt 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.  
Umbumthand' omnyama ngokufanayo  
Nomhlophe.  
Wazenz' idini lesize' esiphaleleyo,  
Uzam; ukuphakamis' isizw' esidelekileyo.  
Umbulelo wethu kuwe, Nozizwe,  
Ngosuka kwiintliziyo' 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 love a black person as you loved a white  
Person.  
You sacrificed yourself for a denationalised 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 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 amaXhosa 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. Only reproduced line 9 to line 29 of “Akukho ngoma emoyeni” will be analysed and interpreted:

Litshonil’ ilanga kwaZulu  
 Kuba kutshabe iintsezw’ ezithandwayo  
 Sisizw’ esinamatshamba sakwaMageba  
 Sivakel’ isikhalo seentombi zakwaDukuza  
 Zisithi, “Mange uNkulunkulu ngempela  
 Usilimazile isizwe sakithi”.  
 Bekufanelekile ukuba kube njalo  
 Xa kumk’ into kaLembede neka Vilakazi  
 Iimbilasane zomzi wakwaMafukuzela,  
 Iintsizw’ exigqmg’ intonyqm’ ihlleli  
 Kuba kaloku akukho gwala kwaZulu.  
 Yiyo le nto zither zabalasel’ emfundweni.  
 Zitsho zandikhumbuza ngoLanalibalele,  
 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 loduzola.  
 Zimke zishiy’ imisebenz’ emihle  
 Esimana sithetha ngayo mihla le.

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 Langelibalele,  
 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.

A brief profile of each of Mama’s figures of praise will be provide, will be provided and then the ideological underpinnings of the poem will be addressed:

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 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 1978:2-8).

Mama, in this poem mourns the death of the above two gentlemen who belonged to the emerging South African 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:

Namhal liwil’ igor’ elikhulu;  
Litshonil’ ilanga kokaRubusana.  
Ushishiye nelife, 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 great book,  
which is appreciated by the youth.

Umsebenzi wakho uwugqibile  
Wena thole lentombi yamaGqwashu.  
Isizwe sakho usiphakamisile:

Your work you have finished  
You calf of the daughter of the Gqwashu clan.  
Your nation you have uplifted:

Wawel' iNciba noMbashe.

AbaThembu baya kubulela  
Ngokubamel' ePalamente.  
Imidaka yonk' iya kubulela  
Ngokuyithethelela kuRulumente.

Xolani zizwe ezimnyama  
Ugodukile okaRubusana.  
Taruni mathol' omThonyama  
Uphumle okaRubusana  
Zola lulwandle ... cwaka!

You crossed the Kei and the Bashe rivers.

The Thembus thank you  
For representing them in Parliament.  
Blacks all and sundry thank you  
For pleading for them in the government.

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!

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) an isiXhosa 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 isiXhosa 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 works 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. One of Mama's confreres, J.J.R. Jolobe, writing the preface to *Amaqunube*, intimates:

Kuluvuyo kum ukwazisa le ncwadi intsha yemihobe. Isihobe sinenndawo ebanzi ebomini besizwe ukuhlambulula izimvo nokuphembelela iinjongo ezintle nokucina umlilo uvutha ngeenkumbulo ezimayela nezenzo zamaqhawe nezesizwe ngokubanzi ...<sup>171</sup>

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.

### 5.3.2 Ngani, A.Z. (1952): *Intlaba-Mkhosi*

Alfred Zwelinzima Ngani was born in 1905 in Middledift. He was trained at Lovedale College as a teacher, and served as an educator until his death in 1950.

Ngani's (1952:33-35) poem "Ingoma yeNgxangxasi" (the song of the waterfalls) supports 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?  
Ziyivile na iNgxangxasi eyiOgrabisi, kumlambo oliGqili?

This is the song, the song of the falls  
What do the countries of Africa say, about this song?  
Have they heard the Augrabis falls in the Orange River?

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<sup>171</sup>I have updated the orthography of this extract from the preface of *Amaqunube* by Mama and Mbebe (1950).

KwaneNgxangxasi kaFitoli, kumlambo weZambesi?  
Abath' abemi belo zwe kukwaMsi uyaNdila?

KwaneNgxangxasi zikaStanley, kumlamb' oyiNkongolo?  
“Wen' ungaphesha komlambo, ndincazele!”

UmXhosa makancazelane nomZulu nomSuthu,

Kwakunye namaNdebele namaNyembane,  
AbaNguni bancazelane namaNgongono namaSwahili;

AmaSwahili ancazelane nabaseLuganda.  
Zithi zonk' iinqaba zokwahlukana zidilizwe;  
Zekwaphulw' imivalo yobuhlanga nocalulo;

Zekuhanjelwane, zekwendiselwane;  
Zekubukwane, zekumanyanwe.

And the Victoria falls in the Zambesi River?  
Citizens of that land call the place Thundering  
Vapour?

And the Stanley falls in the Congo River?  
“You who are beyond the river, share your tobacco  
with me!”.

The Xhosa must share his tobacco with the Zulu and  
Sotho,

With the Ndebele and Nyembane people,  
The Nguni must share tobacco with Ngongongo and  
Swahili;

The Swahili must share tobacco with Ugandans.  
All the devisive walls must be demolished;  
All the racial and discriminatory devices must be  
broken;

There must be inter-visits and inter-marriages;  
There must be mutual love and unity.

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!”

Sharing of tobacco is an old isiXhosa 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 heterogenous 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 isiXhosa, isiZulu and seSotho 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, writing in *Inkundla* newspaper in

October 1945 said that the uniting of all the heterogeneous ethnic groups into one homogeneous nation was a *sine qua non* of the liberation of blacks in Africa (Gerhart 1878:60). 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 divine destiny of nations" ... and a belief in the Unity of all Africans 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:

Zithini na izizwe zase Africa ngayo le ngoma  
Le ngoma ithi, masisondelelane;  
Le ngoma ithi, masikhathalelane;  
Ithi, masilwelane, sifelane.

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.

Isibizela phantsi kweNdwe enye -  
Ewe phantsi kwebhanile enye yobuAfrika;  
IAfrika entsha, ehlanjulweyo, ebunjiweyo.

It (the song) calls us under one "banner"  
Yes under one banner of Africanism;  
The new Africa, revived, united.

.....  
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;  
And use it to guide the youth and those still growing up;  
And use it to discipline young men and women;  
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.

Niyale ngayo abatsha nabasakhulayo;

Niqeqeshe ngayo umthinjana nomlisela;  
Zenisikelele ngay' iintsapho zaseAfrika,  
Nkosi uzuyisikelel' iAfrika,  
Lube nokuphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo.  
Makube njalo! Ewe makube njalo.

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. "Indwe" is a blue crane<sup>172</sup> (anthropoids paradise) a bird that is venerated by the amaXhosa nation. I fully concur with Kropf's lexicon. I, however wish to add a slightly different shade of meaning to 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

<sup>172</sup> 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.

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).

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>173</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 ze Afrika”, 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 amaXhosa, abaThembu, amaBhaca, amaMpondo, amaMpondomise, amaZulu, amaSwazi, amaNgwatho and amaNdebele. The poem goes as follows:

Bayetheni, bahlekazi, bayetheni!  
 Bayetheni, mathol’ezilo, ezizilo ngokwawo!  
 Kuthwani n’ukuthethwa nezingwe neengonyama?  
 Ingubani n’onokuthetha namaramncwa kakade?  
 Iint’ ezavela mhla kwavel’ ilanga;  
 Iint’ ezadalwa mhla kwadalw’ iintaba;

I salute you, your excellencies!  
 I salute you, young animals, being animals also!  
 How does one talk with leopards and lions?  
 Who on earth can talk with vicious animals?  
 Things that emerged when the sun was created;  
 Things that were created when the mountains were created;

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<sup>173</sup>Nkosi sikelel’ iAfrika” was composed by Enock Sontonga in 1897. Mqhayi wrote the additional stanzas. See Jabavu(1934), Umteteli (11 June, 1927) and Readers digest Illustrated History of South Africa (1988:209).

Mhla kwavel' ilizwe, mhla kwkadalw' ulwandle.

Ngumqokoz' omkhulu wokuboph' iAfrika,  
Owowuphatha ngowozek' ityala.

Thethani ngazwinye xa nithethaoy;  
Zenibambane ngezandla,  
Ukuz' iAfrika yeth' ibe nodumo;  
Luth' uphondo lwayo luphakanyiselwe phezulu;

When the universe emerged, when the sea was created.

They are a great chain for binding Africa together,  
One who lays his hand on it will be guilty of an offence.

When you speak, speak in one voice;  
Hold one another's hand,  
And make our Africa famous;  
So that its horn can be lifted high;

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 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. 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 pre-eminence 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) states:

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>174</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 internationalisation 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.

### 5.3.3 Tshaka, R.M. (1953): *Iintsika zentlambo yeTyhume*

R.M Tshaka was born at Tsomo on 14 January 1904. He spent much of his life in Alice as he was employed by Lovedale Printing Press as a book binder. He published his poetry collection in 1953, and also contributed poems to Jolobe’s anthology *Indyebo yesihobe*. Gérard (1971:89), discussing the impact of Apartheid on isiXhosa 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 isiXhosa, 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 Gerard 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

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<sup>174</sup> 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.

fatherland – its amazing geographical formations and its beautiful flora and fauna. He identified himself with the struggles of this 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 focus on the aesthetics of the poem.

Maye bawo, singathini na ngayo!  
 Afrika, lizwe lokuzalwa kwethu.  
 Masithini n'ukuvelana nawe?  
 Afrika! Awu, AFrika, Afrika!!  
 .....  
 Ikamva lakho sisithokothoko senkungu,  
 Ngathi ludano, ziinyembezi, ngamagazi.  
 Inqatha kaloku yimbambano nombuzo;  
 Afrika! Awu, Afrika, Afrika!!  
 Nants' indlu yentak' itsityelwa,  
 Iyavungam' ikati phezu kwayo.  
 Nazo k'ezo ntwana zayo zothukile.  
 Afrika! Awu, Afrika, Afrika!!

Iinzipho zangen' umlomo waval' emnyango,  
 Ngab' ithemba liphi na kuvaliwe?  
 Iinsipho zingene, kuph' ukonwaba?  
 Afrika! Awu, Afrika, Afrika!!

Oh father, what can we say about her!  
 Africa, land of our birth.  
 How can we express sympathy with you?  
 Africa, Oh, Africa, Africa!!  
 .....  
 Your future is a very dark mist,  
 It looks like disappointment, tears and blood.  
 Wealth means contention and quarrelling;  
 Africa, Oh, Africa, Africa!!  
 Here is a nest being attacked,  
 The cat snarls above it.  
 There sit the chickens startled.  
 Africa, Oh, Africa, Africa!!

Claws got inside and the mouth closed the nest,  
 Where is hope when the nest is closed?  
 Claws are inside, where is happiness?  
 Africa, Oh, Africa, Africa!!

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

The last 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>175</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, and 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:

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 backdrop 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 exigencies that confronted the peasant community:

Amahlathi’ agawulwe amahlath’ aphelile,

The forests have been cut down the forests no

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<sup>175</sup>Mda (1979:5-6) acknowledges the symbolic nature of this poem, but fails to state what it symbolises.



Zityeshelwe exemivuz' ephilisayo.  
 Amadl' abiyelw' amadl' avaliwé,  
 Iirhafu zilindile kumakhaya ngamakhaya,  
 Kodw' akusekho ms' uqhumayo.  
 Amakhaya ngamanxuwa, ahlala amabhungane.

Nab' oomam', ootata noodade,  
 Kule dolophu, kulaa dolophu nakuleya,  
 Noko k' asikayaz' int' esakuba yiyo.

Imfund' ayizuzwa ngoboya nombona,  
 Njengamzuzu kookhokho bethu.

longer exist,  
 Those of lasting value have been neglected.  
 Pastures are fenced pastures are closed,  
 Taxes are demanded from the homes,  
 Though smoke can no longer be seen.  
 Homes are deserted, beetles stay in them.

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.

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

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 for firewood<sup>176</sup>.

The oppressive laws of Apartheid brought poverty to the rural community. Despite this poverty and starvation the government continued 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 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:

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<sup>176</sup>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).

During the 1940's 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...

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.

#### 5.3.4 Yali-Manisi, D.L.P. (1954) *Inguqu*

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 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) creates as follows:

Imbel' isinq' into kaMnqanqeni ngasemva,  
Isithi, "Wajoken' amaMfeng' asinge kwaTshaka,  
Kub' alidle kad' elinkonazana  
Afik' ebuNguni eziintuthwasi neembelwana  
Imilom' izel' iintanda kudl' udaka.  
Sawanqom' iindlezana, sawabel' imimango,  
Namhla sibulawa ngawo ncakasana".  
Uvel' uNgangelizwe ngaphambili ejongole,  
Way' uMatanzima ngasemv' ehamba ngezingqi.  
Bamrangqil' uMbambo-nduna bamfaka phakathi;

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

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

Mnqanqeni's son was in hot pursuit behind,  
Saying "Drive the *Mfengus* back to Tshaka's land,  
Because they have had more than they 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 *Mfengu* 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 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' ongingqwa waseluhlangeni.  
Sivel' entla kweli silimiyo;  
Sihamba neenkosi zethu zohlanga.  
Kodwa zafik' izizwe neentlanga,  
Zasihluth' Ubuntu nobukhosi,  
Saphelelwa sidima nentlonipho,  
Baphel' ubuNumzana nobuduna;  
.....  
Kodwa zafik' izizwe neentlanga  
Sithethe noThixo woobawo behu,  
Abuye nelizwe lethu,  
.....  
"Mayibuye iAfrika, iAfrika ilizwe lethu"

Listen chiefs and countryment,  
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 namhood was lost;  
.....  
But foreign tribes and races came.  
And ask God of our forefathers  
To return our country.  
.....  
Africa must return, Africa our country

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>177</sup>. Notwithstanding this internalisation of the colonial perspective of history, Yali-Manisi's description of the results of subjugation is challenging the colonial version. His diagnosis of the cause of the suffering is stated in the last stanza. The last line is an adaption of a popular slogan in Black politics in South Africa. The Africanist, Pheko (ibid:1), shares the view of 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 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,  
Izivumba-mpunzi nezibunga,  
Exeza kuthi neentlanga-ntlanga,  
Ezeza namasiko-siko,  
Sanamathela kuwo singazi;  
Samkel' imikhwa neentlondi-ntlondi,  
Zadal' ukufa nembuthu-mbuthu,  
Ukuwa nokuphalala kwesizwe.  
Ndith' isizwe sakowethu siwile  
Phakamisani ngoko uphondo lwaso.

And all abandon the foreign Gods,  
The wild-garlics and the rotten woods,  
That came to us with other races,  
That came with customs,  
And we clinged to them inadvertently;  
And accepted bad habits and bad customs,  
That caused us death and disruption,  
The fall and scattering of the nation.  
I say our nation has fallen  
Lift up therefore its horn.

Yali-Manisi's analysis of the dilemma that confronts Blacks in South Africa concurs 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 dimension. 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)

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<sup>177</sup> 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). See also 1971 UNESCO Report on Apartheid and its effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information.

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 last line is an adaptation 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 juncture. 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) states:

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 193, 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. Only three stanzas from this poem will be cited:

Umgawuli wezint; ezisemeveni,  
Egec' iintsunguzi zobudenge;  
UMavelel' iimbombo zomhlaba;  
Uzama-zam' ilizwe lizama-zame;  
UMabijel' ilizwe nje ngechanti.  
Izilenz' elidada kwaweLigwa,  
Liye ngokusela kwaweZambesi;  
Unkhonzi wezizwe zeAfrika.

Ubakhonzil' abaMbo nabaNguni;  
Wabakhonz' abeSuthu naba Tswana;  
Wawakhonz' amaZulu kaSenza-ngaKhona;  
Wawakhonz' amaSwazi namaNdelele;  
Wawakhonz' amaTshona, amaNyasa  
namaKhalanga;  
Wadib' izizw' ezikhulu nezincinane,  
Edal' umanyano lwamaAfrika,  
Ukuz' inimb' ibe nye yezizwe.

.....  
Thetha mfo kaMandela! Thetha nkosi Yam!  
Theth' ungoyiki kusekh' iimpund' eAfrika!

Maz' ungaboyik' ooS' wana-sibomvana,  
OoSobindeka nooQhinga-libentsile.

Bonga bakubon' amadlala,  
Kanti kukrakr' inyaniso;  
Kuba kamb' ihlaba gnokwekhala,  
Budul' ububengeqa nobungqwanga- Ngqwili.

Chopper of sticks in the midst of thorns,  
Chopping down the thick forest of ignorance'  
One who has been to the four corners of the world;  
One who shakes the world to its foundations;  
One who coils around the world like a snake.  
The water snake that swims in the Vaal River,  
And goes to drink in Zambezi River;  
Servant of the African nations.

He has served the eMbo and Nguni people;  
He has served the Suthu and Tswana people;  
He has served the Zulus of Senza-ngaKhona;  
He has served the Swazis and Ndebeles;  
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.

.....  
Speak son ofMandela! 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 probably refers 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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:

- Choice of a figure of praise is ideologically laden.
- It evinces the author's ideological orientation.
- The figure of praise is a symbol of an ideology.
- 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.

### 5.3.5 Jordan, A.C. (1957) Newspaper Published and Unpublished Poetry

Archibald Campbell Mzolisa Jordan was born at Mbokothwana, at Tsolo, in former 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, and 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, but left in 1946 and moved to the University of Cape Town where he taught isiXhosa to first and second language speakers. In 1957 he obtained a PhD in African studies from the University of Cape Town. Jordan took an active part in politics and became a member of the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) an affiliate of the All-African Convention. Archibald Campbell Mzolisa Jordan<sup>178</sup> is known for his humility, and humanism.

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<sup>178</sup>For Jordan's biography the following will be of assistance: See Kaschula, (1992) *AC Jordan's life and work*; See Qangule, ZS. In *Limi* 6 (1968):14-28; See Mkentane L. (December 1968) in the *South African Outlook*; See tribute to AC Jordan after his passing on which are at the NAHEES, UFH, ACJ 49 (D.27), ACJ 44 (D.22);

Due to pressure from the Apartheid government he left South Africa for exile in the United States of America where he taught 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. He remained there until his untimely death on 20th 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). As a writer, Jordan is known as the author of the novel “Ingqumbo yeminyanya”. He was also a poet whose pen produced several poems, which, according to Kunene in Gerard (1971:83) were published in Imvo zabaNtsundu, and Ikhwezi lomso. We have selected three of his poems:

#### 5.3.5.1 Uthi mandieyeke<sup>179</sup>

Uthi ma ndieyeke ndithinjw'ubuntu,  
Ndingabi nasikhundla, ndingabi nakhaya,  
Ndinyuke ndisihla, ndizula ndinga,  
Okwakuli khaya kuLil' ibhungane!  
i,Xeleli'inyosi, iintlola zebubu,  
Zingalihlasel' icebesh' phang' amaqeba.

Uthi ma ndieyeke ndithinjw' abantwana,  
Kwabelwane ngabo zi'tyebi zomhlaba  
Balamb' esiswini, badode ngengqondo,  
Bangaze bazazi buntu balutho!  
Xelel' isikhukukaz ' esihlel' efukwini  
Singayixhol' ingqeg' ejoj' amantshontshwana aso.

Uthi ma ndithi kule ndyebo yolwazi,  
Luvele macala, lwagqib' ihlabathi,  
Ndihlale ndihleli kwisithoko-thoko  
Sobudenge neenkolo zobuze bengqondo!  
Xelel' utyan! obutshazwe ziingqele  
Bungaqhami bakuv' iimvula zehlobo.

#### You tell me to sit quiet

You tell to sit quiet when robbed of my manhood  
With nowhere to live, and nought to call my own,  
Now coming, now going, wandering and waiting  
No life in my home save the drone of the beetle  
Go tell the 'worker-bees, true guards of the hive,  
Not to sting the rash hunter who grabs at their comb.

You tell to sit quiet when robbed of my children,  
All offered as spoils to the lords of this Land,  
To be hungered of body, retarded of mind,  
And drained of all spirit of freedom and worth!  
Go tell the mother-hen who sits on her brood  
Not to peck at the mongrel that sniffs at her young

You tell me, in spite of the light I've espied,  
unveiled all around us and brightening the earth,  
To live forever enslaved by the darkness  
Of ignorance - abject and empty of mind  
Go tell the dropping grass, frost-bitten and pale!  
Not to quicken when roused by the warm summer rains.

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Also Opland (undated) the publication of AC Jordan's Ingqumbo yeminyanya (19940) at Cory library, Rhodes AC J 175 (H33).

<sup>179</sup> Jordan's poem: "Uthi mandieyeke" was written on 02 June 1957. It was according him when the protest against retribalisation and University Segregation was at its highest in South Africa. The Xhosa and English versions were first published in the first issue of "*Ikhwezi Lomso*" (Star of Dawn) under a pseudonym. In 1958. The English poem was also published in Africa Today pp 8-9 of November 1964. See both in ACJ 20 (C41) and ACJ 21 (C42) at the Jordan Archives at NAHECS, University of Fort Hare.



Xelel' ubusika bungazal' intlakohlaza,  
 Xelel' intlakohlaz' ingazal' ihlobo,  
 Xelel' ihlobo lingavuthisw' ukwindla,  
 Xelel' ikhwezi lingandulel' ilanga,  
 Xelel' ubumnyama bungaze bukhwelele  
 Bakuhlatyw' ekuseni yimitha yelanga.

Tell the winter not to give birth to springs,  
 Tell the spring not to the flower into summer  
 Tell the summer not to mellow into autumn,  
 Tell the morning-star not to herald the day,  
 Tell the darkness never to flee  
 Tell smitten by the shafts of the rising sun.

Jordan through this piece of art reflects the atrocities that were created with the introduction of the Apartheid ideology in 1948. As already indicated Apartheid had a profoundly negative impact on all aspects of life of Africans. Jordan refuses to be deprived of his humanity or manhood (ubuntu), he detests the effects of deprivation on the youth, and the mining industry which exploited Africans through cheap labour and unfavorable working conditions is condemned. Jordan is determined to fight for the underprivileged and the oppressed masses. He rejects being kept in the dark whilst the entire world enjoys knowledge acquired from good quality education. Jordan perceives the Apartheid restrictions as manmade laws which contradict the laws of creation and natural justice. He expresses his determination to struggle for peace and justice. According to Mda in Kaschula (ed) (1992:55-6), Jordan:

... was deep in politics, and understood that politics pervades every facet of human activity. He belonged to the the Cape Voters Association. That body... fought for the full franchise for all citizens in the country for universal adult suffrage ... AC Jordan was a member of the All African Convention (AAC). The AAC was the first national federal body in South Africa accommodating all political groups.

Mda's views supports the argument of this study that Jordan poem "Uthi mandiyeké" is a contribution to the discourse of the Africanists of his time. His rejection of Bantu Education is reflection of the discourse of the subaltern class. The indigenous symbols of indigenous flora and fauna, the elements, the seasons of the years, and the celestial bodies, creates an effective imagery that expresses clearly the atrocities of the Apartheid ideology. Kunene in Gérard (1971:83) says that in the foregoing poem:

The author shows his deep involvement in the South African political scene where the deprived are indeed "told to sit quiet" or else face harsh punishment. The poem reflects the anger if a man who had since 1936, been actively involved in the political struggle for the liberation of Black people of South Africa.

### 5.3.5.2 Umngeni<sup>180</sup>

Safika siyimbumba singabantwana bomquba  
Ngelethu sijong' isabelo nomlawulo;  
Salathiswa phandle, sabethwa ngocango,  
Zahlangan' izizwe, zabela-belane .  
Silala sivuka sidal ' ubutyebi -  
uButyeb' obusenz' amahlwempu,  
Sisenga liphuma, sisenga litshona,  
Kuzale zimvaba, kuzale maselwa,  
Kodwa sikhanelw ' intloy' inqqaka siyibona.  
Siphum' izifombo sixhom' amabhotwe -  
AmaBothw' atsho sangabanxusi,  
Sigawula zinkuni, sigedla malahle,  
Kubaswe kothiwe kwibhotw' elikhulu  
Kodwa sifazr ziingqel'emagxamesini.

Zath' iingqayi ziphuphuma sakhanyelw'iintsipho!

Yath' inyam' iziindimba saphosw' amatharnbo!  
Wath' umhlab' ulinqatha sabelw' umgxobhozo!  
Lwath 'ukhanyo luzi' thatha salubona ngentunja!  
Zonk' izizwe zingqongwe bu' tyebi,  
Zonk' izizwe zingqongwe lukhanyo,  
Zonk' izwe zingqongwe bu' lumko,  
Zonke, zonk' izizwe zidl' umlawulo.  
Sitya phi na thina bantwana bomquba?

### Open the door

United we came, as children of the soil,  
Hoping to take our place and claim our share;  
They showed us the door, closed it in our face,  
Am. the nations gathered to apportion the wealth.  
We toil from dawn to dusk, creating wealth,  
Wealth that has made pauper-s of us all:  
We milk at sunrise, we milk at sunset,  
Filling the milk-bags; filling the milk-gourds;  
The whey they give us, while they take the rich curds,  
We break our backs building big places,  
Palaces that make us homeless squatters  
We hew the fire-logs; we dig the coal mines,  
For fires to warm those in the big palaces ,  
While we shiver with cold in our windy shacks.

Overflowing are the barrels, but us they give only  
dregs,  
Abundant is the meat, but to us they throw the bones.  
Rich am fertile is the soil: to us they allot the bog,  
Light there is all around, we see it only through crack.  
All the nations glory in their wealth,  
All the nations are immersed in light,  
All the nations have acquired wisdom.  
All, all the nations have a place art! a share,  
But where, 'Where is the share of the children of the  
soil?

Jordan says that Africans came a collective of indigenous formation (children of the soil) hoping to be included in the new dispensation, but instead of being allowed to share the power Africans were excluded. “Izizwe” is used to connote foreign origins and is juxtaposed with indigenous (umquba). The central theme of Jordan’s poem is that Africans who are the indigenous people of South Africa are denied economic benefits of their labour. They play a central role in the development of the physical infrastructure of the country but they do not enjoy the security and good quality of life that other races (the connotation of the second izizwe). Other races enjoy wealth, education (ukhanyo), knowledge and power. Jordan asks what provision is made for Africans, in the Apartheid dispensation, and ends the poem with an earnest appeal to the Apartheid regime to open the closed door to allow Africans in.

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<sup>180</sup> The poem was written by AC Jordan in isiXhosa on 9 June 1957. His wife Phyllis P. Ntantala provided the English translation (n.d). The document is available at the NAHECS at Fort Hare University and ACJ 22 (C47) and ACJ 12 (C23).

Jordan's poem reflects the discourse of the fifties and sixties after the introduction of Bantu Education by Dr H. F. Verwoerd. Tabata<sup>181</sup>(1980:58) said:

Confident as we are that the Verwoerdian policies must fail, we do not for one moment minimize their dire effects in the present. No one can take refuge in facile hopes or contemplate with equanimity the fate of a whole people doomed to frustration and penury, a people to whom every channel of development is closed, and whose children are excluded from the knowledge and culture of a modern state one. The whole concept of Apartheid is an insult to human dignity. Apartheid, with all its miserable brood, its Group Areas, its Immorality Acts, its Pass Laws, its Bantu Authorities, its Bantu Education and Coloured Education schemes-all this is an outrage to human intelligence.

Jordan intimates that other nations are immersed in knowledge (light) and wisdom (education). This demonstrates Jordan's concern about the negative impact on Africans, of the introduction of the Bantu Education Act and the Extension of University Education Act of 1959.<sup>182</sup> Once more Jordan articulates the discourse of alternative ideology of Africanism which was building up in the fifties, after the ushering in of Apartheid ideology and the deluge of pieces of legislation that ensured that the economy of the country benefits the Afrikaner voters only.

#### 5.3.5.3 Sabelani ma-Afrika

Sabelani – nang' umkhosi!  
"Wayekela! Wayekela!  
'Z' ulibarnbe lingatshoni!"  
Sitsho thina ziMa-mhlaba.  
Sabelani nonke zizwe,  
Sabelanli ma-Afrika!

.....

Sinelifa lobuqhawe,  
isiKrweqe senyaniso;  
Sabuphiwa ngabadala,  
Sathi sobulondoloza;  
Kodwa sathengisa ngabo,  
Sisithi sitheng uxolo.

Sasiba sitheng' ukhanyo  
Kanti sitheng' ubuhlwempu;  
Sasiba sitheng' uxolo  
Kanti sitheng' intshutshiso;  
Namhla sihlel'emnyameni,  
Namhla asilwaz' uxolo.

.....

UbuKhoboka lilifa  
Leziyatha namagwala;

#### Heed the call Africans

Heed the call- here comes an army  
Why not heed the call  
Ensure that the sun does not set!  
That's what we say,  
Nations heed the call  
Heed the call Africans

.....

We have a heritage of heroism  
The weapon of the truth  
Which was bestowed upon as by our ancestors  
And we preserved it  
But we sold it  
Thinking we are peace

We thought we are buying civilization  
Only to find we are buying poverty,  
We thought we are buying peace  
Only to find we are buying persecution,  
Today we are in darkness  
Today we do not know peace

.....

Slavery is inheritance  
Of the stupid and cowardly;

<sup>181</sup> I.B. Tabata was president of the Unity Movement of South Africa(UMSA) and The African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa(APDUSA). He was also co-founder of the All African Convention (AAC) in 1935. As stated, A.C Jordan was a member of the All African Convention.

<sup>182</sup> See UNESCO report on Apartheid and its effects on Education, Science, Culture and information. (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition).

Asilifa lakwamkelwa  
Ngabajonge ukuphila.  
Nithi koda kuba nini  
Niziimbacu namahlwempu?

Vuthe lani izigodlo!  
Thabathanl isikrweqe,  
isiKrweqe senyaniso,  
Nitshec' amakhamandela.  
Sitsho thina zima-Mhlaba.  
Sabelani ma-Afrika!

It is not inheritance to be accepted  
By those who wish to survive.  
For what duration of time  
Shall you remain in exile and in poverty?

Blow your trumpets!  
Take your weapon  
The weapon of truth,  
And cut off the shackles  
So we say, we the land owners.  
Heed the call, Africans.

In his undated poem “Sabelani maAfrika”, Jordan demonstrates his commitment to the diffusion of the Africanism ideology. He exhorts Africans, gives them a warning, and advises them to commit themselves to the struggle for their liberation. The slogan “zulibambe lingatshoni” was used by the Africanism movement to incite people into political action. Jordan uses it to support his argument that Africans should heed the call for resistance to the oppression of the apartheid government which has deprived Africans of their heritage, which has subjected Africans to homelessness and poverty. He is saddened by the African’s abandonment of his culture and heritage because of the acceptance of what has thought to be civilization. The outcome of this is that the perceived enlightenment and peace has turned out to be poverty and persecution. Instead of being in the light Africans are in the dark and there is no peace. Africans were gifted with intelligence for their survival and control of their environment, but now they are deprived of intellectual development to equip them with skills for adjustment to the changing environment. Jordan makes reference to the introduction of Bantu Education. He entreats and urges them to reject slavery, the heritage of cowards and fools. He expresses his rejection of being exiled and impoverished by Apartheid Government. He urges Africans to do the right thing, and speak the truth to fight subjugation.

Jordan’s poem must have been produced in the early sixties as it reflects the mood of the Lobatsi Conference<sup>183</sup> of the ANC which was held in Bechuanaland. The conference was attended by activists from within and without South Africa.

A newsletter which was issued by the National Executive of the ANC on 6 April 1963 declared:

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<sup>183</sup> See Document 69, Karis and Carter(1977:746-749).

OUR EMPHASIS STILL REMAINS MASS POLITICAL ACTION ... political agitation is the only way of creating the atmosphere in which military action can most effectively operate” (Karis and Carter, Volume 3, 1977:668).

### 5.3.6 Ntloko, P.M (1962): *Zonwabise*

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 isiXhosa written poetry texts. In “Umnyaka ka1953” Ntloko (ibid:6) states:

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>184</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 guerrilla war fare to liberate their country from British colonialism<sup>185</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) is of the opinion that:

In 1953 the Nationalist Party consolidated its position in a secondelectoral 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.

<sup>184</sup>See Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1981:107-122).

<sup>185</sup>Ibid (1981:86-93; 1972:26-30).

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

Sinebhongo ngesizwe esiNtsundu,  
Singegug ngohlange lwethu;  
Sinekratshi ngomzi oNtsundu,  
Sineqhayiya ngemidaka yakowethu.

We are proud of the Black Nation,  
We are proud of our race;  
We are proud of the Black Nation,  
We are proud of our Blacks.

Phambili mawethu phambili,  
Masinyuse uhlanga lwethu,  
Phambili mawethu phambili,  
Masibuyise iAfrika yethu.

Forward compatriots forward,  
Let us lift up our nation,  
Forward compatriots forward,  
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 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). As stated in previous chapters 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 with its "extreme and ultra-revolutionary"<sup>186</sup>. However the popular slogan was retained after 1955, 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 (1978:95) 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).

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<sup>186</sup>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).

This slogan has appeared in a wide spectrum of isiXhosa written poetry from 1912 up to 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 eMthata ngama 28 Septemba 1956". Ntloko (ibid:32) says in his poetry:

Ifikile inqwelo emhlophe  
Ethwele uMnini-mhlaba,  
Yalibhongo kubo abaMhlophe,  
Ukutyelela kwenganga kulo mhlaba.

A white car arrived  
On board was the owner of this land,  
Whites were filled with joy,  
At the visit by the great man to this land.

Yasweleka imbongi loo mini,  
Kub' asinto yaziwayo kwabaMhlophe;  
Lwanqaba noyiyizelo loo mini,  
Kuba ngumbel' enkuku leyokwabaMhlophe.

There was no bard that day,  
For that is an institution not known to Whites;  
There were no ululations that day,  
For that is unknown to Whites.

Yandandalaza 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.

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 voter's role. He was "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 '-ngange' (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 government only, as he was not democratically elected. He rejects the White minority government of the day as it does not represent the interests of all South Africans. The conspicuous absence of Blacks in this moment of joy shows their exclusion in the political dispensation of the 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, 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 his country. In his poem "Ewe ke 1960" (Lo and behold 1960!). Ntloko (ibid:44-45) continues:

Nayeke u1960 akazicelanga  
 Izimboyimbo, izimanga nemihlola;  
 Wathabath' unyawo kratya ku1959  
 Ngemikhuba nokuqubuda intlalw' entle;  
 Zifuqe de zafika iintlekele zika-1960,  
 Sakhwankqiswa laphel' elonyak' omtsha.

Ewe ke nyakandini ongu1960  
 Kusekutsha nje sewudulise amaxoki,  
 Abahlebi, abangcatshi, nezigebenga,  
 Watsho iintlanga zahlala zigxeleshene;  
 Lwaphel' uxolo, uvelwano, nemfesane,  
 Zashenxel' iinzondo nokuphalala Kwegazi.

1960 also did not refrain from  
 evil gestures, actions and occurrences;  
 It superseded 1959 in terms of  
 Wicked deeds and subversion of orderly life;  
 The disasters of 1960 occurred,  
 We were disgusted and excitement for the new Year  
 was drastically terminated.

Lo and behold year 1960  
 Early in the year you exposed liars,  
 Gossiping, treacherous and murderous beings,  
 Races were left at loggerheads;  
 Peace, sympathy and empathy, were displaced,  
 And replaced with hatred and spilling of blood.



Asazi nokuba singathi lahl' inqawa ngesaquphe,

Kuba soyik' ukulahl' eyethu ngophoyiyana;

Sesonyamela kwa-obu bakho ubukelem,

Kuba nawe akungondofa weli phakade;

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;

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 which had assured the PAC leadership that Police will exercise maximum restraint in dealing with the unarmed protestors.

Gerhart (1978:238) states further:

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 the 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 a tussle that followed a portion of the fence was trampled and a crowd moved 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.

### 5.3.7 Nyoka, M.E.M. (1962): *Uhadi*

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 isiXhosa written poetry of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nyoka (1962:19-21) in “Vukani mawethu!” (Arise compatriots!) not only demonstrates his interpellation by the Africanist ideology, but also strives to disseminate the ideology.

Nyoka earnestly admonishes:

Vukani, zizwe zeAfrika!!  
 Vukani, zintlanga nani mzi omDaka!  
 Vukani nibhinqe ninxibe  
 Nishenxe nok’ ebuthongweni;  
 Vukani zonk’ izizwe zivukile.  
 .....  
 Yakhan’ ubunye, niyimele inyaniso,  
 Yilweleni niyifele ngothando,  
 Zidubeni ngokuyimel’ inyaniso.  
 Vukani Midaka!  
 .....  
 Cikidanani amanxeba, niphululan’ Izivubeko.

Arise, African Nations!!  
 Arise, races and you Blacks!  
 Arise and put your clothing on  
 Move away from your sleep;  
 Arise all nations are awake.  
 .....  
 Forge unity, stand for the truth,  
 Fight for it and die for it with love,  
 Go out of your way and stand for the truth.  
 Arise you Blacks!  
 .....  
 Nurse one another’s butts and formant wounds.

Yikhotheni imihlana nithululisana;  
Omny' akhoth' owomnye nomnye.

Help one another  
One must help the other.

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  
Nazo 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.  
.....

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 emancipated.

Intliziy' ithath' ibeka,  
Sisigidi seminyaka

My heart is in deep meditation,  
It is a million years

Ezi minikazi zeenyembezi  
Owu, tar' ubulembu!  
Kodwa abudliwa nasirov' ihagu.

These many days of shedding of tears  
Oh, Alas the moss!  
Even a gluttonous animal, the pig, does not feed on it.

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.

The last 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 isiXhosa 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>187</sup> According to Mtuze (ibid):

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's harsh words signify his anger at the brutal and thoughtless mowing down of innocent

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<sup>187</sup>The "ubulembu" may be the moss of the filaments of a ripening maize cob. Both images are used to symbolize Whites. This harsh and negative imagery demonstrates the level of anger at Apartheid ideologues. However not all writers generalised or stereotyped all members of the white South Africans.

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 cruel oppressor is obvious.<sup>188</sup> 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!  
SomandlaBawo Solukhanyiso  
Khulula uSirayeli kwisandla sikaGoliyathi;  
Sakhe sazinkamel' eKirene  
Loo mini sakuhelebha kumnqamlezo.

Kuthe cwaka ngelakho icala namhla.

Arise, arise African!!  
Forge unity, love and peace!  
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 stanza 6 he prays to God to set free the Israelites from Pharoah's domination. This symbolises the oppressed Blacks and the Apartheid regime. 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 with 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>189</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 states:

<sup>188</sup> Also note, as a context, what Reddy (2000:122-123) what Reddy says: "By the late 1960s it made more sense to speak of a party-state structure, very similar to that found in single party dominated political systems... The Nationalist Party had transformed itself into the party of "White South Africa" and so itself as a guardian of European civilization in Africa".

<sup>189</sup> Mqhayi and Sinxo also make reference to this biblical episode in their poems. In Mathew 2:13-15 Jesus and his mother escape to Egypt. The man who helped Jesus is Simon of Cyrene who assisted Jesus Christ to carry the cross on the road to Golgotha, See Luke 23:26.

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 used 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 SANNC, which later became ANC. Mtuze (1991:17) 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:

Bikani kumazwe ezikumkani neentlanga;  
Yitshoni kwabadala nabancinane  
Nakwabamsobo namvubo

Nakubo bonke yithi ndithi  
Izwe liyashukuma.

.....  
Xe lelani abaseNyasa nase-Ntshona eseMntla.  
Liyashukuma ilizwe, zinkosi namaphakathi  
Inkulu nale nto iligunqisayo  
Lishukuma ngent' aph' erhubuluzayo.

Koze kubegazi, kube mswane

Koda konakale, lindani mafa-namzi!

Soda senzakale zibiken' ezi ndaba.

Announce to the countries of kings and races;  
Inform the old and the young  
Those who are like berries of the night shade  
and, like Sour milk with porridge.  
And to all tell that I say  
The country is shaking.

.....  
Tell those in Nyasa land, and in North West.  
The country is shaking, chiefs and counsellors  
The cause of the jerking is great  
The shock is caused by something crawling  
on its belly.

One day blood will spill and contents of people's  
stomachs will scatter all over  
Act swiftly patriots before everything gets out of  
hand!

Please disseminate this news before we get hurt.

Izwe liyagungqa, izwe liyashukuma!  
 Ziyavuthuz' izizwe neentlanga  
 Amehl' anengozi, ingqondo ziquth'ukufa,  
 Zijamelene izizwe lusabile uXolo.

Umi ngazo zoshumi uLusifere,  
 Uthimbe inyaniso, wazixakathis' ubujibilili  
 Uth' ubulungisa likhamte  
 Yinqaba yengqondo ubungqwanga- ngqwili  
 Ubethe kumahlelo neendidi (sic)<sup>190</sup>

Bee khumbaca  
 Bezindwane abaHlekazi  
 (Emphasis mine)

The country is jerking, the country is shaking!  
 Countries and nations are furious  
 Eyes spell danger, minds contemplate death.  
 Nations are at loggerheads, there is no peace.

Lucifer is resolute,  
 He has substituted truth with lies  
 He says justice is valueless  
 Absolute power is maintained through foul means.  
 He has hit at the selection division of soldiers and the  
 last line of defence.  
 They broke down  
 The honourable men lay dead in rows.

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 "think 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 preceded 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

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<sup>190</sup> This is probably a typographical error. The word is "iindini". Literally in 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.

therefore comprehensible. But the poet emphasises that the solution is a resolution of the conflict through negotiations by all 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.

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 forced them to resort to violent means in their struggle for freedom.

In the fifth stanza the poet refers to the Devil that 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:

Lutsho umelwane namakhohlwane  
Budlavukil’ ubudlelane  
Ngesandulela sendlakadla.  
Uza kungena umgomanzi,  
Kophendula ukufa kulamle igazi.  
Suka ndalila ndakwalama ukuthi wace!

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

Neighbours and friends say  
Relations are damaged.  
After the massacre.  
War is imminent  
And death and spilling of blood will ensue.  
I wept when I saw the slain mowed down!

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



Thetha nezizwe, iintlanga nabalawuli,  
 Fika ngesandi neyona nguqulelo,  
 Sunduza injubaqa uchil' amafu onxunguphalo  
 Luth' uhlanga kwanomelwane  
 Lwangane olunye nolunye lukhonzane.

.....  
 Nkosi khawusikelele eyeth' iAfrika!  
 Luhlokome uphondo lwayo  
 Luhlokome ulawulo nonqulo  
 Zide izizwe zibuqonde ubungangamsha bakho.

Talk to countries, nations and rulers,  
 Come and effect drastic changes  
 Remove the wicked and clear the clouds of tension  
 So that races and neighbours can  
 Embrace one another and serve one another.

.....  
 God please bless our Africa!  
 Let its horn sound loudly  
 Let governance and religion sound loudly  
 Till the nations recognise your greatness.

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); Habib Bourguiba (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) explain 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 for equality non-racialism, cooperation, coexistence, love and respect amongst races. Nyoka

in the last stanza underscores his nationalistic disposition by bringing in the first two verses from the African national anthem “Nkosi sikelel’ iAfrika”.

### 5.3.8 Magona, J. (1965): *Ulundi lamaphupha*

Magona was born at Tsolo in the former Transkei part of the Eastern Cape. He received his secondary education at Langa High School in Cape Town. He obtained a tertiary qualification at the University of London in Britain.<sup>191</sup> Regarding this collection of poems, minutes of the isiXhosa Language Committee which met on 21 August 1967 read thus<sup>192</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 isiXhosa writers whose work focusses on burning issues in the metropolitan milieu. Qangule, as quoted by Gerard (ibid:98) observed that isiXhosa 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>193</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.

Bungunonc’ubuhlwempu obungafunwa mntu,  
Qabane ndini ongathandwa sihlobo,  
Sivuthuvuthu ndini, sitshingitshane,  
Mtshazi wobomi nozakuzaku wokufa.

Poverty befalls all, though rejected by all  
Friend that is hated by its friends,  
You hurricane, you gale,  
Blighter of life, harbinger of death.

Luthul’emehlweni, sisis’ ezingcingeni,  
  
Sivukangentsenikuhab’emvabeni,  
Mendo omxethuka mkhuthulwa zizihlewele  
Siwusikelwena lo mendo  
Kwasemveleni?

Vision and cognition are disturbed by dust and  
smoke,  
Waking up in the morning, the milk sack is empty,  
The hillside road trodden by multitudes,  
Were we from creation destined to pursue this  
course?

Bambi baphambukile bakumarhiw’ambi,  
Malinge matsh’akathethi ntw’ imbi,

Some have deviated and reached new pastures,  
New methods have done nothing wrong,

<sup>191</sup> See blurb in Magona, 1965, *Ulundi lwamaphupha*.

<sup>192</sup> See 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, University of Fort Hare.

<sup>193</sup> Magona stayed in Cape Town.

Moyiki kuthiy'awusayikubambisa,  
Nyathel'umhlab'omtsha uqin'uthi nkqi.

Umntu ngamny'uzalw'ekhululekile;  
Agange ubom, bubophe ngesiko nesithethe,

Ngelinyengenzam'aphoncule  
Phaphama nawe mlingane phandl'apha kuvukiwe.  
(emphasis mine)

You who dreads ensnaring you will  
Never catch a booty,  
Tread a new soil and be resolute.

Everybody is born free;  
He receives life which chains him with  
customs and traditions,  
Through struggle he may be set free.  
Awake friend, everybody is awake out there.

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 the 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 (line3). They wake up in the morning not knowing what they will have for breakfast (line2). Then he asks the crucial question, "were Blacks from creation destined to live in poverty?". In the fourth stanza the poet says that those who struggled with determinations 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 those entire South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people..."<sup>194</sup> He argues that the new methods (malingematsha), which are obviously the turn to violence, are Justified (akathethintw' 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 poem says that man is born free but social restrictions strangle him. Magona reverberates the proposition of the Geneva born philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau,

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<sup>194</sup>See last paragraph of Umkhonto weSizwe Manifesto in Karis and Carter Vol 3 (ibid:717).

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>195</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>196</sup> The above synopsis of Rousseau's contribution in political philosophy illuminates Magona's poem whose 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 zehlwenpu". The poem spells out the grief that is endured by poverty stricken Blacks of South Africa:

Inga ndindedwa entlango  
Intlango engange lam iphango,  
Izingcing'awa maqabane  
Iliphango eyam intandane,  
Ndinga ndingalibhabhathane  
Ndingcamle ubuhle bentebe<sup>197</sup>.

It is as if I am alone in a desert  
A desert as wide as my hunger,  
My companion being my thoughts  
Hunger being my loved one  
I wish I could be a butterfly  
And taste the beauty of "intebe".

Kubo bunzima bobom  
Kuyokany' intabazoyentlalo,  
Ngethembanonyamezelo,  
Ngenzame nendzondelelo  
Ndohamba lo mgaq'uthe ngqo,

Under the difficult circumstances  
Under the stifling social conditions,  
With hope and endurance,  
Struggle and patience  
I shall not deviate from the right course

<sup>195</sup> See the New *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol 26 (p960).

<sup>196</sup> 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 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol 26 (ibid:959) "excited later revolutionaries such as Marx and Lenin".

<sup>197</sup> The researcher assumes that "intebe" is a flower. I am not able to get an English equivalent.

Ndifike kwisiphelo solwam uvuyo.  
(emphasis mine)

Until I reach the destination that makes me happy.

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 growth of racial industrial capitalism in South Africa under 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>198</sup>:

The majority of Black South Africans have been the subjects of 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 Africa 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 book and he also needs some articles of clothing. The poet "Umlanga" means "a blemish, a cataract or film on the eye" Figuratively this means that the nation has been

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<sup>198</sup> 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.

blemished, or kept in the dark or undermined. Magona (ibid) develops his argument in the second stanza:

Sothuke asabi nakuthetha  
Ngulowo uzikhethayo,  
Ngokuzaz' ubuyekeyeke;  
Asimdudi kwinkundla yezizwe  
Ngumlandeli weyakh' imigaqo,  
Ngokoyik' imiqad' eyavezwa  
kwizihlele.

Wamkele lo mkhonto namhla,  
Kwintshaba zakun' ibe sisothuso,  
'Ze kumthinjana ibe sisikhuselo,  
Uwalathe kuzo zonk' indlela.

We were shocked and dumb founded  
By the one who isolated himself,  
Because he knows he is in a weak position;  
He does not dance in international courts  
He follows his own regulations,  
He fears because of his faults that were  
exposed in public before many people.

Today do accept the spear,  
To be your defence against your enemies,  
To be a protection to the young men,  
Point it to all the roads.

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 Ministers' Conference where Chief Albert Luthuli, then president of the ANC, made a harangue in favour of South Africa's expulsion. 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. The founding of a Republic was met with resistance by the ANC and the PAC. The government reciprocated by intensifying its repression. These events led to the founding of Umkhonto weSizwe on 16 December 1961. Magona's poem echoes the Umkhonto weSizwe Manifesto" which is described by Barrell (1990:4) as:

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

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.

#### 5.3.9. Qangule, Z.S. (1970) *Intshuntshe*

Zithobile Sunshine Qangule was born in 1934 at Khothama Village in Nqamakwe, former Transkei. After matriculation at local schools he worked in the mining industry in Johannesburg.

He took an important decision of going back to school, a decision that led to his obtaining training as a teacher, University education, and a Doctor of Philosophy at UNISA. After a career as an educator he joined the staff of UNISA as a lecturer and University of Fort Hare as senior lecturer and professor of African Languages. He was a prolific writer and literary critic whose pen produced prose, drama poetry, and scientific papers. He died in 1982.

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 concur with Mda's critical analysis of the poem. My analysis will however go further and locate the poem within its specific historical context. Qangule, in "Inkabi kaBawo" took up the cause of the rural peasants 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 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:

Ubisi lokuqala awuliselanga wedwa,  
Wasuka kuloo mibele ngesigqokro,

Abelusi badla bahlutha bodwa,

Wanqina wazamla ngenxa yesikrokro.

Awunalusini kambe buhlanti bengxinano,  
Uminxekile kuloo mxinwa neegusha.  
another in a space that is narrow .

.....  
Niyimpi ephuma kude ezindle,  
Nanihamba apho kuthe gabalala,  
Nanilala khona kuthe gengelele,  
Izinto zonke zithe xazalala.

Namhla nisela kumanzi amileyo,  
Ithafa lenu libiyelwe ngeengcingo.  
Ngekhe niye apho nithandayo,  
Ekhaya yimivalo, ezindle ziingxingo

Bulelani loo madama anzulu,  
Akabhangi lula kunemilambo engenzulu.

The first milk you did not drink alone,  
You parted with the teat during the first-two-days  
-milk,  
The herdboys ate alone until their stomachs were  
full up,  
You became lean and yawned in discontent.

You have no mercy, you cramped kraal.  
You and sheep are pressed against one

.....  
You are folks who come from afar,  
You used to move free from restraints,  
You used to sleep in the open air,  
Everything was spread out.

Today you drink stagnant water,  
Your veld is fenced all round.  
Your freedom of movement is curtailed,  
At home crossbars close the kraal, in the veld are  
impediments.

Thank those deep dams,  
They do not run dry quickly like the shallow rivers

lingcingo ezo zixhobebe amasela,  
Kungapheli oko kutyiwa lakubalela,  
Usahlaba ngophondo nkomo ndakuphatha,  
Wakuhlaba ngengondo nkabi sakuphatha

The, fences are a protection against thieves,  
To preserve food for times of drought.  
Whilst you fight with the horn beast I shall rule,  
When you fight with the brain ox we shall rule.

The above verse implies 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 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 land owners 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. 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 laws 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 brawn. 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 as a vicious lion that contemplates devouring a Black child:

Umntwana wayephandle edlelweni,  
Ezamazama ezobazoba entlabathini  
Imigcane engecinywa nayimvula;  
Imifanekiso engesuswa nayimifula.

Ingonyama yayimile imjongile,  
Igongqongqo leramncwa lixhaphile,  
Ngamagazi eegusha namatakane  
Ngamathambo ezilo namaxhwane

Izinkcwe zazisehla ngemilenze,  
Amazinyo ebazele okuyintlonze,  
Eziifolokwe eziqhele ukuxhola  
Bakhuze bonke bathi ngumhlola.

Lasondela lihlatywa liphango,  
Ndacirnela kusondela umphanga.

Mayidede ingonyama konephango,

The child was outdoors in the pasture,  
Attempting to make drawings on the sand  
Lines that even rain will never erase,  
Pictures that even rivulets will never obliterate.

A lion stood and stared at him,  
The ogre, the beast of prey, around its mouth.  
Having blood stains of sheep and lambs,  
Of bones of animals and lambs.

Saliva dropped down the legs,  
Teeth were sharp ready to tear flesh,  
Sharp as forks that are used to picking  
They were all astounded and said this  
is an evil spirit

It came nearer pressed by hunger,  
I closed my eyes anticipating the impending  
catastrophe.  
The lion must leave the starving child

Bophiwa nguye abangahluthanga,  
Masidede isilo Nkulunkulu,  
Emhlabeni bondleke abazukulu.

Those who are hungry will be helped by him,  
The brute must go away Lord,  
On earth the grandchildren must be fed.

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 (ibid) 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) is of the opinion that:

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. Of direct bearing on 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>199</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 attaining 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.

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<sup>199</sup> Six years later in 1976, the African Child took to the streets and confronted Apartheid and its Bantu Education.

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. Mzimba in Kaschula (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.

Qangule (ibid:51-52) extolls this nationalistic pioneer as follows:

Ndithi imkile inqeberu yakwaXhosa,  
Kuthiwe kumnyama kwizwe labangekhoyo,

I say an honourable gentlemen of the Xhosa nation  
has gone,  
It was announced that it is dark in the world  
hereafter,

Kudingwa izikhuthali ezidume ngomonde,

Diligent men with a reputation for patience are  
required,

Kucelwa amadoda agqumza ngeentonga,  
Amachule acheba acubungule nomsonto,  
Izinto eziphaka oko zikuphekileyo,  
Izinto ezisela isiselo senyaniso.

Men who hit hard with their sticks are called,  
Skillful people who investigate to the last detail,  
People who dish up what they cooked,  
People who take the drink of truth.

Umlomo woMxhosa waziwa ngokuqina,  
Imilebe yoMxhosa yaziwa ngokunqaba,  
Ulwimi loMxhosa laziwa ngokurabula,

The mouth of a Xhosa person is reputedly tight,  
The lips of a Xhosa person are reputedly fortified,  
The tongue of a Xhosa person is known for sipping/  
tasting,  
The teeth of a Xhosa person are always picked,  
Toothless gums of a Xhosa learnt to spit,  
Only babies just accept everything indiscriminately,  
Only fools/mentally retarded drink beer  
must/sediment.

Amazinyo oMxhosa ahlala evungulwa,  
Izisini zoMxhosa zafunda ukuthufa,  
Zintsana izinto ezifana zithathe,  
Zizidenge zodwa ezisela intsipho.

A beautiful dish is never made use of,  
What on earth are we going to do with a dirty one.  
The house of Xhosa faces extinction,  
Death unto you White people:  
He has fed you until you became fat and red skinned,  
He removed the tongue ligament, freeing the tongue,  
And you started shouting "amaqaqa",  
And you called "amagxem",  
You spoke about "ingqaka",  
You invited men of bravery,  
You said Jordan is a wealth of knowledge.

Isitya esihle asidleli,  
Kazi senzani ngesimdaka.  
Waphela umzi kaXhosa,  
Nafa nina baMhlophe:  
Unondle natyeba nabomvu,  
Ingqabu (sic) wayisika lwasombuluka,  
Natsho nakhwaza amaqqa,  
Natsho nabiza amagxem,  
Natsho nathetha ngengqaka,  
Namema nifuna amakroti,  
UJordan nathi uyagxiza.

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. 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). 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 isiXhosa phonetics they were able to articulate isiXhosa clicks which are usually the most difficult speech sounds to Europeans. Nkamba (1981:161) states:

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...

Mkentangane in the South African Outlook (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 suggests 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 during the Apartheid epoch. The illtreatment of a humanist of Jordan's calibre, as depicted by Qangule, exposes "the inhumanity of the racist Apartheid ideology. Mtshali (ibid:16) correctly asserts that Qangule is definitely a watershed in isiXhosa poetry. The three poems we have analysed and interpreted corroborate this fact. Qangule's erudition and skillful writing

enabled him to traverse a terrain that was forbidden by the repressive Apartheid regime.

## **5.4 The State Apparatuses**

### **5.4.1 Ideological State Apparatus**

Evidently the Apartheid government recognised the significant role of the school in the dissemination of its ideology and in the maintenance of its hegemony.<sup>200</sup> 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, hence the Apartheid Government introduction of absolute segregation in education. In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed. In terms of this act, Blacks were to be prepared to inferior occupations in the state. As indicated previously in this thesis, 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.

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

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<sup>200</sup> Gramsci (1971:10) declares that “The school is the instrument through which intellectuals of various levels are elaborated”.

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) stated:

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 aforestated churches quoted copiously but selectively from the Bible to buttress their philosophy. 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 (1993:41) states:

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: Pre university Black enrolment 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.

#### 5.4.2 Repressive State Apparatus

The impact of Apartheid on cultural production was disastrous as indicated in Chapter 3. 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.

In 1963 the government passed the Publications and Entertainments Act. In terms of the said act as quoted by Gerard (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 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 Gerald (ibid:91-92) prohibited:

...any serious discussions 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. To ensure that the ideology of Apartheid is not challenged, the Department of Bantu Education consolidated the Language Boards<sup>201</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 ideology contest. Publishers who showed sympathy towards the alternative ideology were neglected in prescriptions for schools.

The intensification of repression during the second phase of Apartheid ideology had found impact on isiXhosa 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 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:

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<sup>201</sup>The Language Committees or Boards, because they were Government created fall into Gramsci's category of organic intellectuals who serve government interests. See Gramsci (1973:5).



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 that:

...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 isiXhosa written poetry of the second phase of Apartheid. Mtuze (1991:15) confirms that the aforestated 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"JadeuszKonwichi 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 has guided this study in its analysis and interpretation of isiXhosa written poetry of the first and second phase of Apartheid epoch.

### **5.5 Aesthetic ideology of the first and second phase**

Mdledle as quoted by Gerard (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". Secondly, The study support his observations regarding the majority of Mama's poetry, that they are modelled on the 19<sup>th</sup> 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:

Iintsizw’ ezibamb’ ingonyama ihleli  
Namhhla sezilele kwelo lokuzola.  
Lal’ uphumle Nozizwe!  
(Umbulelo) ngosuka kwiintlizi’  
ezophayo.

Men who arrest a live lion.  
Today they sleep in peace  
Sleep and rest Nozizwe!  
(Our gratitude) emanates from  
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.

Yali-Manisi, in 1952 published *Izibongo zeeNkosi zamaXhosa*. In this collection of poems 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:

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

We are the laughing stock of other nations,  
For lacking pride as a nation;  
The birds are also levelling criticism at us  
They see that we do not have shields.

Ewe maqobokazana,  
Se nditshilo zintwazana,  
Namhl' iAfrika yeyele,  
Se ndicela isihlwele.<sup>202</sup>

Yes young maidens,  
I have already stated this, young ladies,  
Today Africa has sunk,  
I am now asking for a retinue of a chief.

The researcher has a difficulty in comprehending the precise import of the words "nkaka" and "isihlwele" 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.

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<sup>202</sup>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)".

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 rhyming effect as the majority of his couplets repeat identical syllables at the end of the lines.

Ndingumntwana weAfrika,	a	I am a child of Africa,
Ndiya zindla ngeAfrika,	a	I am proud of Africa
Khaya limbi andinalo,	b	I do not have another home,
NdingumAfrica woqobo.	b	I am a true African.

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

Ingavel’ imbandezelo,	b	Suffering may arise ,
Indixhwal’ ingcinezelo,	b	Oppression may bring calamities to me,
Kodwa xa ndiseAfrika,	a	But when I am in Africa,
Ndiguya ndiqudalale.	x	I dance and run stooping down.

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 Rholihlala Nelson Mandela” Yali-Manisi has stuck to the indigenous canon. 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.

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 isiXhosa 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>203</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

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<sup>203</sup> See Kunene (1971: 531).

relationship with its form. The obsession of the writers of the period under review with rhyme is incomprehensible. Gérard (1978:93-94) observed that:

The best isiXhosa 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 isiXhosa 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 isiXhosa 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 1961.<sup>204</sup>:

In the discussion of isiXhosa under 5(b) above it was fittingly pointed out that isiXhosa poetry lends itself most readily to blank verse, the isiXhosa 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 isiXhosa Language Committee, poets of the first and second phase of Apartheid in the majority of their poems stick to the Western model. 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.

## 5.6 Conclusion

This fifth chapter presented the context of isiXhosa literature during the period 1948-73. The simultaneous evolution of the Apartheid ideology, an Afrikaner Nationalist ideology, and the Africanist ideology, a Black Nationalist ideology in the late forties and fifties impacted on

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<sup>204</sup>Minutes of the Committee are at the National Heritage and Research Centre at the University of Fort Hare , Alice.

isiXhosa written poetry. This literature became a contested terrain, with both the dominant Apartheid ideology which was 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.

The study argues that in this contest, the alternative ideology of Africanism, during the first and second 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. IsiXhosa written poetry of the first and second phase reflects that though the Africanist ideology was politically subordinate, it was ideologically dominant<sup>205</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 of Africanism. Writers 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 section of aesthetic ideology (5.5). The cultural hegemony that the alternative Africanist ideology enjoyed during the 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 analysed were produced by the missionary press, Lovedale, which, during the Apartheid period, became sympathetic to Black political aspirations. This was a change from their position during the Segregation era. 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 fully effective.

The ideological contest of the first phase of Apartheid gained momentum during the second half of the fifties. This ideological contest impacted profoundly on isiXhosa written poetry. IsiXhosa written poetry became a terrain of the struggle by the ANC and PAC ideologies, against Apartheid ideology. The desperate attempts by the government of the day to make people consent

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<sup>205</sup> Gramsci (ibid: 207) also pointed out that a social group (class) can be politically dominant but ideologically subordinate.

to apartheid governance and White supremacy was reciprocated by resistance which strove 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>206</sup>. These debates permeated isiXhosa written poetry. Though the impact of the PAC ideology cannot be underestimated, the majority of Xhosa poets seem to be interpellated by the 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 only discernible tenet that distinguishes them from the PAC ideology is their insistence on unity irrespective of colour or creed. To them both Blacks and Whites are South Africans who should co-exist in harmony forthwith, not after freedom is attained. 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 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-politico-economic issues. It continues to disseminate African nationalism. Following on the trend of the fifties, it popularises the ANC ideology. What is observed 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 also responsible for stimulating the ideological debate because 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

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<sup>206</sup> See No Sizwe (1979:115-121).

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

The study argues 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 isiXhosa written poetry. First, the new criteria imposed by the censorship laws of 1963, resulted in the 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 texts 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 isiXhosa verse. Poetry which explicitly extolled 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, the study, nevertheless, argues that to suggest that the alternative nationalistic ideology was absolutely dissipated during the second phase of the Apartheid and any other period is travesty of the truth. Magona and Qangule's poems which have been analysed and interpreted towards the end of this chapter, support this contention. At the production level writers of the subaltern 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, in some instances inadvertently eluded the average consumers of their poetry. The study argues that this factor muffled<sup>207</sup> the ideology in isiXhosa written poetry during the second phase of Apartheid.

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<sup>207</sup>The term is used by Mtuze (1991) to explain that the average reader would not understand the politically hidden meaning of the message of the poets.

## CHAPTER 6

### THIRD PHASE OF APARTHEID: 1974-1994

#### 6.1 Introduction

The sixth chapter will focus on the contenting ideologies during the third phase of Apartheid (1973-1994), which according to Omer-Cooper (1994:223-251), is “the final phase and collapse of Apartheid”. The historical background to this is that the South African government in 1973 introduced a transition from “separate development” to a new approach of multiracial co-option.<sup>208</sup> The driving force behind this change was the economic changes in the country which were as a result of the increased number of African skilled workers. The bargaining power of African workers was experiencing growth which made it possible for them to strike despite the fact that legislation did not allow them to join trade unions. An outbreak of the strikes in Durban and the Rand impacted negatively on the economy, and forced that the change of policy by government be enhanced.

These developments marked an end of post-Sharpeville quiescence<sup>209</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 stated:

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 situation during the third phase of Apartheid can be clearly illustrated with Therbon's (1980: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: Apartheid (including its homeland

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<sup>208</sup>Omer –Cooper (1994:223)

<sup>209</sup>See Lodge (Ibid: 396).

strategy), Black Consciousness (including AZAPO and the National Forum), and Charterist (through the United Democratic Front) and Pan Africanism ideologies. It is these contending dissonant ideologies that comprised complex social processes<sup>210</sup> that during this period interpellated individuals, transforming them into their subjects. The pages that follow will evince how these ideologies permeated isiXhosa written poetry of this period.

By providing a synopsis of the restructuring of the Apartheid ideology, including the homeland policy, during the above-stated period of 1974-1994, the chapter will first provide a historical contextualization of the literature. Secondly, a concise exposition of the ideology of Black Consciousness, which was consolidated in the early seventies, will be presented. Thirdly, a brief outline of the re-emergence of the Charterist ideology, which was spearheaded by the United Democratic Front, will be outlined. This will be followed by a brief look at the re-emergence of the PAC ideology after the long period of banning. A brief outline of the glasnost period (1990-1994) will be followed by an analysis and interpretation of poetry texts that are coterminous with the period under review. The repressive state apparatus of this last phase of Apartheid will be exposed. A brief survey of the aesthetic ideology of this period will be followed by a conclusion.

## **6.2 Contending Ideologies**

### **6.2.1 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

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<sup>210</sup>See Therbon (1980:77-81).

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>211</sup> to the Apartheid ideology was enhanced in the seventies and eighties by the pressure that was 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 structures 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 (1984:37):

... 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. 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 from 1978 onwards. 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 sought 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>212</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

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<sup>211</sup>'Reforms' and restructuring are used interchangeably.

<sup>212</sup>See Gramsci (ibid:137, 168, 366, 377 and 418).

an executive president and the establishment of three separate legislatures - White, Coloured and Indian. In accountability 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>213</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 order to reduce the pressure on the economic front, 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.

The Homelands/Bantustans/National states continued to implement the policies of

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<sup>213</sup>See Marx (ibid:147-188), Meli (ibid:194-201) and Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (ibid:468-489).

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 isiXhosa speaking areas, by accepting independence, lost their South African citizenship. According to the South African 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). In 1989 President Botha was succeeded by FW de Klerk, with a new cabinet and new leadership style. In October 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.

#### 6.2.2 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>214</sup>. 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

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<sup>214</sup>See Gerhart (*ibid*:261).

Consciousness ideology was defined as follows:

- Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
- 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.
- The black man must build up his own value systems; see himself as self-defined and not defined by others.
- 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.
- 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>215</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) states:

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

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<sup>215</sup>The concept 'conscientisation', probably coined by B.C.M. means making aware or raising awareness/consciousness.

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>216</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) states:

(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.

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

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<sup>216</sup>See Lodge (ibid:323).



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>217</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>218</sup>. This debate is nevertheless outside the ambit of this study.

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

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<sup>217</sup>See Gerhart (ibid:293).

<sup>218</sup>See Lodge (ibid:330-339).

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>219</sup>. According to Leatt et al (*ibid*:114) it "announced itself as 'the main black political organization 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>220</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 developments 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.

### 6.2.3 Re-emergence of Charterist Ideology of the ANC: 1980-1994

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 (1992:107) the postponement of "the

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<sup>219</sup>See Leatt et al (*ibid*:115) and Marx (*ibid*:80).

<sup>220</sup>See 6.2.1 of this chapter, Apartheid ideology.

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>221</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...

The 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 Parliament

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<sup>221</sup>See 5.2 of this chapter.

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. The year 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 the President of the organisation, Oliver Tambo<sup>222</sup>, 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 organization 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

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<sup>222</sup>See: The speeches of O.R Tambo in *Oliver Tambo Speaks*, "Make S.A ungovernable" delivered at the Second National Consultative Conference in Lusaka on 16-23 June 1985.

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) states:

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 several of its affiliates by the state.

#### 6.2.4 The re-emergence of the Pan Africanism of the PAC

After the Sharpeville Massacre, the PAC went on to establish their guerrilla warfare arm called “POQO”. This fighting arm was operational during the years 1962 and 1963. After the banning of the organisation in 1963, the PAC went to exile and established offices in Dar-es-Salaam, London, Algiers and other countries. The announcement of the unbanning of political organisations in 1990 enabled the PAC to operate freely to re-organise itself inside the country. The PAC met the ANC in Harare, in 1991, where the two liberation movements agreed to cooperate<sup>223</sup>. But later the PAC changed its approach and did not finalise and formalise its co-operation with the ANC, and subsequently did not participate in the activities of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)<sup>224</sup>. The military wing of the PAC, the African People’s Liberation Army (APLA), during the period 1992-1993 was accused of being responsible for some violent incidents that were targeting the white community.

#### 6.2.5 The ‘glasnost’<sup>225</sup> era: 1990-1994

On 2 February 1990, the president of the Republic of South Africa F.W. de Klerk, made an announcement that changed the history of the country, that Nelson Mandela was to be released from his 27 years long incarceration in Robben Island and political organisations which had waged the struggle for an end to apartheid: the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and UDF, were unbanned<sup>226</sup>. The announcement presented a clear plan by government to enter into negotiations with the leadership of Blacks with the aim of developing a new constitution. The actual release of Mandela took place on 11 February 1990. The changes that were introduced by government were welcomed by all except the Conservative Party and the AWB. In May 1990 talks between the ANC and the government resumed with the purpose of levelling the playing fields for negotiations pertaining to the new constitution for the country. The talks were followed by important milestones which lead to the historic elections on the 27 April 1994.

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<sup>223</sup> Nelson Mandela, in *Long Walk to freedom* (1995:580) makes reference to feuding between members of PAC, ANC and BCM in some sections of Robben Island where they were all prisoners. These ideological contestations were amicably resolved.

<sup>224</sup> Omer Cooper (1994:248)

<sup>225</sup> A Soviet policy permitting open discussion of political and social issues and freer dissemination of news and information. See [www.mettiam.webster.com/.../glasnost](http://www.mettiam.webster.com/.../glasnost)

<sup>226</sup> O’ Meara (1996:404)

The following are some of significant milestones:<sup>227</sup>

- Suspension of armed struggle by liberation movements
- And of traditional social segregation.

Legislative pillars of Apartheid were repealed (O'Meara,1996:245-246). These included:

- Group Areas Act
- Population Registration Act
- Desegregation of Education

These steps resulted in withdrawal of economic sanctions by the international community. The arts, culture and sport boycotts of South Africa were brought to an end. On 20 December 1991 the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) assembled. Mandela (1995:712) says that CODESA "... represented the first formal negotiations forum between the government, the ANC and the other South African parties". A referendum was called by President De Klerk on 17 March 1992 to determine the future of constitutional negotiations. Government's support for continuation was overwhelming. Despite this negative incidents also occurred during this period:<sup>228</sup>

- The Boipatong Massacre on 17 June 1992 by Inkatha supporters which affected women and children (see Mandela, 1995:724).
- Massacre of ANC protestors by the Ciskei homeland military government.
- Assassination of Chris Hani, the ANC/SACP leader<sup>229</sup>.

In April 1993 the Multi-party Negotiation Forum (MPNF) resumed talks and worked hard towards a date for elections to the Constituent Assembly, which was agreed upon on 03 June 1993, as 27 April 1994 (Mandela, 1995:732).

Nelson Mandela and F.W De Klerk won a Nobel Peace Prize jointly in 1993. An interim constitution was drafted despite all challenges and resistance from former homeland leaders and the conservative parties. Preparations went on and elections were held on 27-29 April 1994. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was inaugurated as the first State President of the new democratic South Africa on 10 May 1994.

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<sup>227</sup> Omer – Cooper (1994:245-246)

<sup>228</sup> O' Meara (1996:411)

<sup>229</sup> See Mandela (1995:728)

### 6.3 Analysis and interpretation of texts

#### 6.3.1. 1974 - Nkuhlu: *Isigidimi* (Messenger)

The analysis of the immediate poetry that follows, although reflecting the context of the 1960s was only published in the 1970s and hence it is included here for analysis.

The Apartheid ideology of the ruling class filters through Nkuhlu's poem "UmhlaweRipablikiI, 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 is presented as follows in its first part:

Kwishumi leminyak' eyadlulayo  
Mzantsi Afrika kumhla wazinza wazuka;  
Kub' ubukad' ugushw' ekhwapheni nguLiz'bethi  
Nyathikaz' elalis' umnye mhl' inyantsula emaThanga.

.....  
Indoda kade yenziw' indoda yeny' indoda:  
Thethani kuhlengoVelefutha nithi yindoda,  
.....

Yindod' eyathunyw' isigidimiyasibik' eBandla;

Yindod' ezwi linomfutho nefuthe;  
Yindod' emyolel' uphilis' imilowo namaXhosa.

Wafik' eBritani waxoxawaxhaph' 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;

.....  
Yithin' uVelefutha nguMesuli-nyembezi:

Othe usapho lukaXhosa malukhulul' ezokuzila;

Othe usapho lukaXhosa malukhululwe ligoduke;

Othe usapho lukaXhosa maluye kuvus' amanxow' okhoko

Othe usapho lukaXhosa malwambathisw' ingub' eyashiywa  
Nguyise;

Othe usapho lukaXhosa malubhalw' eMqulwini wezizwe;

Othe usapho lukaXhosa maluqhutyisw' ithole xa lugoduka;

Zeluthi lwakufika kulo magquba lusengel' usapho:

Ten years ago  
South Africa you were consolidated and honored;  
For a long time you were under Elizabeth's arm,  
The great buffalo that never raises its mane when  
boldly traversing its Colonies.

.....  
A man is made a man by another man:  
Commend Verwoerd and say he is a man,  
.....

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.

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 accross the English current;  
His hands were full when he arrived at Smuts' port;  
With both hands holding a Republican Government;

.....  
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;



Kuba kakad' uXhos' ebengenanza namaBhulu;  
 Kuba kakade' uXhos' ebephakelana namaBhulu,  
 Ngeemini zo Lubisi nooZanzolo ka Khawuta.

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.

In the foregoing lines Nkuhlu commemorates the founding of the Republic of South Africa in 1961<sup>230</sup>. The poem is published 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 were 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>231</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) state that:

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. Parts two and four of the poem proceed as follows:

Lizwendini lamaphupha ndiyakunqwenela!!  
 Ngath'u nguMboniso weAfrika;  
 Ngath' uliqhayiya leNtshonalanga;  
 Ngath' ulixhala leMpumalanga

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.

<sup>230</sup>See Magona (ibid:5) and Chapter 5 of this study.

<sup>231</sup>See Davies et al (ibid:204-205).

.....  
 Zanyondl' izinyanya zikaXhos' eNyangweni;  
 Yambombozel' imilondekhaya yomzi kaXhosa:  
 "Ripabliki ndin' uluphathelenin' usapho lukaPhalo?"

Sathi besinethemba safa namthanyana;  
 "Minyaka yoMdibaniso ibinentlutha kweziny' iintlanga,

Kodwa' uXhosa yen' uthungelwe ngoFephiwe".

"Xa sitshoyo sicamagusha kuwe Sholog'  
 Eloyis' imishologu!"  
 Khumbul' imigudu yooMgolombane noNgxow  
 inemilenze,"  
 "Kungabi nekrele, mkrolo, nekrwane:

Kube ngocebano, mvumelwano nomnqophiso;  
 Khuphil' iRipabliki kanti noXhos' aphile".  
 .....

Zez' inkosi zam namhla zinqashele;  
 Zivela kuhlangula kumahlath' olwagcibe lweKapa;

Zivela kuhlangula kumageduk' anemvomvo aseTswani.

Zeza zipheth' ubukhosi: zipheth' ubuRhulumente

Zeza zinxib' imixhaga: zithwes' ubuPhathiswa;

Zeza zipheth' ubuzwe: ziphethe neVoti.  
 Waqandusel' uMthatha ngokuwis' imithetho;

.....  
 Xhosa ancestors peeped from the world hereafter;  
 The '*lares et penates*' of the Xhosa house grumbled:  
 "Republic what have you brought for the house of  
 Phalo?"

We were hopeful but seemingly we do not benefit;  
 "The years of the Union brought wealth to ather  
 races,  
 But the Xhosa's share was poured into the smallest  
 beaker".

"With those words we are praying to you God  
 who defeats all gods"

"Remember the struggles of Mgolombane and  
 Ngxow' inemilenze,"

"It must not be with the sword, the stick and the  
 assegai;

It must be negotiations, agreements and a covenant;  
 The Republic must survive and also the Xhosas".  
 .....

My chiefs came back today wearing anklets;  
 Returning from sucking honey from the forests  
 of the Cape coast;

Returning from sucking honey from the Cape aloes  
 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.  
 Mthatha excelled in passing legislation.

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. 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>232</sup> Again Nkuhlu makes reference to amaXhosa 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>233</sup> 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.

### 6.3.2 Dikana (1979): *Impefumlelwano*

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,  
Wadlul' ushiy' uncumo kwizizwe neentlanga,  
Wadlul' uzibonakalise kunene,  
Wancumis' amadoda kweloMzantsi.

Uthe usaqala wanenkqubela,  
Umfo obevel' esitsha akazang' onwabe<sup>234</sup>;  
Umfo ovelevutha engacengi luxolo,

Ubesoloko ekhangele Phambili yena,  
Eza kwenza ibali ngalo nyaka wenkqubela

.....  
Simbonile k'u1961, nyan' omhle  
Simbonile ntw' ekuhlakanipha yaseHolani;  
Udlule ebonis' ubuchopho bakho, Velevutha,  
Kuba namhla siqhayisa ngeRipabliki,  
Elibhongo nesikhumbuzo sobuntu bakho

Woe! Gone by is the year of fortune,  
It left a smile on the face of nations and races,  
It left having done wonders,  
Men in South Africa were left smiling.

From the beginning it had great progress,  
A man 'who appeared burning' never relaxed;  
A man 'who appeared in flames did not care for  
peace,  
He was persistently looking forward,  
Intending to make history during this year of  
progress.

.....  
We have seen 1961, you beautiful son;  
We have seen it, you brilliant Hollander;  
It demonstrated your intelligence, Verwoerd,  
Because today we boast about a Republic,  
Which is pride and a memorial of your humanity.

<sup>232</sup>See Davies et al (ibid:204-205).

<sup>233</sup>See Lodge (ibid:272 – 278) and Davies et al (ibid:202). One of the victims was Chief Albert Luthuli.

<sup>234</sup>This is reference to dr Verwoerd. “Ukuvutha” is synomimous with “ukutsha” that is burning. In the next line and stanza he is called “Velevutha”. This might also mean that he is perceived as cruel or arrogant.

In the analysis and interpretation of Magona's "Ikhaka noMkhonto" and the previous poem "Umhla weRiphabliki" by Nkuhlu, a historical background to the founding of a Republic on 31 May 1961 under the leadership of Dr H.F. Verwoerd was provided. 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":

Mnyaka ndini mna ndinesingquku,  
Intlungu oze nayo kubantu bakowethu,  
Intlupheko obuyithwalele abaNtsundu;  
Mna, ngokwam andinazwi lakuthetha,  
Koko nje kambe ndinemihlali,  
Wang' ungadlula ungaze ubuye.  
.....

Yizani, bantu nonke, sithethe;  
Lo mnyaka ubuthwel' izidumbu;  
Udlule nazo zonke iintandane,  
Wayishiy' imbong' ithwel' izandla,  
Wayishiy' ikhal' idandatheka  
Kazi ke mnyakandini bekungani na!

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,  
May you go forever.  
.....

Come people let us talk;  
The 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 as 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 (1978:46) would say:

Apartheid (or apart-hood) is therefore the high-water 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 did not have a negative impact on the lives of 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.

### 6.3.3 Jordan (1981): *Igama Lam*

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-identity 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 (n.d:72), expressing the role of missionaries in the conquest of the Cape, states:

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 amaXhosa nation into Christians (Amagqobhoka) and non-christians or "pagans" (Amaqaba), with the former feeling superior to the latter<sup>235</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 (1986:108) are of the opinion that:

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 on 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:

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<sup>235</sup>See Mnguni (Hosea Jaffa) (n.d.:72), *Three Hundreds Years, A History of South Africa*, and Majeke (Dora Taylor): *The Role of Missionaries in Conquest*.

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 proceeds as follows:

Ndimnyama, ndimnyama ndinje ndaye  
ndimhle ngaphezulu,  
Ubuhle yinyaniso, undileko  
lokuziphatha, nokuhloniph' abantu,  
Andicatshulwanga mntwini, ngoko  
ndineemfanelo zikawonke-wonke

Andinakhaya limbi lakubalekela  
ngaphandle kweli lam lemvelo.  
Yolul' isandla Sombawo,  
Sikelel' izwe loobawo!

Ungathi ndingongemhlophe,  
andisosichasi somnye umntu,  
Ndikuchasile oko kuba, ndaweni yaloo  
nto ndiyiyo  
Suke ndichazwe ngentw' endingeyiyo, ukunik' iingqondo  
Yokokuba bekufanele ukuba ndiyiyo, zendibe

Ewe, nox' ufele lulukhozo lomya,  
isazela sarn likhephu  
Kuba andifunanga nto ingaphezulu  
kweemfanelo ezizezam  
Akukho namnye unokuthi ndahlula-  
hlule kabini indlu kayise;  
Yintsimi kabani endiyidlise yaphela  
nya ngeencomo zikabawo?

.....  
Unced' ozincedayo kutshiwo - sifundis'  
ukufuna ukuwaxhamla  
Amalungelo ethu asisipho sakho  
njengeendlalifa zaZulu  
Masingathembiselani ekufuneni  
inyaniso, ukholo noxolo.  
Inkwenkwe eqhith' amanye imem'  
ingqumbo kayise.  
.....

I am black and black as I am, I am , exceptionally  
beautiful,  
Beauty is truth, self-respect and respect for other  
people,  
I am not a limb dismembered from somebody else,  
I therefore deserve to enjoy like everybody else  
all human rights

I have no other home to escape to except my  
natural habitat.  
Stretch your hand Father  
Bless our father's land!

Refrain from addressing me as a non-white,  
I am not somebody else's antonym,  
I am against being described in terms of  
what I am not  
Instead of what I am, giving the impression  
That I am supposed to be that thing, in order to be  
accorded respect.

Yes, though the skin is pitch black, my  
son conscience is as white as snow  
Because I am not demanding what is beyond  
my rights  
Nobody can claim that I have divided into two  
halves his father's house;  
Whose fields have I allowed to be grazed on  
by my father's cattle.

.....  
It is said that you help those who help  
themselves - teach us to seek to enjoy  
Our rights which are your gift, as Heavenly  
heirs  
Let us not shirk our responsibility to seek  
truth, religion and peace.  
A boy who ill-treats other boys incurs his  
father's wrath.  
.....

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 echo Biko's (1978:68) 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 (1973:43) 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'.

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 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:

Lid'el' ithuba ndim' apha,  
 Vula-vula wethu, vula  
 Ndicand' amathafa, ndenyus'  
 iintaba, ndawel' imifula.  
 Nditshizwe ziingqele, ngathi  
 ibiseza kuzifikisela nemvula  
 Indlel' awundibonisanga,  
 ubusithi andisokuze ndifike?  
 Undenzela engaka inkohlakalo  
 ulindel' ukuba ndihleke?  
 Ndithwabaz' ebumnyameni,  
 andikhange ndide ndidle.  
 Awulalanga kub' ukhanyisile  
 kanti nentshukum' iyavakala.  
 Ukhohlakel' unje andinakuzi-  
 khohlisa ndithi uyathandaza  
 lziqalekiso nezithuko ezimanyu-  
 mnyezi ndiv' uzisasaza.  
 Ungoyena obefanel'ukuba kobu  
 bumnyama ngenxa yaloo ntliziyo  
 Kudal' usenzelwa imvuselelo  
 kanti aluncedanga nto nohlaziyo.  
 Uth' iphethwe bubuyatha noku-  
 nyoluka yonke le ntlaninge?

I have been standing here for a long time,  
 Open-open please, open  
 I have crossed plains, climbed mountains,  
 and crossed streams.  
 I have been bitten by cold, rain was about  
 to fall on me  
 You never showed me the way, did you think  
 that I shall never find my destination?  
 After doing so much cruelty to me, do  
 you expect me to laugh?  
 I have travelled in darkness,  
 I never had food.  
 You are not asleep because the light is on  
 and I can hear your footsteps.  
 Cruel as you are I cannot mislead myself  
 and think that you pray  
 I can hear you disseminating your unbearable curses  
 and swearings.  
 You are the one who is supposed to be in this  
 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 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:

Ndikhokelwe ngumzila wegazi ukuza kuthi ngxi apha  
 Baninzi abangaphambili abagazi labo  
 kule ndawo lopho  
 Uhleli ethembeni elimnandi lokuba  
 sonke apha siya kufa  
 Inceba yaxhatshwa yinja nje ngoko  
 kuye nalow' ungenayo,  
 Uluvala mba ucango ngathi kufike mnt'  
 uphambanayo.  
 Uyaqonda ngale ndlela ukhulisa  
 isixhiba kweli chibi lisezayo?

Okwenzek' apha phandle intw'  
 ebuhlungu, akukwazi  
 Kub' ufukamele amaqand' abolileyo  
 phantsi kwaloo mnyazi  
 Awusokuze ubone ufikelwa njengabany'  
 abantu likhazi.  
 Mn' ophandle yima mandikuxelele,  
 kweli gazi kukhula umthana<sup>236</sup>.  
 Unik' ithemba kwinkquleqhu zam  
 ngathi ngeny' imini sokwazana.  
 Tyhini andibonanga nalaph' ecaleni  
 kwendlu kukhw' isivivana!

Blood stains have led me to this place  
 There are many people whose blood was spilled in  
 this place  
 You are hoping that we shall all here perish

You are merciless, and whenever somebody tries to  
 enter,  
 You close the door as if it is a mad person who is  
 arriving.  
 Do you understand that by doing this you invite  
 vengeance from those who are still coming?

What is happening outside here you donot  
 know  
 Because under that basket you are brooding  
 rotten eggs  
 You will never, like other people, receive  
 bride-wealth /lobola.  
 From me who is outside listen, from this blood  
 a young plant is growing.  
 It gives hope to my struggles, it seems as if one  
 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 lead to a dearth of food, moral degeneration and a high crime rate which resulted in blacks maiming and killing one another. Apartheid was 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 buildup.

Stanza 5 implies that by isolating themselves, the white ruling class, had become ignorant of developments in the Black community (line 1). The conservative and outdated Apartheid also isolated its people from the international community (line 2 -3). The poet puts it to the

<sup>236</sup>Note the intertextual relation with Jolobe's poem in chapter 4 and Solomon Mahlangu's last words.

Apartheid regime that the blood of fallen African heroes was 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)" 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 the oppressed. Jordan's words are reminiscent of Jolobe's words in "Abakhululi besizwe" in *Umthunywa* (1952) 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 ready 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.

#### 6.3.4. 1984-Sandi: *Uziphathe-geqe waseCiskei* (Ciskei independence)

##### 6.3.4.1 Mhla ngoziphathe-geqe

##### The independence day

Yeyani na injongo kazimele-geqe wamaphandle?  
Yeyani na injongo yokusekwa kwamaphandle?  
Yinkululeko, nguzimele-geqe, nguziphathe-geqe?  
Ndiyabuza ndibuzisa ngokusekwa kwamaphandle,  
Ndiyabuza ndibuzisa ngozimele-geqe wamaphandle.'  
Injongo mayiphuhlise inyaniso yokwenene,  
Inyaniso mayiphuhlise injongo yokwenene.  
Kunini sithule sikhedamile siphalezwa?

Kunini sithe cwaka bantu bakowethu?

Ingaba asisosono ukuthi cwaka kwethu ?  
Lonk' ihlabathi alihambisani nozimele-geqe,  
Kuba lithi asiyo inkululeko nguzifele-geqe..  
La maphandle abuyisela abantu abaNyama emva,  
La maphandle athengisa ngesizwe sonk' esiNyama,

What is the aim of independent homelands?  
What is the aim of establishment of homelands?  
Is it freedom, independence, independent rule?  
I am asking about the establishment of homelands,  
I am asking about the establishment of homelands,  
The aim must expose clearly the real truth,  
The truth must expose the real aim.  
For a longtime we have been quiet and sorrowful  
when we are destroyed.  
For a long time we have been silent compatriots.

Are we not committing sin with this quietude?  
The entire world is against independence,  
As she says is not freedom but death in isolation.  
The homelands are taking Blacks backwards,  
These homelands are selling out the entire Black  
nation,

Kuba avumela inkqubo yeli lizwe yocalucalulo.  
 Andigwebi ndizama ukuba kubhencwe inyaniso,  
 Andilwi ndizama ukuba kuhiuzwe eyona nyaniso.

Because they support the policy of this country of  
 separate development.  
 I do not judging I am trying that truth be exposed,  
 I am not fighting, I am trying to ask for truth to be  
 sifted out.

Ngenxa kazimele-geqe uninzi lulahlekile  
 Ngenxa kazimele-geqe uninzi lungozekile,  
 Ngenxa kazimele-geqe uninzi luphalele,  
 Ngenxa kazimele-geqe uninzi lukhobokekile,  
 Ngenxa kazimele-geqe uninzi luhluphekile,  
 Ngenxa kazimele-geqe abaNyama ngabasemzini,  
 EmZantsi-Afrika kwilizwe labo lokuzalwa.

Because of independence many have lost direction  
 Because of independence many have been hurt  
 Because of independence many have been destroyed,  
 Because of independence many have been enslaved,  
 Because of independence many are suffering,  
 Because of independence Blacks are foreigners,  
 In South Africa the land of their birth.

Ininzi ingozi eyenziwe nguzimele-geqe,  
 Kuba ngoku wonk ' oNyama uzifele-geqe,  
 Amanqatha eli lizwe antsentsethwa sihleli

A great damage was caused by independence,  
 Because all Blacks are now dying in isolation,  
 The wealth of this country is enjoyed by others  
 while we sit and watch,

Sihleli singayanga kukha zimbotyi-  
 Wonk' oNyama namhla ufile naxa ehleli.

Whilst we are alive and present-  
 All Blacks today are dead though alive.

In the sixth stanza the poet asks a number of rhetorical questions. The obvious answer to the questions is that there is no convincing rationale for Ciskei independence, and the creation of other homelands, as the truth is that these creations do not bring freedom. He resents the quietness of Africans which might be interpreted as meaning consent. The poet explains in the 7<sup>th</sup> stanza that the international community is against the independence that is granted to homelands, as it leads to entities that are not economically viable, and that will be isolated by the international community, and die a natural death. He sees this step as regression that sells out Africans who find themselves being strangers in their own country. The consequences of independence are explained in the last stanza as indolence, Africans who are politically and economically isolated, allowing the wealth of the country to be enjoyed by other racial groups. Sandi intimates that Africans have subsequently lost zeal and enthusiasm due to the homeland system.

The poet's interpretation of the history of the South Africa during the eighties is supported by Omer-Cooper (1994:229):

The other side of the new policy of improving the lot and co-opting the loyalties of those Blacks needed permanently by the white economy was the more thorough going exclusion of those who were not believed to be so needed. The main instrument of this purpose was to take the idea of 'separate development' to its logical conclusion by making the Bantustans formally independent. Their inhabitants would then become foreign citizens and South Africa would no longer have any formal

responsibility for their fate. Their economic dependence on South Africa would ensure the co-operation of the ruling elites of these areas. The first homeland government to accept nominal independence was the Transkei in 1976. It was followed subsequently by Bophuthatswana in 1977, Venda in 1979, Ciskei in 1981 and KwaNdebele in 1984. The South African government's intentions at the international level were frustrated, however, by the fact that no country in the world recognised the so-called independent nations and under international law they remained part of South Africa.

It is against this backdrop that this study argues that Sandi's poem is a counter to the Apartheid discourse. Sandi is articulating the discourse of the subaltern class that the Bantustans or homelands which the Apartheid discourse used to give morality to a system that was condemned as a being immoral were not acceptable, and have to be rejected with the contempt that they deserve. The poet presents the position of the emerging Charterist ideology which was spearheaded by the United Democratic Front, of rejection of "ethnicization" of South Africa which sought to present Apartheid as a natural, just and moral system<sup>237</sup>.

#### 6.3.4.2 Imbumba yamanyama

Mawethu masingazilibazisi ngoozimele-geqe,

Hleze bonk' abantu abamnyama basuke bafe geqe,  
Kuba uzimele-geqe ukhuthaza intlalo yocukezo.  
Ma-Afrika masingazibambezeli ngoozimele-geqe,  
Kuba uzimele-geqe uqinisa ingalo yocalu-calulo,  
Kanye ngexesha abantu besilwa ucalu-calulo.

Zonk'iintlanga eziMnyama azihambisani nozimele-geqe.

Eli xesha lelembumba yamanyama yabantu bonke ,  
Mawethu! Ubukhosi kweli xesha abusasebenzi,  
Babusebenza kudala-dala kwiinkosi zegazi,  
Mandulo phambi leweemfazwe zokuphangwa,  
Mandulo phambi kweemfazwe zokuchithwa,  
Mandulo phambi kweemfazwe zokuthinjwa,  
Mandulo phambi Iweemfazwe zokuqhathwa-  
Eli xesha siphila kulo lelembumba yamanyama.

Olu manyano lumanyano lukawonke-wonke,  
Olu manyano alujongi buhlanga bamntu,  
Ayingobantu baMnyama bodwa abalwel' inkululeko.  
Abalweli-inkululeko mababambane ngesandla esinye,  
Ukuze injongo nomsebenzi wenkululeko ube mnye.  
Masithethe singqishe ngesithende esinye,  
Masiqine sithembane zoba ntle iziqhamo.

#### The United Front

Compatriots let us not waste our time  
with independence,  
Lest all Black people die in isolation,  
Because independence encourages fragmentation  
Africans let us not delay ourselves with independence  
For independence entrenches separate development  
At a time when people are fighting separate  
development  
All Black nations are against independence

This time is for unity of all people,  
Compatriots! Chieftaincy is no longer workable,  
It was workable in the olden days of born chiefs  
Long ago before the wars of dispossession,  
Long ago before the wars of destruction,  
Long ago before the wars of colonization  
Long ago before the wars of being robbed -  
This time in our lives is for a united front.

This unity is for everyone,  
This unity is not based on the race of a person  
It is not Blacks only who are fighting for liberation.  
Freedom fighters must hold hands,  
For the purpose and work towards freedom to be one.  
Let us speak with one voice and step ahead together,  
Let us be strong thrust one another and good fruits

<sup>237</sup> See also Norval (1996:169-173)

.....  
 Imbumba yamanyama nguye umakhi,  
 Imburnba yamanyama nguye umgcini,  
 Imbumba yamanyama nguye umlungisi,  
 Imbumba yamanyama nguye umdibanisi,  
 Imbumba yamanyama nguye umqinisi;  
 Imbumba yamanyama yona inarnandla  
 Kuba ibunjwa ngezandla ezinamandla.

Yiyo leyo ke! Yiyo ke madoda nani bafazi  
 Yiyo leyo ke! Yiyo leyo ke mlisela nomthinjana,  
 Nantso ke! Nantso ke maxhego nani maxhegokazi,  
 Nantso ke imbumba yamanyama ma-Afrika.  
 Makube njalo! Makube njalo ukuze kulunge.  
 Tshoni! Tshoni! Tshoniyane-e!!!

will be borne.

.....  
 The united front is the builder  
 The united front is the keeper  
 The united front is the restorer  
 The united front is the uniter  
 The united front is the consolidator  
 The united front is has power  
 For it is moulded by powerful hands.

There it is! There it is man and women.  
 There it is! there boys and girls  
 There it is elderly men and elderly women,  
 There is the United front Africans  
 Let it be! Let it be for success to be realized.  
 I disappear! I disappear! I disappear.

Sandi's "Imbumba yamanyama" popularizes the Charterist ideology which was spearheaded by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the eighties. From the very first line of the first stanza he implores Black South Africans to desist from wasting valuable time with 'independence' (uzimele-geqe)<sup>238</sup>, of the homeland of Ciskei, which might lead Blacks to their demise, and to a state of isolation. He says "independence" is based on racial polarisation and he entreats Africans not to delay their progress with acceptance of "independence" which entrenches the racial policies, at a time when the people are resisting racism. He emphasizes his opinion that "all" Blacks are against independence. The third stanza elaborates on the constitution of the UDF, its vision and its mission. The emphasis is on the non-racial, non-sexist and democratic characteristic of the UDF. It is explained clearly that the struggle for liberation from the Apartheid regime is carried forward by both Black and White South Africans, and that all those who are struggling for attainment of freedom must unite. He calls upon the members of UDF to thrust each other and unite.

The argument of this study is that Sandi's poem diffused the dominant ideology of the eighties that was championed by the UDF which resisted the 'dichotomization of political and social spaces',<sup>239</sup> According to Norval (1996:238) who traces the origins of the UDF:

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<sup>238</sup> As distinct from freedom

<sup>239</sup> Norval (ibid:239)

The UDF formed to organize resistance to the tri-cameral parliament and to reforms aimed at urban Africans, filled the space opened up for political organization by the elections following the wake of constitutional reforms. Its initial platform was consolidated around the issue of the exclusion of Africans from the tri-cameral Parliament. The UDF quickly became a national force, articulating local township grievances into a broader anti-apartheid discourse.

The penultimate stanza emphasizes the salient features of the UDF, and its core business. It is perceived by the poet as a unifier, keeper, restorer, builder and consolidator of all South Africans of all ages, gender, race, class and creed. The poet presents the UDF to all Africans<sup>240</sup> (in the Charterist sense). Norval (1996:239) supports the poet:

Not only did the UDF work against division within the Urban African community, but its opposition was predicated upon a discourse aiming to construct a form of unity which cut across all racial divisions, thus having the potential to undermine the very logic upon which the social division of Apartheid was based.

The poet ends with a persuasive appeal for full support of the United Democratic Front.

#### 6.3.5 Masiko, G.V.M (1985): *Ukutya Kosapho*

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 says:

Ze nigqale niqike koba nkululeko;

Ngeengqondi namasiko

Koba mchankatho.

Ningabubhangis' ubukhosi bezwe;

Ezayo niyifanise nobulunga;

Nixhwithelane ne-Afrik' eMnyama

EmaBritan' emaMelika novakala

Nizivez' emaJamani niyiloo nto;

Niyiloo nt'imbal' uMhlophe naMnyama.

EzomBindi-Afrika nezinye ngolo hlobo;

Ukuze ndith' aba yi-Afrik' exutyiweyo.

Ngobukhalipha bengqondo ubulali kwizigalo.

Observe attentively and comprehend there  
shall be independence;

Through intellectuals and customs

There shall be stepping stones.

Do not destroy the nations' chieftainship;

What is coming should be perceived to be like a  
dowry beast;

Together with Black Africans pluck hair from it.

You will be heard in Britain and America;

And you will appear like that in Germany;

Being that Black and White object.

Those countries of Mid-Africa and others;

So that I can say this is integrated Africa.

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

<sup>240</sup> Distinct from the Pan-Africanist meaning of PAC.

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 yobuluuga" 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 weRiphablikiIII"<sup>241</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.

Eyedini yibingeni;  
Ngokunyuka kwesisi  
Ndith' ilaph' inkululeko.  
Yibambeni ke ngophondo  
Naantso niyiniwe;  
Nithathe ngokuwisa  
Sel' irhintyelwe.  
Yokhala kube chosi  
Kube licamagu ...

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.

Slaughter the beast of sacrifice;  
With the going up of smoke  
Isay independence is here.  
Hold it with its horn  
There it is you are given;  
Just tackle it  
It has already been caught for you.  
It will bellow, and all will be well  
Propitiousness 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

<sup>241</sup> 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.



"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-babble, 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>242</sup>:

Language is often deliberately used to deceive, defraud, rob, or injure people, or to ridicule, degrade, oppress, or incite them. (Emphasismine)

Mtuzi (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 argue that Masiko's promotion of the homeland policy is promotion of the ideology of Apartheid.

#### 6.3.6 Mtuzi in Mtuzi, P.T. and Satyo, S.C. (1986) *Uyavuth' umlilo*

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Mtuzi'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<sup>243</sup> will illuminate Mtuzi'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>244</sup> held the

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<sup>242</sup>See Linguistics for the Language Professions Brochure, University of Stellenbosch, and Area of Study No.7.

<sup>243</sup>See Duka's biography of Rev Calata.

<sup>244</sup>See Karis and Carter (1977a:70)

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) concedes 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>245</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. Mtuze (ibid:38) extols Calata as follows:

Yingc'enentswane yeenkomo zakwaXhosa,  
Yigolid' elubhelu yokwananis' ezizweni,  
Yindod' emnyama yokumel' iAfrika,  
Ukuze omhlophe nomyama beme kunye,  
Ukuz' iinjoli zilicekis' ixanasi,  
Ingahlinzwa calanye, liphoswe kud'idolo.

He is nutritious grass for the Xhosa cattle,  
He is the yellow gold for trade with other countries,  
He is a black man for representing Africa,  
So that white and black can stand together,  
So that the rulers may refrain from being jealous,  
So that partiality and favouritism can be rejected.

The first three lines of Mtuze'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>246</sup>. This is the ANC flag

<sup>245</sup>See Karis and Carter (1977b:16)

<sup>246</sup>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.

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, and 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) states:

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.

Mtuze (ibid:39) continues as follows:

Lala phumla khwezi lezwe lala;  
Kad'uphuthelwa uphulaphul' izingqi.

Ubizwe nguVelile umRharhabe, wavuma,

Ubizwe nguAkena akuvuthulul' uthuli,

Kwangqina noMamowu<sup>247</sup> – injojeli yenjoli

Mayibuy' eAfrika kwabiw' izitya ngoku.

Sleep rest morning star of the nation sleep;  
For a long time you spent sleepless nights  
listening to footsteps.

You were called by Velile, the Rharhabe, and you  
heeded the call,

You were called by Akena who wants to brush off  
dust from you,

And Mamou - the distinguished stewardess  
concurred.

Let return Africa return, the dishes must be  
distributed now.

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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)

<sup>247</sup>Mamou was the nickname of Mrs Calata. Calata was called Tatou. See Duka's Biography of Canon James Arthur Calata. (2011:239)

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 Rharhabe 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<sup>248</sup>. Mtuze concludes the stanza by bringing back to the isiXhosa 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 postulate 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.

#### 6.3.7 Zide, G.N. (1987) *Ezasekuhlahleni*

Zide's collection of poems is socially oriented. Small wonder that he gave his book the title "*Ezasekuhlahleni*". The influence of Black Consciousness ideology is discernible in the poem "Ndimnyama nje ke ndimnyama" (For I am black, so am I black). Zide (1987:42) says:

Ndinesidima, ndinesithozela,

I am dignified, respectable,

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<sup>248</sup>Read more about Calata in Mtuze's autobiography: *An alternative struggle* (2007:6-31). Mtuze attended school at Calata's Anglican Church, he joined African National Congress Choir, and he was arrested with Calata and the choir. This poem was read at Calata's funeral.

Ndinebhongo, ndinegugu, ndineqhayiya ngesiqu sam,  
Kuba andingxengwanga, andixutywanga,  
Ndintsundu, ndinomkhith' okwenkabi  
yehashe ndiyathandeka,  
Kuba ndimnyama nje ke ndimnyama!

I am proud, boastful, haughty about myself,  
Because I am not diluted, not a mixture  
I am brown, graceful like a horse, likeable,

Because I am black, so am I black!

Andisayi kuzenza ngakumbi  
Ndenziwe, ndidaliwe,  
UQamat' uthandil' ukuba ndibemhle, ndingabimbi,  
Ndizidela ngani na ke?  
Kuba ndimnyama nje ke ndohlala  
ndimnyama

I shall never change myself  
I have been made, I have been created, UQamat'  
God wanted me to look beautiful, not ugly  
Why do I undermine myself?  
Because I am black and so will remain black!

Andizimisele kuthandisa mntu

I do not intend to please anybody about my  
blackness!

Ukuba ubani akandifuni kuba ndimnyama;  
Yeyakhe leyo;  
Mna ndohlala nobumnyama bam;  
Kuba ndimnyama nje ke ndimnyama

If one does not want me because I am black;  
That is his own business;  
I shall remain with my blackness;  
Because I am black, 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>249</sup>(line 4) to black (line 5), Zide's self assertion is 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 looklike, an outlook like, 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 cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people.

In stanza 3 Zide expresses his pride and respect of himself as a person. The first line rejects the notion that Blacks have to rely on other people's prescription of good or bad standards. He

<sup>249</sup> I assume that Zide uses "brown" to encompass the Coloureds and Indians in terms B.C.M. Philosophy. See Biko (ibid:52) and Gerhart(ibid:277-281).

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:

Ndinebhongo, ndiyazidla  
ngobumnyama bam;  
Kuba andicuntsulwanga mntwini  
kakade<sup>250</sup>,  
Andinguye 'ongemhlophe' ndimnyama mna  
Yaye andiziva ngobumnyama bam;  
Kuba kakade ndimnyama nje ke ndimnyama!

I am proud, I am conceited about my  
blackness;  
Because I am certainly not a limb  
dismembered from somebody else's body;  
I am not a 'non-white' I am black;  
And I am proud of my blackness;  
Because certainly I am black, so am I black!

Sizwendini esintsundu,  
Sizwendini esimnyama,  
Sizwendini se-Afrika,  
Sizwendini sakowethu,  
Simnyama sinje-sibahle,  
Simnyama sinje sinesidima,  
Simnyama sinje sinesithozela,  
Simnyama sinje sinesihomo,  
Simnyama sinje siyathandana,  
Simnyama sinje sibantu-banye,  
Kuba silukhozo lwe-Afrika,  
Simnyama nje ke simnyama!!

You brown nation.  
You black nation,  
You African nation,  
You nation of ours,  
Black as we are we are beautiful,  
Black as we are we are dignified,  
Black as we are we are respectable,  
Black as we are we are honourable,  
Black as we are we love one another,  
Black as we are we are one,  
Because we are the seed of Africa,  
For we are black, so are we black!!

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", "ongemhlophe". 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 lighter skin

<sup>250</sup> Zide's poem exhibits intertextual relationship with Jordan's (ibid:38) poem which says "andicatshulwanga mntwini".

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.

#### 6.3.8. Pambo, M.L.(1987) *Ikhubalo likaXhosa*

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:

Yinkokel' uDaliwonga,  
Yimbunguzul' umntak' aMhlobo,  
Ukuhlanganis' imihlamb' eyalanayo,  
Ukudibanis' iintlanga.  
Ubumb' ubuzwe buqine,  
Uthand' abantu bakhululeke.

Daliwonga is a leader  
The son of Mhlobo is a hero,  
He has brought together disparate groups,  
He has united different nations.  
He unites the nation and makes it solid,  
He wants people to be free.

Luyaphuhl' ulimo,  
Zenz' umngcelel' iiteletele,  
Bayaququzel' ooGqirha,  
Bayong' abongikazi;  
Zibil' iititshala ziyafundisa,

Agriculture is developing,  
Tractors constitute a convoy,  
Doctors are very busy,  
Nurses attend to patients,  
Teachers are sweating teaching,

.....  
Ndibonil' ibhanile yeTranskei,  
Iliqhayiy' ezitolongweni,  
Bayayibuk' ooMantyi,  
Bayayijonga-jong' ooNongqayi,  
Kub' iqaqambil' eluntwini,  
Ilithamsanqa elizweni.

.....  
I see the banner of Transkei,  
It is proudly hanging in prisons,  
The magistrates envy it,  
The police admire it,  
Because it is popular amongst people,  
It is a blessing to the nation.

Usik' inxaxheb' uDaliwonga,  
Kule nkomo yaseAfrika,  
Wapheph' uMphephu,  
Suka watyhuthul' \_imiphunga,  
Wavonya-vony' irhorh' uSebe,  
Wasaba nalw' esebeza,  
Siyazingca ngozimele-geqe

Daliwonga cut the chiefs share,  
From the African beast,  
Mphephu evaded,  
Only to snatch the lungs,  
Sebe grabbed the hip-bone meat,  
And escaped with it whispering.  
We are proud of the independence.

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) state:

Following the 1960 peasants' revolt 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 an impression is made that Matanzima's rule was maintained through repression rather than the will of the people<sup>251</sup>. In stanza 6 Pambo (ibid:16) depicts a positive scenario of a 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 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 the 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.

#### 6.3.9. Mbovane, W.N. (1989) *Isagweba*

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

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<sup>251</sup> See also Govan Mbeki (1964), *South Africa: The Peasants Revolt*.



inferiority complex which was a direct result of ignorance or darkness.

Mbovane (ibid:41) says:

Yintlekisa konebala  
Ad' ahlek' acicitheke  
Akujonga loontsikizi  
Izixakekise njalo  
Ngomgudu wokujika  
Elo bala lesidima.  
Buhle kum ubumnyama.

Kwakumnyama elizweni  
Kulawula ubumnyama .  
Lingaziwa elo liZwi  
LikaThixo onguMdali  
Waz'uThixo wakhanyisa  
Ilizwi lakhe lalawula  
Bacel'indlel'ubunyama.

Ubumnyama abuthandwa  
Abufunwa naziingqola  
Zibuchil'okomshologu  
Kumasiko amakhaya,  
Mabudede ubumnyama  
Kuze kulawul' ukhanyo  
Siyibon'indlel'esiyihambayo.

Bumkile ubumnyama  
Nomnyama akazidubi  
Ngokutyabula ulusu.  
NeVangeli sesiyiva  
Ezinkonzweni naseziyolweni  
Kuba iingqondo zikhanyile  
Bumkile ubumnyama.

It is ridiculous to the white person  
He giggles with laughter  
When he witnesses the ground hornhill  
Keeping itself busy  
Attempting to transform  
That dignified colour pigmentation  
To me black is beautiful.

The world was dark  
Darkness reigned.  
That Word was not known  
The Word of God the Creator.  
And God brought light  
And his word ruled  
And darkness departed.

Darkness is not loved  
Even traditionalists do not want it  
They reject it like an evil spirit  
In the ceremonies of their homes,  
Darkness must give way  
For light to reign'  
So that we can see the path we thread.

Darkness has departed  
And the Black no longer worries himself  
By lightening the skin  
We hear the Evangel/Gospel  
In churches and places of recreation  
Because the minds are enlightened  
Darkness has departed.

In the first 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 skinlighteners 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 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 praise 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 dream, 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)

In the above 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 it 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 BCM'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 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 connotes dark forces over the centuries?

Biko: This is correct precisely because it has been used in that context our aim is to choose it for reference to us and elevate it to a position where we can look upon ourselves positively; because no matter whether we choose to be called brown, you 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)

It is therefore the postulation of this study that Mbovane's poem diffuses the ideology of Black Consciousness.

6.3.10. Xozwa in Mtuze, P.T. and Kaschula, R.H. (1993) *Izibongo zomthonyama*

Inkunzi yakuthi eQunu iphumile

Vukani bafazi bama-Africa, niyiyizele, nitshayebele,  
nehlis' izikhaka  
Ke nina makwedini akuloJonguhlanga kaDalindyebo,  
likhaliseni ibhelempe.  
Umbiko mawucangath' iintaba, ukunqol' imimango  
ukuhlanganis' usapho, lwendlw' emnyama  
oluselubhacweni phesheya naphonoshono kweZambesi.

Xelelan' umfo kaThambo eLusaka nith' uphuncule  
uRhohlahlala kaMandela.<sup>252</sup>

Nixelele uBiko emangcwabeni, ukubainkunz' aseQunu  
kwesikaBhalizulu ifikile ekhaya!!  
luyingxwashumba lukrazul' iziduli zeRhawuti

kwasisphuk' izicithi  
Kwavuk' uthuli olungumpongampo eSharpeville,  
nqanda mfana kaVoster.

Atsho ama-Afrika azithwal' ezo ncwadi zengcinezelo  
ezithob' isidima,  
Sendlw' emnyama, ipasi lezibhanxa nezihiba, ngabula  
madlagusha.  
Wanyuk' umsi wezo ncwadi zocalucalulo eSharpeville,  
nga ngowedini.  
Wenyuk' umsi werhuluwa yeBhulu kukugeqeka  
kwezidumbu zedini lamadini,

Esimka looma-Afrika ukubheka ekhaya.  
Zintantazel' iinto zakuloBhota ukuya kucel' uncoded  
phesheya kwezilwandle,  
Zasuka zabuya nembande yesikhova, nothuthuwa  
lokrwitsho ngeeSanctions;  
Yab' into kaTutu noBoesak zibil' amabunzi, zisithi  
malikrwitshwe;  
Ukuze zivul' iingcango kuphum' amabanjwa  
ezopolitiko  
Azizinxebebenxebe amadoda ephelwe ziijoyini  
Nemisebenzi ngenxa yepolitiki. \

Kugqalw' indlela yokubuyel' ekhaya.  
Ide yaphuma loo nkunzi kaBhalizulu lade lasa ke

The bull of my village, Qunu, is back from  
impoundment

Wake up women of Africans, and ululate, dance,  
and put on your cow hide skirts.  
You young men of the house of Jonguhlanga  
Of Dalindyebo, blow the horn.  
The announcement must cross the mountains and  
reach out to land ridges to bring the family together,  
the Blacks that are in exile this side and the other side  
of Zambezi River,  
Tell the son of Tambo in Lusaka that Rolihlahla  
of Mandela has set himself free.

Tell Biko in his grave, that the bull of Qunu in the  
land of Bhalizulu has arrived at his home!!Unyawo  
One whose big feet tear the hills of Johannesburg  
apart  
and tufts and tall grass were pulled out.  
Thick dust was raised and flew at Sharpeville, son of  
Vorsterstop thiscarnage.

The Africans subsequentlycarried those books of  
oppression that lower  
the Black People, the pass of fools and the madones  
according to the Whites.  
The smoke of those books of segregation  
went up at Sharpeville, as high as that of a sacrifice.  
The smoke of the guns of Boers went up while  
corpsesof the greatest sacrifice laid still.

And those Africans departed for the home.  
The compatriots of Botha went overseas to seek help,

They came back empty handed, only imposition  
of sanctions;  
The son of Tutu and Boesak were sweating  
calling for sanctions to be imposed;  
This resulted in doors being opened andpolitical  
prisonersreleased.  
Men are in a desperate situation without work  
in the mines and elsewhere due to the political  
situation  
The road leading home being constructed.  
At last the bull of Bhalizulu cameout and the

<sup>252</sup> Other writers who celebrate Mandela's release are:

- Mtuze, (1990) in *Izibongo zomthonyana* (1993)
- Sithole (1990) in *Izibongo zomthonyama* (1993)
- Also Kaschula (1995) *Mandela Comes Home: The poets perspective*, in *Oral Tradition* 10/1 (1995:91-110).

nezulu!  
Kub' umfana kaDe Klerk uye wayidel' imithetho  
yamawabokuba ayiyoyezulu.

heavens cleared!  
Because the son of De Klerk bent the laws of his  
people as it is not the laws of the Heavens.

This narrative poem celebrates the release of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela from the twenty seven years incarceration at Robben Island. The first person to be briefed about the release of 'the Bull' is O.R Tambo<sup>253</sup> in exile in Lusaka. The poet also would like Steve Bantu Biko, the martyr of the Black consciousness Movement, to also be briefed about the release. Mandela is presented not only as a South African leader, but as an African leader whose release should bring joy to all Africans. His release is also presented as result of fruits of struggles by not only South Africans, but Africans who are this side and beyond the borders of South Africa. The poet recapitulates on the struggles of Africans for their rights, which invited the wrath and might of the Apartheid ideologues. These resulted in the Sharpeville massacre, the burning of passes, and murders of protestors by the Apartheid police. He recalls the efforts of Prime Minister Botha to get international support for Apartheid which failed, leading to implementation of economic sanctions against South Africa. He acknowledges the role played by Bishop Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the United Democratic Front in the eighties. The poet acknowledges the role of F.W. De Klerk, who took the courageous decision to release political prisoners, against the will of some of his members of the Afrikaner community. Xozwa did not delay enjoyment of the freedom brought about by President De Klerk's announcement of 02 February 1990. Merrett (1994:157) says about this normalization of political process in South Africa:

All 32 organisations adhering to various ideologies ranging from Marxist through the Congress movement to Africanist, proscribed under the internal security Act (ISA), were unbanned. Political prisoners convicted of membership and promotion of the aims of formerly banned organizations were made eligible for release.

By calling Mandela the "Bull of Qunu", Xozwa takes the symbolism of the bovine animal, used by Jolobe, Qangule and others, as a metaphor of oppression to the nineties. An understanding of symbolism will enhance our understanding of Xozwa's poem. Chadwick (1971:2-3) defines symbolism as:

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<sup>253</sup>This might be recognition of O.R. Tambo's role in the demise of the Apartheid ideology. Read the speeches of O.R. Tambo in *Oliver Tambo speaks*, particularly "Make South Africa ungovernable" delivered at the Second National Consultative Conference in Lusaka on 16-23 June 1985.

... the art of expressing ideas and emotions not by describing the directly, nor by defining them through overt comparisons with concrete images, but by suggesting what these ideas and emotions are, by recreating them in the mind of the reader through the use of unexplained symbols.

Xozwa presents to us the bovine animal symbol which represents Mandela, who also is a symbol of the abstract values of democracy, non-racialism and non- sexism. In amaXhosa society bovine animals are venerated animals which are used as sacrifices to propitiate ancestors. The bull symbol represents physical strength and power. It represents manliness and confidence. These are based on the bull's massive physical stature. Use of the bull symbol demonstrates that the poet has a high regard and respect for Mandela. It is the repeal of legislation that banned political organisations, which that opposed Apartheid, that created a favourable environment for Xozwa to freely extol his hero, Mandela.

#### 6.3.10. Lala kooyihlo nawe ke apartheid

Lala ke apartheid, lala ntondini yakulo  
Verwoerd emabalabala ngokwengwe.

Ewe ke mawethu lingatshoni' ilanga ndibalisa  
ngale ngxilimbela.  
Izigilile ke izigede, yashiyek' imizi yemfundo  
nomphangelo iziingqenge<sup>254</sup>.

Yagcw'al imizi yeentilongo, aphuphuma amaziko  
engcinezelo.

.....  
Xelexeni izizwe kuba umfana kaDe Klerk  
ude yena wayosela.

Uyigwaz' ephinda-phinda de wayichan esinqolomeni.  
Mhl' ekhupha okaMandela eziseleni emgxagxazelisa,  
wayihlab' eluvalweni.  
Mhl' echith' imithetho eval' imilomo yoonozikhalazo  
wayiqhokr'emadolweni,  
Ude ekugqibeleni wabhangis' imithetho yokubhaliswa  
kwabantu ngebala.

Uye wayicima amehlo mhl' evuma ukuhlala  
nesininzi kwisithebe sengxoxo.  
Kungokunje sijonge enkalweni, ukuxelwa  
kosuku lomgcwabo.

Silindele kuni mfana kaDe Klerk nokaMandela  
nisixelel' imini yomngcwabo,

Sleep in the land of your forbears, you, as  
well, Apartheid

Sleep Apartheid, you who belongs to Verwoerd,  
you who shorted with many colours like a  
leopard/tiger  
Compatriots I can narrate stories until sunset  
about this giant.  
It has caused a lot of damage, and left education  
centres and workplaces destroyed or being in ruins.

Prisons were filled to their capacity; agents/  
centres of repression were overflowing.

.....  
Tell the world that the son of De Klerk has stabbed it  
to death.

He stabbed it repeatedly until he hit the spinal cord.  
On the day of his release of Mandela from prison,  
he stabbed it at the heart  
When he unbanned the liberation movements  
he hit it on the knees,  
The last step was to repeal legislation of registration  
of people according to their race or /racial  
classification,  
He closed its eyes when he agreed to sit around  
negotiations with the majority representatives  
Today we are looking forward to the announcement  
of the date of the funeral.

We are waiting for your announcement,  
sons of De Klerk and Mandela, of the date of the  
funeral.

<sup>254</sup> Reminder of the closing of historic missionary institutions like Lovedale, Healdtown, St Mathews, and the closing of industries as a result of dis investment in South Africa.

.....  
 Sebengxangile abashumayeli abakhulu  
 bokubamb' imilindelo  
 Into zooSisulu, ooHani, ooMbeki, nooJordan,  
 seberman' ukufunda i*Freedom Charter*.  
 Kuba kaloku baqhel' ukushumayela besazisi' umzi  
 Nge*Freedom Charter*.  
 Silinde loo mini inkulu imini ye*interim government*.

Kungaloo mhla ekuya kucwangciswa ngayo  
 ukukhululwa kwezila.  
 Sikhululwa ngaloo madoda aya kuphathiswa  
 Ithe*kole Constituent Assembly*  
 Ukuze nathi singene kuMzantsi Africa Omtsha  
 ongasenamzabalazo.  
 Kuba kaloku iya kuba ingasekho loo nkosi  
 yayinyanzela ukuba sizabalaze.  
 Koba kupheth' umasifane, masilingane,  
 ukuze singaphinde sizabalaze.

.....  
 The preachers are on stand y ready to conduct  
 the night virgil prayer sessions.  
 The sons of Sisulu, Hani, Mbeki, Jordan are  
 already reading the Freedom charter.  
 For they are used to preaching, teaching the  
 communities about the freedom Charter.  
 We are waiting for the day of the interim  
 government.  
 It is o that day that arrangements will be made for the  
 termination of the mourning period.  
 When the men who will lead the Constituent  
 Assembly will assume duties  
 For us also to enter the new South Africa  
 without struggles.  
 For the chief that forced us to struggle  
 will be non-existent.  
 For equality, equity, will be the order of the day  
 eliminating the need for further struggles (political).

Xozwa celebrates the demise of the Apartheid ideology which was the brainchild of Dr H.F. Verwoerd. He is pained by the devastation and the negative impact on the repressive state apparatus during this reign of terror of the Apartheid regime. He presents FW De Klerk as the hero who, at last, managed to stab the metaphorical ogre of Apartheid to death. The wound became fatal when he released Mandela from prison and repealed the pieces of legislation that proscribed political organizations and banned the leadership of the alternative ideologies. The unbanning of political organizations and leaders allows him to mention the names of Walter Sisulu, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, and Nelson Mandela, which could not appear in internally published literature before 1990. After 1990 “The names of all those detained in the past under prolonged preventive detention, banned as exiles, and listed as communists were removed” (Merret, 1994:157). The Freedom Charter<sup>255</sup> which was a banned document is brought to the consciousness of South Africans. Xozwa demonstrates an insight and interest in the post unbanning negotiations for a democratic government. He looks forward to the interim government and constituent assembly, which were symbols of a new South Africa.

The premise of this study is that Xozwa through this poem is celebrating the demise of the Apartheid discourse which entails the demise of the discourse of racism, and introduces the reader to the discourse of non-racism and the new South Africa. He says “Koba kupheth’

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<sup>255</sup> In 1977 possession of a copy of the Freedom Charter was banned. Before 1990 the mere mention of the Freedom Charter constituted a reason for prosecution, conviction and or imprisonment.

umasifane, masilingane...” He therefore looks forward to a discourse of non-racialism and equality, which will lead towards building of one nation, democracy and an end to material inequalities.

What is also interesting in Xozwa’s poem is his use of code-mixing, i.e. the intrasentential mixing of linguistic units, words, from English grammatical system and isiXhosa grammatical system with in one line of a stanza. The socio-psychological motivation behind this stylistic device might be demonstration of equality and acceptability of the languages used. The reviewers of the manuscript accepted this. Xozwa seems to subscribe to the principle of multilingualism which was later aggressively promoted by the policy of the democratic South Africa. A challenge to this view might be that he is denying the isiXhosa language of growth of its terminology and its professionalisation and intellectualisation.

#### 6.3.11. Shasha, W. 1992 *Zihlabananje ziyalamba*

##### Zihlabana nje ziyalamba

Govu! Bhokro-o-o-o zahlabana!  
Kuhlaban' llnkomo zomthonyama!  
Nazi iimazi Zamasi!  
Nazi iinkab' ezimaxhaka!  
Zivalelwe kuthango lwabathakathi!  
Ingca ziyayiphoselwa  
Kodw' uqaqaqa udlal' abantwana;  
Kusikwa ngerhengqe kuphoswe,  
Zilwe zona ngaloo nketshe-nketshe:

Zihlabana nje ziyalamba,  
Zihlabana nje ziyalamba!

Bayahluth' abazisengayo,  
Basengel' eselweni nasemlonyeni,  
Kodwa abavumi kuzivulela;  
Banya be the qhutsu kuba ziyakhaba!

Bath' abakahluthi ngumphehluthi!<sup>256</sup>

Zihlabana nje ziyalamba!\_  
Zihlabana nje ziyalamba!

Bekungasekho nempunde na  
Enokurholihlahl' ivul' isango?  
Sakuyithiya sithi "Rolihlahla",

They are goring each other because they are starving).

Govu! Bhokro-o-o they gore each mother!  
Indigenous cattle gore one another!  
Here are dairy cows!  
Here are round horned oxen!  
Enclosed in the kraal of wizards!  
Grass is cut and thrown into the kraal  
When there is plenty of pastures where children play  
A circle is used to cut and throw into the enclosure  
And the cattle fight about the small amount of grass

They gore each other because they are starving  
They gore each other because they are starving

Those who milk them have their stomachs full,  
They fill their calabashes and they drink milk  
But they refuse to allow them to the pastures  
They milk into their mouths, cautiously, in fear of  
being kicked!

They complain that they are not yet full with the  
second milking!

They gore each other because they are starving  
They gore each other because they are starving

Is there not a simple relic of the race  
To pull the shrubs and open the entrance?  
We shall name him “puller of the shrub”,

<sup>256</sup> Obviously a typographical error. Correct word is “Umphehlulu”, The milk obtained from a second milking after the calf has been permitted to suck a second time. See Kropf (1915:327).

Siphinde sithi kuye "Vulisango";  
 Zophuma zigramz' uqaqqa:  
 Zithwal' amatshoba zigqotsa!  
 Tyhini nam ndadloba  
 Kwanga ke ngoku sekunjalo!  
 Akusentsuku zatywa-a-a\_la!  
 Nde-e gram-gram ndawudl' uqaqqa!  
 Zihlabana nje ziyalamba...

And again call him "opener of the entrance";  
 They will exit and graze the green grass  
 They will swing their tail tassels high and run about.  
 What's this! I am also jumping for joy!  
 As if this has actually happened!  
 It will happen very soon!  
 I am grazing the green grass  
 They gore each other because they are starving...

The stylistic approach of the poem reflects that it was written during the pre-unbanning period. The poet hides behind imagery, namely metaphors and similes to express the alternative ideology which was dominant in the eighties. The poem exhibits intertextual relationship with Jolobe's "Ukwenziwa komkhonzi" and Qangule's "Inkabi kabawo". The narrative is about bovine animals that are kept in a kraal. They are fed with grass that is thrown into the kraal. Because it is insufficient the cattle start fighting and goring each other. The starving animals benefit the oppressors who milk them. The writer then calls for a person, who will take the risk, face the wrath of the oppressor, and save the cattle from incarceration and torture. The metaphor makes reference to the South African situation in the eighties, the bovine animals are Africans. The owners who benefit from their milk are the Apartheid ideologues who benefit economically from the labour of oppressed Africans. He then calls for a volunteer to pull away the shrub (enokurhol' ihlahla) from the entrance. This is the name of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. The Africans will, when he has removed the oppressive Apartheid government, be set free to enjoy the economic and social rights. This stylistic writing sought to diffuse the Charterist discourse which was dominant in the eighties, but banned. It is clear that Shasha wrote this poem in the eighties though it was published in the nineties. The metaphorical language was intended to beat the censor. Shasha's stylistic aptitude is, therefore, commendable.

Sithi abothuthu

It is us who are indigenous (people)

Kwaqhushumb' irhuluwa phesha kweLigwa,  
 Zonk' iimbombo zomhlaba zanyikima!  
 Sharpville, Vanderbijl Park,  
 EOrlando nakwaLanga;  
 Atsho am a-Afrika athi:  
 Mabhulundini sifaken' ejele!

Gun started blazing across the Orange River,  
 All the corners of the world were shaken!  
 Sharpville, Vanderbijl Park  
 At Orlando and Langa  
 All Africans say:  
 Afrikaners take us into prison / imprison us!

Nto zooKgosana zithethe kom' amathe,  
 Zaqokotha zaqononondisa zigxininisisa;  
 Zawaxelelis' amabhulu:  
 Poqo yavel' inyaniso:

The sons of Kgosana spoke until their mouths ran dry,  
 They spoke, explained and laid emphasis,  
 And impressed upon the Afrikaners:  
 Poqo! The truth popped out:



Sithi abothuthu migqakhwendini;  
Nina apha ningamaveza-ndlebe,

Inini nezaphuselana zabancethezi benu:  
Thina siza kunibonis' amaqhekez' engqele!  
Thina bomthonyama thina beAfrika,  
Thina mz' oNtsundu sifung' izinyanya!

Umhlaba losikuwo wona ngowethu;  
I-Afrika iyonke ililizwe lethu:  
Sithi abothuthu sithi abomthonyama.

Ilizwe lethu asinakungalikhaleli,

Xa silibona selingasekho zandleni zethu!  
Xhwenene amaxhwili adakumba,  
Kanti acinga okunye ukungcola:  
Ngxe mdak' onomkhitha,  
Ngxe Mangaliso, ngxe Leballo;

Ngxe Mthopeng, Ngxe Makwetu;

Sitshutshiswe sonke ngala maxhwili,

Sicudiswe sonke ngala maxelegu;  
Iminyaka eniyichithe esiQithini,  
Ayichithakelanga lize!  
Yiyo igalelo kwisivivana soluntu,  
Yiyo ixabiso lokutheng' inkululeko!

We are the indigenous, you foreigners;  
You here are foreigners,

You and your surrogates:  
We are going to show you wonders!  
We the indigenous we Africans,  
We Blacks, are calling for the support of our  
ancestors!  
The land that we occupy belongs to us;  
The entire Africa is our land:  
We entire Africa is our land: We are the indigenous,  
the ones with a birth right  
The have to cry for our land

When we have suddenly lost ownership.  
The wild dogs were convulsed grievously, dejected,  
Contemplating another evil action:  
I beg your pardon comely Black person:  
I beg your pardon Mangaliso, I beg your pardon  
Leballo;  
I beg your pardon Mthopeng I beg your pardon  
Makwetu:  
We were all percecuted by these wild dogs.

We were all oppressed by these slovenly persons;  
The years you spent at the Island,  
Was not in vain!  
It is a contribution to the mile stone of humanity,  
It was the price to be paid for freedom:

The poem was probably produced after the unbanning of political organizations that contested aggressively with the Apartheid ideology. It reflects on the unfortunate historic events, namely: The Sharpeville, Van der byl Park, Orlando and Langa Massacres. It extols the leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress, namely: Kgosana, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Leballo, Zeph Mthopeng and Clarence Makwetu. This is evidence of the fact that the poem was written after the unbanning of the liberation movements, as the names of banned persons could not be mentioned before the unbanning of 1990. Tabu's (2007:89) analysis of the poem focuses on the form / structure. She quotes the following lines from the poem to demonstrate Shasha's effective use of parallelism:

Ngxe Mangaliso, ngxe Leballo;

Ngxe Mthopeng, Ngxe Makwetu;  
Makwetu:

I beg your pardon Mangaliso, I beg your pardon  
Leballo;  
I beg your pardon Mthopeng I beg your pardon

Tabu (ibid:89) is of the opinion that:

In the above parallelism, the word *ngxe* (be appeased) appears in a corresponding position in both lines. This repetition is aimed at calming the wrath of the elders such as Mangaliso, Mthopeng, Leballo and Makwetu. These figures are begged to be appeased for having spent years in prison, detained for their ideas to have black people liberated in South Africa. This request for them to be appeased is because their spending years in prison was not in vain, as black people have ultimately been liberated from the oppression of the white man. Although the words Mangaliso and Mthopeng on the one hand, Leballo and Makwetu on the other, which are corresponding pairs, are different, they somehow bring the same idea, as they are all proper nouns referring to leaders of the political struggle in South Africa.

This study concurs with Tabu (ibid:5) that “Shasha makes extensive use of stylistic techniques, which form a significant part of the characteristics of his poetry”. The study, however, goes further to argue for an in-depth study of the content and the context of Shasha’s poetry. In Shasha’s poem, the fundamental tenet of the Pan Africanism, the land question, is emphasized by the claim to the entire African soil, “IAfrika yonke lilizwe lethu”. The claim that the Africans are the only indigenous /aboriginal people of Africa, who are the only true owners of the land reverberates the ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress. The name of the liberation army of the PAC, “Poqo”, is stylistically conjured up in the line “Poqo! Yavel’inyaniso”.

Tabu (2007:59-60) says that Shasha uses the ideophone “Poqo” to “... portray a situation where something comes out clearly. The poet uses it to signify how people like Kgosani told the white people clearly that the black people are the aboriginals in South Africa while the white people are foreigners. Shasha presents a situation where this truth came out very clearly (poqo) as the white people were given a straight talk openly”. The historian, Lodge (1990:241), concurs when he provides an etymology of the word “Poqo”:

The word ‘Poqo’ is a Xhosa expression meaning ‘alone’ or ‘pure’ ... The word was used sometimes in the Western Cape in 1960 by PAC spokesmen to describe the character of their organization in contrast to the multiracial dimension of the Congress Alliance... Poqo was the first African political movement in South Africa to adopt a strategy that explicitly involved killing people and it was probably the largest active clandestine organization of the 1960s.

According to the basic documents of the Pan Africanist Congress (1990:5), on 02 November 1958, the “Africanists” (meaning would PAC members) declared themselves as the custodians of African Nationalism and Africanism. On 6 April 1959, the Pan Africanism Congress was born. 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 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 ...

Responding to the question, “who are Africanists?” Sobukwe, in *The Africanist* of January 1959, replied:

A simple answer would be that they are the members of the Africanist Movement. But, if one wishes to go deeper into the question, one would say that they are those Africans who believe that African Nationalism is the only liberatory outlook that can bind together the African masses by providing them with a loyalty higher than that of the tribe and thus mould them into militant disciplined fighting force. (Karis and Carter, 1977a:506)

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. 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 at the inaugural convention of the PAC 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:575-576)

It is against this background that the study argues that contextualisation of Shasha’s poem exposes that he is informed by the ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and therefore difuses the fundarmental tenets of the ideology.

## **6. 4. State Apparatus**

### **6.41. Ideological State Apparatus**

During the period 1974-1980 the isiXhosa written poetry was published through three or more avenues. The literature that is analysed and interpreted in this chapter was published through the following media:

- Private Sector publishing houses. All had first to get the approval of the Language Boards of the Department of Education before publishing a manuscript for purposes of prescription in schools.
- Newspapers which allowed creativity and independence of the author of the poem.

Community publishers who gave the author freedom in terms expression of his/her views and opinions. These works were not prescribed for schools that fall under the Department of education, an example is Sandi's (1984) "*Uziphathe-geqe waseCiskei* (Ciskei independence).<sup>257</sup>

Therefore the ideological state apparatus which was created by the Apartheid government in 1948 still held its control over production and distribution of cultural artefacts. Production of literature that would be prescribed in schools had to go through the Language Boards that were created in terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The publication Act of 1974 ensured that the content of all publications in the country, including newspapers, was monitored by government. This included self-published and community published material. The motive was to ensure that the content of all published material does not contradict the dominant Apartheid ideology. As the majority of poems that are analysed and interpreted in this study went through the Language Boards, it is critical that we briefly discuss how this ideological state apparatus operated in the Republic of South Africa, including the homelands.

From the minutes of the Xhosa Language Board the bleak picture painted by some literary critics of a gate keeper that strangled development of Xhosa literature seems to be an exaggeration. While the structure had clear legal obligations of expunging and expurgating the promotion of the alternative ideologies, they were never absolutely successful in fulfilling this obligation. The form and content of poetry of this epoch, which is analysed and interpreted in this thesis, is evidence of this fact.

A minute from the Department of Bantu Education, which was submitted to the board meeting of 25 August 1967, introduced special forms on which the final evaluation of a book by the

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<sup>257</sup> Published by: Fundani Writers Group (FWG Series No2) and deposited at the UNISA Library, by the author.

language committee/ board was to be reported. The form requires the reader, commissioned by the board, to indicate whether the manuscript has political content, makes use of obscene languages, and bears sexuality tendencies and so on. The reader would be required to provide an opinion regarding suitability for prescription in schools. The constitution of the language boards in general ensured representation of all stakeholders of language<sup>258</sup>, to name a few: The Ministry of Education, the Language Services of government, the Education and Training Directorate in the Department, Universities offering isiXhosa as a subject, the Bible Society of South Africa, SABC, Teachers Structures, and the information Department of Government. Members of Parliament would be afforded slots to address the Board when a need arises. Looking at the names of members of the board throughout this period one sees names of specialists of Language and literature who contributed significantly to preservation and conservation of the isiXhosa language and literature. The “glasnost” era (1990-1994) ushered in an era of freedom of expression for isiXhosa writers. The Xhosa Language Board, the ideological state apparatus which was responsible for ensuring that the Apartheid ideology was not challenged through out the third phase of Apartheid (1974-1990), met in Zwelitsha on 21 March 1990. In his opening remarks, the Acting Director-General of Education, Mr B.B. Mankabane said<sup>259</sup>:

The year 1990 is internationally recognized as the year of the reader... the Xhosa Language Board has from inception been associated with encouraging creative, imaginative writers of all ages to come to the fore. Throughout its existence it has been seeking to promote and maintain acceptable literary standards at all times. Perhaps one of the strategies this year could be the tapping of the vast, unfathomed, God given literary resources from talented writers to celebrate the event. Alternatively, it could be the encouragement of writers to produce Xhosa literature suitable not only for use by scholars but also more diversified, sophisticated and adult geared literature for the general public. This could also mean encouraging library facilities in the black residential areas, and so on. (Emphasis mine).

The freedom of expression ushered in by the ‘glasnost’ period manifested itself in the poetry of this period.

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<sup>258</sup>See minutes of the Xhosa Language Board from 1955-1990 which were deposited by the Xhosa language Board, on a permanent loan bases with the then centre for Xhosa Literature, now National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre University of Fort Hare, on 29 March 1990.

<sup>259</sup>Copy of speech in Xhosa Language Board Archives deposited on 29/03/1990 at the Centre for Xhosa Literature, now NAHECS, University of Fort Hare.

#### 6.4.2 Repressive State Apparatus

The publication Act 74 of 1974, which was described by Nadine Gordimer as an “Octopus of thought surveillance”, closed all avenues for appeal to the Supreme Court and allowed the directorate of publications to ban items for possession<sup>260</sup>. The directorate was accountable to government and politicians. In March 1977 possession of a copy of the freedom charter was banned. Though censorship focused more on literature written in English<sup>261</sup>, fear of censorship also restrained writers and poets who wrote in indigenous languages. Poetry reading sessions and drama performances in the townships were discouraged by the Bantu Administration Boards which refused to provide space in the hall facilities. Merrett (1994:79) says about the repressive state apparatus of the time:

Black writers were targeted because they were likely to have a black readership, especially among the young.

Jolobe, in order to promote literature production, organised a Xhosa Literature Competition<sup>262</sup> which was open to all authors in South Africa to mark the Anniversary of 150 years of Xhosa literature in South Africa. This event was successfully held in July 1973. After this celebration through out the seventies writers were mobilised and writers associations were established. But the state apparatus was not impressed by these developments as the first annual conference of the Writers Association which was planned for Port Elizabeth in June 1978 was banned<sup>263</sup>.

Restriction of the press contributed to the killing of creativity as newspapers were an avenue for publication of isiXhosa Poetry. In 1978 isiXhosa newspapers *Isaziso* and *Isizwe* were banned<sup>264</sup>. The rise of anti-apartheid press or alternative press led to establishment of *Izwi laseRhini* (Grahamstown) in 1981. Merret (1994:89) states:

the alternative media became a vanguard in the anti-apartheid politics, eliciting a response from the authorities that reached its apotheosis in the states of emergency declared from 1985 onwards.

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<sup>260</sup> See Merrett, C (1994:79)

<sup>261</sup> Khayaletu Mqhayisa's "Confused Mhlaba" was banned in the mid seventies, Mthutuzeli Matshoba who wrote "Call me not a man" and Mirriam Tlali's "Muriel at Metropolitan" were banned in 1979. See Merret, (1994:81).

<sup>262</sup> See *Outlook*, June 1973, "A century observed". Jolobe was secretary of Indyebo yesiXhosa Association.

<sup>263</sup> Index on Censorship 7 (b) 1978 p.65

<sup>264</sup> Merrett (1994:85)

About the unbanning of political organizations by the president of South Africa FW De Klerk on 02 Feb 1990, Merrett (1994:157) is of the opinion that:

It is generally accepted that February 1990 ushered in an era of 'glasnost', allowing a degree of freedom of expression absent from political life since the late 1950s.

The implications of this on the repressive state Aparatus of Apartheid was that:

- All political organizations prescribed under the Internal Security Act (ISA) were unbanned.
- All publications banned under the Internal Security Act were unbanned.

However police held fast to some of the censorship state apparatus e.g.:

- Criminal Procedure Act (particularly Section 205).
- Publications Act remained firmly entrenched<sup>265</sup>.
- The Directorate of Publications rejected the idea of a blanket unbanning of publications<sup>266</sup>.

## **6.5 Aesthetic Ideology**

What is most remarkable about the majority of poets of the last phase of Apartheid is their move away from the Western poetic aesthetics. For instance out of the corpus of poems selected from repertoires of eleven 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 the reductive effect of an aesthetic that is not compatible with the content of a poem has been explained. 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

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<sup>265</sup> Merret (1994:170)

<sup>266</sup> Ibid

subtly air the alternative ideology. Mtuze's (ibid:38) "UCanon James Arthur Calata" illustrates this point:

.....  
 Athethe noQamata akhanyis' ubumnyama,  
 Arhol' ummangaliso umanyano lwabantu.  
 (emphasis mine)

.....  
 And ask God to dispel darkness with light,  
 And bring out wonders, unity amongst people.

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. Shasha says:

Bekungasekho nempunde na  
 Enokurholihlahl' ivul' isango?  
 .....  
 Poqo yavel'inyaniso:

Is there not a simple relic of the race  
 To pull the shrubs and open the entrance?  
 .....  
 Poqo! The truth popped out:

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-geqeeTranskei" also illustrates this point:

.....  
 Wapheph' uMphephu,  
 Suka watyuthul'imiphunga  
 Wavonya-vony' irhorh'uSebe,  
 Wasaba nalw'esebeza.  
 (Emphasis mine)

.....  
 Mphephu evaded,  
 Only to snatch to lungs,  
 Sebe grabbed the hip-bone meat,  
 And escaped with it whispering.

The foregoing stylistic devices which evince the richness of the isiXhosa 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. The freedom of expression, ushered in by the "glasnost" era impacted, as well, on the aesthetics of the



isiXhosa written poetry. The content, which is reflective of the harsh realities on the ground, is expressed through a harsh diction. Shasha says:

Sithi abothuthu migqakhwendini;  
 Nina apha ningamaveza-ndlebe,  
 .....  
 Inini nezaphuselana zabancethezi benu:  
 Thina siza kunibonis' amaqhekez' engqele!  
 .....  
 Sitshutshiswe sonke ngala maxhwili,  
 Sicudiswe sonke ngala maxelegu;  
 .....  
 Xhwenene amaxhwili adakumba,  
 Kanti acinga okunye ukungcola:

We are the indigenous, you foreigners;  
 You here are foreigners,  
 .....  
 You and your surrogates:  
 We are going to show you wonders!  
 .....  
 We were all percecuted by these wild dogs.  
 We were all oppressed by these slovenly persons;  
 .....  
 The wild dogs were convulsed grievously, dejected,  
 Contemplating another evil action

Shasha, in this poem, attempts to capture the hardline stance of the PAC ideology. His diction in this poem is problematic, eg the use of the words “migqakhwendini, ningamaveza-ndlebe, amaxhwili, amaxelegu”. Bolinger (1980) informs us that “Language is not a neutral instrument. It is a thousand ways biased.” To elaborate on this point he explains the meaning of the world “Political Correctness” which describes “... language, ideas, policies or behaviour seen as seeking to minimize offence to gender, racial, cultural, disabled, aged or other identity groups. Converdely, the term “politically incorrect” is used to refer to language or ideas that may cause offence or that are unconstrained by orthodoxy”<sup>267</sup>.

## 6.6 Conclusion

The argument presented in this sixth chapter is that during the last phase of the Apartheid regime, isiXhosa 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 was 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, was the ideology that attempted to mobilise the oppressed Blacks. The third ideology, the Charterist Movement, which was espoused by the African National Congress through the UDF, was

<sup>267</sup>See Bolinger, D (1980): *Language the Loaded Weapon – The Use & Abuse of language Today*.

the alternative ideology of the subordinate class. Here also class is used in a sense that transcends colour, as this ideology propounded non-racialism and non-sexism. Lastly, the Pan Africanism ideology also re-emerged in isiXhosa literature during the “glasnost” period.

The impact of the above-stated social processes of interpellation or address is acknowledged<sup>268</sup>. I concur with Nkosi's (1981:169) 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. IsiXhosa written poetry of 1974-1994 is living evidence of this fact<sup>269</sup>. A close study of the data we have analysed and interpreted evinces that Apartheid ideology dominated poetry of 1974-1980. My postulation 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 isiXhosa literature, though they had begun to disintegrate in other spheres, still held a firm grip as far as production of isiXhosa literature is concerned. Consequently texts that explicitly challenged the dominant ideology were expurgated or never allowed to see the light. A few writers who employed stylistic devices to the maximum 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 (1973:44-45) 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, isiXhosa, was delayed

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<sup>268</sup> See the notion of interpellation in chapter 1.

<sup>269</sup> Other relevant poems could not be included in the sample of this chapter due to space limitations. See Mona (1994) for Nqakula (1974) *Ukhanyo*, Ngcangata (1976), *Ukuphuma kwelanga*, Mema (1980), *Umnxeba wobomi*, Skei (1985), *Umsobomvu*, Mgenge (1987), *Intsinde* and Mbambo (1987), *Ucanzibe*.

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 our 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 (1992:131):

... 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 defended Apartheid by arguing in support of validity and legitimacy of the homeland system. But in my view their voices were "drowned" by the ideologically dominant Charterism which continued to dominate during the glasnost period of 1990-1994. It is interesting to note the re-emergence of the Pan Africanism discourse of the PAC during this post unbanning period. I therefore conclude that isiXhosa written poetry evinces that during the third phase of Apartheid, though the Nationalist Party government was politically dominant, that the alternative ideologies, particularly the Charterist Movement, was ideologically hegemonic.

## CHAPTER 7

### DEMOCRACY: 1994-2012

#### 7.1. Introduction

The seventh chapter focuses on literature that was produced over a period of eighteen years (27 April 1994 – 08 January 2012) when the ANC realized a century of its existence. This is the epoch of a normalised political environment which was ushered in by the democratic elections of 27 April 1994. These are the years of hegemonic political power of the African National Congress (ANC). The investigation of the chapter will be whether the poetry of the period reflects that the politically dominant ideology of the ANC was also ideologically dominant. This will be exposed by the content of the poetry, the symbols exhibited by poetry and its form, which will exhibit compatibility or incompatibility with messages, the policies and the philosophy of the ANC-led government of 1994-2012. As the hegemony is not absolute, the chapter will also expose contestation by other post-Apartheid ideologies. Hence the initial contextualization through provision of the historical background. The literature of the period was produced during a very significant historical conjuncture of the very first democratic government in South Africa. Also, the epoch is significant as it completed an entire century of the existence of the African National Congress as a political organisation. In his preface to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document<sup>270</sup>, the former President of the ANC, Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela, in the early months of 1994 said:

In preparing the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document, and in taking it forward, we are building on the tradition of the Freedom Charter. In 1955, we actively involved people and their organisations in articulating their needs and aspirations; once again we have consulted widely. However, in 1994 we are about to assume the responsibilities of government and must go beyond the Charter to an actual programme of government. The RDP document is a vital step in that process<sup>271</sup>.

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<sup>270</sup> See RDP document (1994) published by “UManyano Publications” for the African National Congress, Johannesburg

<sup>271</sup> See also Mandela (1995:736) on the drafting of the RDP Document.

This statement by Mandela assists us in the decision we have made regarding the approach to the seventh chapter. What it means is that the focus will shift from the ANC (Charterists) as a political organisation that is contesting government to an ANC that is a ruling party and, therefore, government. The ideological contest therefore, because of democracy, will, during the period 1994 – 2012, take place inside the parliament and within government. Therefore, this seventh chapter will reflect the response of poets to the policies of the new government, and the contesting political parties. It will be above intra-political-party contestations.

The Chapter, unfortunately, ends on 8 January 2012, only three years into the fourth phase and the fourth term of the ANC-led government. The study looks at the commentary of poets on the policy shift introduced by the fourth President of the Republic of South Africa. It also covers the response of poets to the 2010 Fifa World Cup. Unfortunately, other topical events of this period are outside the ambit of the study. The publication of books takes a longer time than newspapers. Anthologies of poetry published up to the end of 2012, will, therefore, be included, studied, analysed and interpreted.

## **7.2 Democracy Epoch (1994 – 2012)**

The chapter takes over from the third phase of Apartheid, which started with diverse ideologies, that later synchronized and converged during the “glasnost” period. As stated above, the ideological ascendancy of Charterism of the African National Congress, into a dominant ideology, was confirmed in the election polls of 27-29 April, 1994. It became clear that the people’s ideological worldview supported the political values of the African National Congress, particularly on the fundamental issues of non-sexism, non-racialism and democracy. The abandonment of Apartheid by the National Party resulted in an ideological shift of this party towards the dominant political values of non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy. This reduced the level of political polarization in the country as only the Conservative Party and other minority groupings in the far right were rejecting these values. Writing after the first ten years of democracy Stolten in Stolten (ed) (2007:5) stated:

More than ten years have now elapsed since the fall of Apartheid and the dissolution of its last white minority government. During this time, South Africa has developed from Rainsbowism to African

Renaissance and New Patriotism<sup>272</sup>. Since 1994, South Africa has gone through different phases in the attempt to create a new kind of historical dynamic driven by the aspiration of equal rights and better living conditions<sup>273</sup>.

### 7.2.1 The first phase of democracy (1994 -1999)

Bundy (2014:71) states:

In 1992, the ANC, SACP and COSATU entered a formal alliance. It was an important moment, as it marked the hegemony of the ANC in the anti – apartheid forces. The return of the exiled leadership, and the release of the Robben Islanders, saw ANC friendly internal structures dissolve themselves in a display of symbolic solidarity. The UDF stood down as a separate structure, its leadership swallowed up into the ANC. Youth congresses, women’s organisations and civil associations became part of the ANC Youth League, Women’s league and ANC- affiliated SANCO respectively.

At the end of 1993 a draft constitution for South Africa was produced (O’Meara, 1996:413). It paved the way for the general election of 27-29 April, 1994, which ushered in, for the first time, a democratic government in South Africa. The country had successfully gone through a transition from the Apartheid regime to a new system of majority rule which was spearheaded by the African National Congress. The period that is perceived to be the first phase of democracy was led by the chairperson of the African National Congress who, after the election, was voted the president of the country, Mr Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela. He was inaugurated as State President of South Africa on 10 May 1994 (Mandela, 1995:746).

The most significant characteristic of the first phase is the establishment of the Government of National Unity which incorporated all parties which won five percent or more of the vote (O’Meara, 1996:413). The representatives of national unity were twelve members of the cabinet who represented the ANC, six cabinet ministers who represented the National Party, and three cabinet ministers who represented Inkatha Freedom Party. The deputies of the President were from the ANC (Mr. T. Mbeki) and the National Party (Mr F.W. De Klerk). (Mandela, 1995:746). O’Meara captures this historic event as follows:

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<sup>272</sup> See also: Mbeki, Thabo: *Africa Define yourself*, Cape Town, Tafelpers, 2002; Roger Southall, “ANC and Black Capitalism in South Africa” *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol 31, No 100, 2004, pp 313-328.

<sup>273</sup> Bond, P. “From Racial to Class Apartheid: South Africa’s frustrating decade of Freedom”, *Monthly review*, March 2004.

Once again, many South Africans, of all the races and political persuasions, told me that they would remember this moment with joy in their lives. The foundations and symbols of their new 'rainbow nation' had been marvelously crafted.

The pre-1994 interim constitution which guided the process of the establishment of a democracy was, in 1996, substituted by a new permanent constitution for the country. The values of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism and universal suffrage underpinned the new constitution of the Republic of South Africa. F.W. De Klerk, the leader of the National Party, on 02 May 1994, in a 'gracious' nationally beamed speech, on television, conceded to defeat in the polls and to the subsequent loss of power and invited his party to co-operate with the ANC to build a new South Africa (Mandela, 1995:744).

The most critical area that the new government had to focus on was the economy. In order to deal with the serious socio-economic consequences of the Apartheid ideology, the new government introduced the Reconstruction and Development Programme (R.D.P)<sup>274</sup>. This macro economic programme was aimed at alleviating poverty, creating jobs, providing social services and improving the infrastructure of the country. It was defined, as follows:

The RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilize all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future (RDP, 1994:1).

In the area of Arts and Culture the RDP policies aimed to:

Affirm and promote the rich and diverse expression of South African culture –all people must be guaranteed the right to practice their culture, language, beliefs and customs, as well as enjoy freedom of expression and creativity free from interference (RDP, 1994:69).

In 1996 the government introduced a Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) that was aimed at reducing state expenditure, rationalization of the public sector and reduction of the budget deficit to 3% by 1999. As an internal part of GEAR strategy, South Africa's trade and industrial policy was transformed in order to "achieve a balance between greater openness and improvement in local competitiveness whilst pursuing a process of industrial restructuring aimed

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<sup>274</sup>See also Mandela (1995:736) who says that "the ANC drafted a 150 page document known as the Reconstruction and Development Programme". The document, according, to him, was translated into a simpler manifesto called "A better life for all".

at expanding employment opportunities and productive capacity (South Africa Yearbook, 1999:288). The hallmark of President Mandela's term of office was the strong focus on reconciliation and nation building. This was realized through a strong support of sport, arts and culture. The above-mentioned areas were identified as vehicles of diffusing the ideology of non-racialism and non-sexism. When, in 1995, South Africa hosted the Rugby World Cup, President Mandela wore a rugby jersey with the springbok logo/emblem, and, in his capacity as president, handed over the winner's cup to Francois Pienaar, the captain of the S.A. team. This symbolic gesture of reconciliation and nation building brought the previously polarized South African races closer to one another.

In order to create a platform for closure to those who lost loved ones during the Apartheid era, and create an opportunity for forgiveness, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established by the government. This opportunity allowed perpetrators of violence to confess and tell the entire truth, and for the victims to accept or not to accept their apology. Where full confession was made and circumstances merited, an offender would be granted amnesty. Those who did not appear and those who failed to make full disclosure faced prosecution. Tutu (1999:30) explains the purpose of the commission as follows:

Our nation sought to rehabilitate and affirm the dignity and personhood of those who for so long had been silenced, had been turned into anonymous, marginalized ones. Now they would be able to tell their stories, they would remember, and in remembering would be acknowledged to be persons with an inalienable personhood.

### 7.2.2 The second phase of democracy (1999-2008)

Mandela's deputy, Thabo Mbeki, took over the reigns in 1999. His greatest attention was on the economy of the country. The attempt to redress the inequalities of the Apartheid era continued. The economic policy of the country was further enhanced with the Black Economic Empowerment Programme which was introduced in 2003. Because of criticism of the programme as failing to reach out to the majority of disadvantaged communities<sup>275</sup>, further

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<sup>275</sup>See Gumede (2007:288) who says that "The way that government promoted BEE created a negative perception to start with. Damningly BEE has since come to be associated with a small and elite group, out to make as much money as they can at the expense of the broader black society. The actions of a new breed of black entrepreneurs



improvements were effected and the name changed to a Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Programme. Gumede's (2007:298) comment on Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, which was signed into law in 2004, is:

The acceptance of the BEECom's broad definition opened the way for the government to pursue genuine economic empowerment and inequality for the majority of the country's poor.

Mbeki was re-elected as the president of South Africa on 27 April 2004. Gumede (2007:301) states:

More people had voted for the ANC under Mbeki than under Mandela in South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. The shadow cast over the Mbeki presidency by Mandela's popularity had lifted at last.

In the sphere of health, the Immunity Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) pandemic, which was causing havoc in South African states, also hit hard on South Africa. Mbeki's strategy in dealing with this national crisis did not satisfy those who were infected or affected by the disease. The international community was not impressed with his strategy which they interpreted as being a state of denial. Gumede (2007:187) is of the opinion that:

His 'folly' in reopening the debate on what causes AIDS rather than focusing on practical ways to curb the pandemic sweeping Africa was roundly condemned.

Mbeki overlooked conclusions of main stream scientists, whose research findings were released a decade before, and established a council that would research the cause of AIDS and propose effective and efficient ways of the treatment of the disease.

Mbeki's passion for unity and peace amongst the African states forced him to make efforts at ending the friction and internal conflicts in Africa. He was, however, criticized for his failure to condemn Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe<sup>276</sup> for use of brute force to drive, not only the White owners, but also, hundreds of their loyal Black workers off the land.

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reinforce the notion that instead of benefiting the previously disadvantaged black community, BEE has become a means of self-enrichment for the few".

<sup>276</sup> Glaser (2010:256) says: "... as the Zimbabwe crisis deepened, the resolute failure of South Africa to engage in anything beyond the gestures offered by the official policy of "Quiet Diplomacy" suggests tension between the neo-neo consensus and the solidarity tradition of African solidarity".

Gumede (2007:220) states:

Mbeki opted for 'quiet diplomacy' on Zimbabwe because he was still haunted by South Africa's failure to prevent the execution in 1995 of Nigerian activist and play-write, Ken Saro Wiwa.

Van Wyk in Buthelezi and Le Roux (2002:111) supports this view:

South Africa's quiet or cautious diplomacy towards Zimbabwe has been the subject of a number of debates. South Africa's and Mbeki's approach towards Zimbabwe has been criticized by various actors. There are great expectations for South Africa to be the voice of reason and a force of stability in Africa and elsewhere.

Mbeki's philosophy of African Renaissance was well received by the entire African leadership.

Akinboye in Buthelezi and Le Roux (eds) (2002:248) states:

The African Renaissance was initiated by the South African President, Thabo Mbeki with a view to redefining Africa, situating the continent within the global context and liberating it from clutches of socio-political and economic degradation.

The African Renaissance philosophy of Mbeki was built on the foundations of the ideology of Africanism of the ANC as it evolved over the decades since 1912. Its aim was liberation of Africans, based on a positive relook at themselves and a redefinition that throws away the negative stereotypes of Colonialism and Apartheid.

#### 7.2.3 The third phase of democracy (2008-2009): "The interregnum"<sup>277</sup>

Kgalema Petrus Motlanthe was appointed by the National Assembly on 25 September 2008 as the third post-Apartheid President of South Africa, after the resignation of Thabo Mbeki. The African National Congress deployed him to be the caretaker from 25 September 2008 to 09 May 2009.

Bundy (1914:63) says that the period of the interregnum did not bring about any policy shifts:

Kgalema Motlanthe, President between September 2008 and April 2009 stressed continuity and stability above all else.

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<sup>277</sup>President Motlanthe was appointed as a caretaker president. It is for this reason that his short period of rule may be called the "interregnum".

Motlanthe succeeded in the work of ensuring that the wheels of government operate efficiently and effectively. In the four areas: The economy, international relations, HIV/AIDS, and preparations for 2010 Fifa World Cup, he should be commended for ensuring progress during his short reign. This progress is reflected in his state of the nation address of 06 February, 2009. He ensured the implementation of Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA):

... Ensuring that all the critical blockages such as infrastructure bottlenecks, integrated industrial policy and programmes, the skills challenge, regulatory gridlocks and efficiency of government services are addressed in a focussed and systematic manner.<sup>278</sup>

Government worked towards the improvement of SADC's interaction with the Common Market of East and Southern Africa (COMESA) and East African Community (EAC). In the sphere of international relations, he continued with the policy of his predecessors of avoiding a direct intervention and "assisting the people of Zimbabwe to find a lasting solution to the crisis in that country"<sup>279</sup>. He ensured that all projects and plans pertaining to the preparation of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the Confederations Cup are completed in good time. This raised the confidence of the international soccer community and promised a successful world soccer extravaganza. In the area of HIV/AIDS pandemic Motlanthe's government ensured that the anti-retroviral programme was efficiently implemented. This was also made to succeed by the attention given to the poor and needy, for example the expansion of the child support grant and improvement of access to basic services and primary health care<sup>280</sup>. Harvey (2012:284) the political biographer of Motlanthe, however, identifies areas that he thinks were "controversial decisions Kgalema Motlanthe took in the eight months he was in office":

Terminating the service of the former NOPP, Vusi Pikoli; refusing the Dalai Lama a visa to enter the country; refusing to accede to yet another request to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the arms deal; his alleged delaying the Scorpions, the investigating arm of the NPA; the delay in signing the SABC Bill and the Telkom/Vodacom deal.

On the 9th of May 2009, Motlanthe handed over the reigns to President Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma.

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<sup>278</sup>See State of the Nation Address by President Motlanthe on 6 February, 2009.

<sup>279</sup>See State of the Nation Address by President Motlanthe on 6 February, 2009.

<sup>280</sup>See State of Nation Address p.6: <http://www.gov.za/speeches/2009/09020611061001.htm> viewed on 09/09/2014.

#### 7.2.4 The fourth phase of democracy (2009-2012)

Jacob Zuma, who was elected as the president of the ANC in Polokwane, at the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference of the ANC in December 2007, took over the reigns as the President of South Africa. He was inaugurated on 9 May 2009. The policy of ANC government of nation building, reconciliation and job creation continued. An emphasis was put on social cohesion. In 2009 policy changes that were introduced were:

- Creation of the Ministry for Performance, Monitoring, Evaluation and Administration and the National Planning Ministry.
- The adoption of twelve outcomes as focus areas of work, to name a few: improving quality of basic education and health services, strengthening the fight against crime, creating decent employment and boosting skills development, ensuring food security for all, building sustainable human settlements and ensuring an efficient and development-oriented public service<sup>281</sup>.
- He introduced expanded public works programme for job creation in 2009. The National Youth Development Agency was launched in the same year<sup>282</sup>.
- He enhanced HIV prevention and treatment<sup>283</sup>.

In 2010 South Africa hosted, for the first time in the entire Africa, the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This event brought cultures of the country together as one unity. In the second year of the fourth phase the “New Growth Path (NGP)” economic development policy was released in October 2010 (Booyesen 2011:20). The policy, in relation to health and education, was refined to extend access, particularly to the poor.

In 2011 his focus was on Basic and Higher Education. Further Education and Training was also attended to. Comprehensive Rural Development Programme and reviving land reform project was put on the agenda. Foreign policy was aimed at building a better Africa and a better world. During his first term South Africa served a two-year term on African Union Peace and Security Council, South Africa also chaired Southern African Development Community (SADAC) organ

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<sup>281</sup> See South Africa Year Book 2012/13 p.37

<sup>282</sup> See state of the Nation Speech, 2010.

<sup>283</sup> Gordin, J. (2009:336) says that during the period January to March 2010 Zuma made a speech on HIV/AIDS, “... a sharp correction to Mbeki’s ‘denialist line’”.

on politics, defence and security. In April 2011 South Africa joined Brazil, Russia, India, and China to form the BRICS. 2011 was declared a year of job creation through meaningful economic transformation and inclusive growth<sup>284</sup>. In 2011 the National Planning Commission (NPC) in the Presidency finalised the Draft National Development Plan: Vision for 2030, a plan that charts a new growth path for South Africa<sup>285</sup>.

In 2012 the African National Congress, the ruling party in government, on 27 April, celebrated a century of its existence. It was a celebration of a significant achievement by the oldest political party in South Africa.

Unfortunately, the parameters of this thesis i.e. 08 January 1912 – 08 January 2012, the century of the existence of the ANC, and the period on which this study focuses, exclude very interesting milestones in the history of South Africa which will need to be taken up in further research:

- The passing on of Nelson Mandela on 05 December, 2013.
- Activities of the remaining period of the fourth phase from 09 January 2012 to 14 May 2014 when the president was re-elected (two eventful years).

### 7.3 Analysis and interpretation of texts

#### 7.3.1 Mbelu, S.C. (1994) *Iqwili lesizwe*

##### 7.3.1.1 Ukhongolozi!!

Yinkongolo yama-Afrika jikelele,  
Ibiza wonk' uban' ayinamkhethe,  
Ithi wen' ucinezelweyo wamkelekile,  
Ithi yiza sizabalezel' inkululeko,  
Indal' indodan' inenkqayi,  
Indala ngamava nobuchwepheshe!

.....  
Uzifunel' amahlakani kwakubanzim' uKhongolozi,  
Wanomhlob' ongu-UDF igama lenkobe;  
Kanjalo wanehlakani lamaKomanisi,

##### The African National Congress

It is the congress of the Africans in general,  
It invites everyone, it does not discriminate,  
It says you who are oppressed, you are welcome,  
It says come and let us struggle for liberation,  
The man is old and has grown bald,  
Old in terms of experience and expertise!

.....  
When it became difficult Congress looked for allies,  
He had a friend whose name was UDF;  
He had a friend, the Communists,

<sup>284</sup> See state of the Nation Speech, 2011.

<sup>285</sup> See South Africa Yearbook 2012/13 p.37.

Wenza kanjalo nakwezabasebenzi;  
 Uzifunel' iphiko lomkhos' uKhongolosi,  
 Ngowe - 1961 siwubonil' usim' uMkhonto Wesizwe!

Ewe!Uwumisil' uMkhonto Wesizw' uKhongolosi,  
 Phantsi kweemekw' ezinzim' evalw' umlomo,  
 Lavela lon' uncedo kumazw' angaphandle;  
 Salufuman' uncedo kumzi waseRussia,  
 Usiqeqeshel' amajoni ethu kanene,  
 Wasinik' izixhob' esithi phambili!

.....  
 Kunamhl' uKhongoloz' uvunywa lihlabathi;  
 Kunamhl' ilizwe lithi yiza nenkululeko Khongolosi,  
 Uth' uKhongolosi sekumnyam' entla iyeza,  
 Kusina litshisa iza kulal' ekhay' eMzants' Afrika,

Abacinezeli sobasuk' okwentambo zenkomo,  
 Baza kuthamba benze okufunekayo nokuyiyo!

He did the same with the workers;  
 The Congress founded a military wing,  
 In 1961 the Mkhondo Wesizwe was established!

Yes! the Congress established the Military wing,  
 Under difficult circumstances, being banned,  
 Support came from foreign countries;  
 We received support from Russia,  
 A country that trained our soldiers well,  
 And gave us weapons saying go forward!

.....  
 Today the Congress is recognised internationally;  
 Today the world says bring forth freedom, Congress,  
 The congress says, it is definitely coming,  
 Rains and scorching sun will not stop its being  
 brought home, to South Africa,  
 The oppressors will be tamed like cow hides,  
 They will be soft and do what is desirable and  
 correct!

The freedom from censorship which started during the “glasnost” period of unbanning of political organisations created space for isiXhosa poets to educate the readers about their political organisations. Mbelu’s “Ukhongolosi” (The African National Congress) is a typical example of an attempt to educate the younger generation about the African National Congress. It is a reflection of the context of transformation from Apartheid to democracy in South Africa. Mbelu’s poem constitutes a discourse that contributes to the narrative of democratic change in South Africa. In the first stanza, he emphasises the character of the African National Congress as “a national liberation movement” whose membership “is open to all South Africans irrespective of race, colour and creed, who accept its principles, policies and programmes”<sup>286</sup>. The second, third and the fourth stanza provides the history of the ANC from its establishment in 1912 to the eighties. The banning of the ANC in the 1960 led to founding of uMkhonto Wesizwe, and in the eighties of the internal wing, the United Democratic Front. Mbelu concluded in the last stanza by emphasising the international acceptance and recognition of the ANC which makes him confident that the organisation will bring the freedom that the people of South Africa are fighting for, thereby overcoming the Apartheid oppressors. The significance of Mbelu’s historic poem is its contribution to South Africa’s “collective memory”. It demonstrates the significance of the attempt to find answers to the demands of the present situation. About the significance of the knowledge of history, Stolten in Stolten (ed) (2007:6) states:

<sup>286</sup> See ANC brochure (undated) printed by Taj printers, Johannesburg, for the ANC.

Knowledge of history helps to shape qualities of imagination, sensitivity, balance, accuracy, and discriminating judgement and provides multiple perspectives on how various elements have come together to create a society or to build a nation.

Mbelu's knowledge of the history of the African National Congress exposes us to how this national liberation movement has over the years struggled to create a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society or nation<sup>287</sup>.

### 7.3.1.2 Ndiyamthand' uMXhosa

MXhosandini ndiyakuthanda!  
NgobuXhosa bakho ndiyakuthanda!  
NgesiXhosa sakho ndiyakuthanda!  
Ngebala lakho, owu! Ndiyakuthanda!  
Hay! Ndiyakuthanda Mxhosandini!

.....  
Ndithanda nto inye,  
Ndithand' imbeko yakho,  
Lowo ngumthetho wokuqala,  
Uwugqwesa wonke omnye,  
Unjalo ke ngembeko mXhosandini!

Ndithand' intlonipho yakho,  
Waziwa zizizwe zonke kaloku,  
Akakh' odlula wena ngentlonipho,  
Isidima ke sona wazalwa naso,  
Ndiyakuthanda Mxhosandini!

You isiXhosa speaking person I love you!  
For your being umXhosa I love you!  
For your isiXhosa language I love you!  
For your skin pigmentation, Yes! I love you!  
How! I like you isiXhosa speaking person!

.....  
There is one thing that I like,  
I like your respectfulness,  
That one is the first commandment,  
Which is greater than all other commandments,  
That's how respectful you are isiXhosa speaking person!  
I like your reverence,  
All nations know you,  
No one supercedes your reverence,  
You were born with dignity,  
I like you isiXhosa speaking person!

The democratic government was before 1996 guided by the interim constitution of 1993, which for the first time in South Africa guaranteed fundamental human rights to all the citizens of the country. The equality of all citizens and the right to one's religion, belief and opinion which were contained by Chapter 3 of the Interim Constitution<sup>288</sup> made all citizens, irrespective of ethnic origin, to be proud of themselves. It is this self-esteem, and pride that inspired, Mbelu to express his love for his ethnic origins. The demise of the Apartheid ideology which overtly declared that other racial and ethnic groups, particularly those of African origins, are inferior,

<sup>287</sup> See ANC brochure (undated) printed by Taj printers, Johannesburg, for the ANC.

<sup>288</sup> Chapter 3: Fundamental Rights Clause 8 (2): No person shall be unfairly discriminated against, directly or indirectly, and without derogating from the generality of this provision, on one or more of the following grounds in particular: race, gender, sex, ethnic or social origin, colour, and sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, or language.

motivated the previously marginalised communities to affirm that they have a proper and appropriate sense of their identity.

It is against this backdrop that Mbelu in the first stanza declares his affection for the people of AmaXhosa origin. He expresses his delight at the isiXhosa ethnic identity, the isiXhosa language and the skin pigmentation of amaXhosa. In the last stanza Mbelu expresses his love for the personality trait of reverence. He says that this ethnic group to which he belongs excels in splendor, magnificence, and dignity due to humility and respect that they exhibit to others. Acceptance of one's ethnic identity leads to acceptance of a broader national and ethnic identity. This view is supported by prominent leaders like Gandhi<sup>289</sup> who says about Indians: "All of us are Indians first and last, where ever we leave and to whatever creed or class of provinces we belong".

### 7.3.2. Marwanqa F. (1995) *Umnyama*

#### 7.3.2.1 Ubuntu

Nto zinqabile emhlabeni hay' ubuntu.  
Nto zinzima ukufumaneka hay' ubuntu.  
Hay' ubuntu ukunqaba kwindawo yabo.  
Hay' ubuntu ukungafumaneki kwababudingayo.

.....  
Lizel' ilizwe ngamahlwempu angasenzelw' ubuntu.

Lizel' ilizwe zizityebi engezisenz' ubuntu.

Kodw' obobuntu nditheth' inene bunqabile.  
Bunqabe banqaba nakubantu benene.

Yimiqod' abant' ukuy' emadlakeni imihlanezolo.  
Wakubuz' unobangela ukunqaba kobuntu 'kulapho.

Elizweni landa ngokwanda inani labahlolokazi.  
Fun' isizathu soko kwanda ukunqaba kobuntu akusali.

.....  
Masiphuthum' ubuntu mzi kaPhalo sigxotho ishologu.

Ishologu selifun' ukuthath' indawo yobuntu.  
Awu! malingabi saphalal' igazi mzi kantu,  
Ngokuchil' ilifa lakowenu, kowenu kwaNtu.

#### Humanism

Things are scarce on earth, humanism is more.  
Things are difficult to acquire, humanism is more.  
How scarce, humanism is, where it originates.  
How difficult it is to find humanity by those who  
need it most.

.....  
The world is full of poor people who no longer  
benefit from humanism.

The world is full of rich people who should be  
engaging in humanity initiatives.  
But I speak the truth when I say humanism is scarce.  
It is scarce even from genuine personalities.

People are flocking daily to the graveside.  
When you ask for a reason lack of humanism is  
a contributory factor.

In the world the number of widows is increasing.  
Find a reason, lack of humanism is the cause.

.....  
Let us restore humanism, house of Phalo and reject  
evil spirits.

Evil spirits are taking over from humanism.  
No! Blood must not be spilt, Africans,  
Because of rejection of your heritage, your African  
heritage.

<sup>289</sup>See Gandhi in "Thus spake the Mahatma". Compiled and edited by Praveen Davar.



Marwanqa resents the erosion of virtue and goodness amongst the Africans. The first stanza shows resentment at the lack of humanism in Africa, where he contends it originates. The third and the fourth stanzas expose the consequences of the abandonment of this noble philosophy and tradition. The last stanza makes a call for restoration of “Ubuntu” and rejection of the evil spirits which seek to substitute “Ubuntu”<sup>290</sup>. The earliest isiXhosa-English lexicon by Kropf (1995:294) defines “Ubuntu” as human nature or quality, humanity, kindness, manliness and manhood. Tutu (1999:31-32) makes reference to the concept of “Ubuntu”:

Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language. It speaks of the very essence of being human. When we want to give high praise to someone we say “yhu unobuntu” “Hey so-and-so has ubuntu”. Then you are generous, and you are hospitable, you are friendly and caring and compassionate. You share what you have. It is to say “my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up in yours”. We belong in a bundle of life. We say “A person is a person through other persons”. It is not “I think therefore I am”. It says rather “I am human because I belong. I participate, I share.”

Tutu popularised this humanist philosophy, ethic or ideology during the period of transformation from Apartheid towards democracy. Marwanqa contributes to the post-Apartheid discourse by appealing to the house of Phalo<sup>291</sup> to revive the philosophy or worldview which will assist in dealing with the emergent challenges of poverty, disease and fragile human relations. Both Marwanqa and Tutu might have been inspired by the epilogue of the Interim Constitution of South Africa (1993) which reads:

There is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not retaliation, a need for Ubuntu but not for victimisation.

The argument of this study is that Marwanqa, through his poem, “Ubuntu” articulates the ideology of democratic government of South Africa.

#### 7.3.2.2 Ilizwana laseKei

#### The Province called Kei

.....  
Nyakandini ka-1994 uyakuhlal' uyimbali;  
Namayilo ndithi mna naw' afumen' ibali;  
Kuba ngalo nyaka yavel' intomb' igudile,  
Inothoza kancinane bonk' abafana beyijongile.

.....  
Year 1994 you will always be historic;  
Even the less eloquent also have a story to tell;  
Because this year a beautiful maiden emerged,  
Walking elegantly, young man gazing at her.

Le ntomb' iKei izibalile iinyanga zonyaka,

The maiden named Kei counted all the months of the year,

<sup>290</sup> See also Tutu (1999:45,54,101,166,264)

<sup>291</sup> Reference to AmaXhosa who are descendants of Chief Phalo.

Yaziyeka zaqengqeleka zaw'ugqib' unyaka,  
Ngenyanga yengqele yafika betheqwa,

Kuba lenyang' uTshazimpunzi yenye kwezengqele.

.....  
Kusiba lukaTyamzashe kwakhe kwakh' iBisho,

Bantyliz' abantwana bezizwe bebong' iBisho,  
Bathi ngokwenjalo balimisel' iBisho,  
Ukuz' iKei ibe nekomkhulu lay' eBisho.

.....  
Kumasok' aliqela id' intombi yalonyul' isoka,

Yambon' umfan' akwaNdob' eliloisoka;  
Isoka lokutshat' intomb' engazani nasoka,  
Yazimany' intombi watsh' umfana baphel' ubusoka.

.....  
Nzwanandini yakwaNdob' umnikiwe ngamawenu,

Elo gunya malisebenze kub' ulizuze kowenu;

Hamba naye kancinane ukhokel' amawenu,  
Kuba kade wen' unguMosisi wezwe lakowenu.

.....

Allowed all the other months to pass,  
On the cold month she arrived and they were all  
awake,  
Because the month of April is also a cold month.

.....  
In one of Tyamzashe's compositions Bisho was  
mentioned,  
Children of the nation sang extolling Bisho,  
By doing so they installed Bisho,  
For the Kei province to have a capital, Bisho.

.....  
From many eligible bachelors, the spinster finally  
selected a fiancé,  
She found the son of Ndobe to be a suitable fiancé;  
The son of Ndobe to be the fiancé to marry a virgin,  
They married and the young man ceased to be a  
Bachelor.

.....  
Handsome man, son of Ndobe, you have been given  
her by your people,  
That power must be exercised because you got it from  
your home;  
Go with her steadily and lead your people,  
For you have been the Moses of your country all  
along.

.....

What Mrwanqa calls “the small country called Kei” is the Province of Eastern Cape. He calls it Kei probably because it covers the land on both sides of the Kei River. South Africa's first democratic election of April 1994 was guided by the Interim Constitution of 1993, which divided South Africa into nine provinces instead of the four provinces of the Apartheid government<sup>292</sup>. The province of the Eastern Cape incorporates the former homelands of Transkei and Ciskei<sup>293</sup>. Marwanqa celebrates the creation of the new province of the Eastern Cape Kei, which is the product of the 1994 democratic government. He remembers the maestro of choral music, Mr B. Tyamzashe<sup>294</sup>, who composed the song “IBisho likhaya lam”. Bisho would later be the capital town of the Ciskei homeland, and later the Province of the Eastern Cape. Marwanqa supports the decision as the maestro of choral music, Tyamzashe, said Bisho is his home and by implication

<sup>292</sup> South Africa Year Book 2009/10 page 36.

<sup>293</sup> See Beinart (2001:290) for new provincial boundaries, Map 4. The second Premier Stofile tried to ensure that the Eastern Cape has a proper name by assembling a committee, but the committee that he had established never finalised the task and never presented the proposed names for a final decision by the people and the executive.

<sup>294</sup> See Mpola (2007:64-68) on “B. ka T” Tyamzashe.

the home of all those who identify with the Eastern Cape<sup>295</sup>. Qwabe (2004:10) explains that “in the African context, choral music is predominantly functional”. This explains why Marwanqa is elated by the decision of the democratic government, of fulfilling the prediction of Tyamzashe through Bisho being accorded the dignity that it deserves. He congratulates the first Premier of the Eastern Cape, Mr Raymond Mhlaba<sup>296</sup>, whose clan name is “Ndobe” for being appointed by the State President to the noble position. He appeals to the new Premier to ensure that, with the powers vested in him, he establishes effective efficient government. His “woman” symbol evinces the high hopes and expectations that Marwanqa has about the new Province of the Eastern Cape. Unfortunately, the prediction that the province’s name would be Kei was never fulfilled.

### 7.3.3 Sibeko, X. and Saliwa, N.F. (eds) (1995) *Imbongi ijong'exhantini*

#### 7.3.3.1 Makwetu

#### Makwetu

Aah! Ngwevu ye-Afrika.  
Xhegondini elibhity' ukomelela.  
Wen' uxolele ukuma ngomlenze omnye.  
Wen' ukheth' ingonyama phakathi kweendlovu.  
Qina mfana kaNantsi.

Hail! Veteran of Africa.  
Old man who is lean but strong.  
He who would rather stand on one leg.  
He who would rather face a lion than an elephant.  
Be strong son of So- and –so.

Uz' ungalinyenyisi elo tyeba,  
Kuba kaloku konakala izinto.  
Uhlanga lophalapha lakuphindwa.

Do not loosen that bandage,  
Because things will go wrong.  
An incision bleeds on a second attempt.

Wakha watshotsha mandulo yini na?  
Uze ubile uxele inkwenkwe yeqaba.  
Ungaxhalabi sikhona nathi.  
Siyawubona umnombo nangona simbaxa.  
Ndinga ndingaphum' iimpondo  
Xa ndihlahluba eli thongo:  
Ndithong' uthwele isithsaba se-Afrika,

Have you ever attended traditional dances?  
Where you sweat like a traditional boy.  
Do not worry we are also with you.  
We see the origin though we are undecided.  
I wish horns could grow from my head  
When I interpret this dream:  
I dreamt seeing you having on your head the African crown,

The ideology of the Pan African Congress, Pan Africanism, whose fundamental tenet is the struggle for the return of the land taken from Africans before and after 1913,<sup>297</sup> was carried to the

<sup>295</sup> Hansen D (1996) says that the celebrated Xhosa National Composer and recipient of an honorary Masters Degree in Music from Fort Hare (1976) is the “first Xhosa composer who consciously turned to his own Xhosa musical heritage for inspiration and composition”.

<sup>296</sup> A veteran of the struggle for liberation, who was with Mandela, sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. See Mandela (1995:218,313,606,661).

<sup>297</sup> The reopening of the land claims by the government in 1914 vindicates the PAC and other parties who prior to and after 1994 emphasised the land question. See [www.southafrica.info/.../land-010714.ht...](http://www.southafrica.info/.../land-010714.ht...)

Parliament of the democracy epoch by the veteran of the struggle for liberation, Clarence Mlamli Makwethu, who was born on 6 December, 1928 at hoyita, Cofimvaba, in the former Transkei area<sup>298</sup>. Makwethu joined politics as early as 1952 when the African National Congress organised the Defiance Campaign. In 1954 he was one of the members of the Congress Youth League. When Robert Mangaliso Sobukhwe led a break away that went on to establish the Pan Africanist Congress in 1959, one of his strong supporters was Makwethu, who was a branch secretary in Cape Town at the time<sup>299</sup>. Like all political activists of his time, Makwethu experienced imprisonment as early as 1960 and the following year he was banished to the Transkei. He, again, clashed with Apartheid government, and, in 1963, was sentenced for five years. In 1979, again, the Transkei government banished him to Libode district for five years.

The internal wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Pan Africanist Movement elected him as their leader in 1989. In 1990, when all organisations were unbanned, Makwethu was formally elected at the President of the PAC. This led to him being the representative of the PAC in the Parliament of the democratic South Africa in 1994. It is against this background that the poet, extols the “veteran of Africa” who continued diffusing the ideology of the PAC during the epoch of democracy. Intra-party contestation, however, weakened the impact of Makwethu in the inter-party contestation in parliament and in the new democratic of South Africa.

### 7.3.3.2 Solomon Mahlangu

So-lomon! So-lomon!  
 Awu! Liph' iqhawe madoda?  
 Bamfihle phi umntwana wesizwe bafondini?  
 Mahlangu wena wahlangul' igazi lesizwe,  
 Mahlangu wena wahlaba wahlakaza wantumek' isibane;  
 Tha-a-a-a! Igqangagqanga okwelanga lehlobo. .  
 .....  
 Inene Gabhriyel' uligxwem ngendalo,

### Solomon Mahlangu

Solomon! So – lomon!  
 Woe! Where is the hero gentlemen?  
 Where are they hiding the child of the nation?  
 Mahlangu you saved the blood of the nation,  
 Mahlangu you stabbed, scattered and lit the light;  
 The sun smote like summer sunlight.  
 .....  
 Honestly Gabriel you are natural squinting cross  
 eyed one,

<sup>298</sup> See South African History online  
<http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/clarence-mlamli-makwetu>  
 Viewed on 04 September 2014

<sup>299</sup> The O'Malley Archives  
[http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley.php/site/q031v02424/041v\\_02426/051v02556](http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley.php/site/q031v02424/041v_02426/051v02556)  
 Viewed on 04 September 2014

Uqed' amaqhaw' ushiy' amatyutyusi.  
 Namhlanje ndizimanya nelith' izembe libekiwe,  
 Zemb' eligeca ligece neentsika ze-Afrika,  
 Bhum-a! Alinanze ndonakele.

.....  
 Yu! Yu! Bayikrwitshil' ingelosi yeSizwe.

Mahla-ngu! Mahla-ngu!

You eliminate heroes and leave behind cowards.  
 Today I agree that the axe is ready to chop,  
 The axe that chops even the pillars of Africa,  
 They fall; the axe is not worried about the damage.

.....  
 Yu! Yu! They have slaughtered the angel of the  
 Nation.

Mahla – ngu! Mahla – ngu!

The period of democracy afforded poets with an opportunity to immortalise their heroes of the struggle for liberation and to ensure that posterity recognises the contribution made by these heroes. The ideology of the African National Congress is disseminated as the poet praises Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu who was born in Pretoria on 10 July 1956. Having joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1976, he joined Umkhonto Wesizwe (MK), and received training as a cadre. Mahlangu was deployed to Johannesburg where he, unfortunately, was arrested in 1977, and charged under the Territories Act. Though he pleaded not guilty to the charges, he was sentenced, and the capital punishment was imposed on him in March 1978. Before his execution Mahlangu demonstrated his oratorical skill when he said: “My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them. They must continue the fight”<sup>300</sup>.

In March 1979 Mahlangu was executed, an action that was condemned by the international community. A proper and dignified funeral was conducted at Mamelodi Cemetery on 06 April, 1993. It is against this background that Hoho, the poet, commends Mahlangu for his valour and prowess. He expresses his dissatisfaction with the angel Gabriel’s decision to allow Mahlangu to die instead of protecting the hero. He is saddened by the murder of an “angel of the nation while cowards are saved from the fatal axe that chops even the pillars of Africa (zemb’eligeca ligece neentsika ze – Afrika)”.

### 7.3.3.3 Injengele

### The General

Mntwan' egazi ndithi tshotsh' uvele.

Child of the royal family I say, it is good that you  
 took the stage.

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<sup>300</sup> See also 4.3.2.4 of chapter 4

Ngobukho bakho yonk' indal' iyabulela.  
Iinkunzi zeenkomo ziyagquma ziyakhonya.  
Zihamba-hamba phakathi kwemihlambi yazo.

Zishiyana ngotyefezo nezigodlo.  
Kubi, iingqukuva ziyalila.  
Amakhwani neenkabi nawo anentsholo.  
Konwatywe nezoomofu iinkunzi ziyazama.

Kodwa isagweba sakho siyandihlekisa.  
Ngokosela amany' amakhwenkwe anengxolo.  
Sawatsho avova anengevane kwaphela.  
Aguqa ngedolo ahlanganisa engxengeza.

Qulani madoda niligangathe,  
Sikhuseleni umntwan' omhle  
Ongafanele kubhubha.  
Inkwenkw' emfutshane yaseMagebeni.  
Int' elandel' igama layo,  
Abath' ukuyibiza nguBantubonke.  
Yasuka yanjalo nangezenzo.

With your presence, nature is thankful.  
The bulls roar and bellow.  
They move amongst their droves of cattle.

They complete with their strength and their horns.  
It is difficult, bulls without horns are crying.  
Castrated bulls and oxen also make noise.  
All are happy, jersey bulls are also trying.

But yours short stick amuses me.  
For silencing the noisy boys.  
It made them to bend and have feeble knees.  
They kneeled they shielded themselves apologizing  
Profusely.

Arm yourselves, men , and get ready for the fight,  
So that we can protect the son of the royal family  
Who does not deserve to die.  
The short boy of the Hegebe Clan.  
The one who has followed after his name,  
The one they call Bantubonke(all People).  
His deeds have just followed his name.

The poetry of the democratic era seeks to document and highlight the role played by the vast range of political leaders in South Africa. Magibisela in Sibeko and Saliwa(eds) bringsto the centre stage General Bantubonke Holomisa. Holomisa belongs to the house of the Hegebe tribe, one of the chiefdoms of the AbaThembu Kingdom. Having pursued a military career in the Matanzima regime of the Homeland of Transkei in, he rose to the level of a military brigadier general in the Transkei defence force in 1985. He played a leading role in the deposition of Stella Sigcawu in 1987, who had succeeded the Matanzimas as the leader of the Transkei homeland. As a military ruler in Transkei during the period 1987-1994, he initiated negotiations with the then banned African National Congress. He opened space for the ANC to operate in the Transkei until the unbanning of political organisations in 1990. During the“glasnost” period he supported the African National Congress in the negotiations with the Apartheid government. He is acknowledged by Mandela (1995:695) as the “military leader of the Transkei and an ANC loyalist”<sup>301</sup> during this period, and he played a significant role in preparing for Mandela’s first visit to Qunu, his home, after his release from prison in February 1990. This view is supported by Gumede (2005:54) who says that Mandela’s successor, Mbeki, who recognised how influential Holomisa was in the early nineties, describes him as follows:

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<sup>301</sup> See also Beinart (2001:280)

The former Transkei homeland leader who commanded considerable support in the populous Eastern Cape and amongst the youth.

In 1994 when the new cabinet was formed, the new President, Mandela, appointed him as a deputy minister in his cabinet. It is against this background that Magibisela throws laudatory epithets at the general and member of the royal family:

Mntwan'egazi...

Mntwan'omhle, ongafanele kubhubha...

Int'elandel' igama layo...

Son of the royal family...

Beautiful child who does not deserve to die...

The one who has followed after his name...

Holomisa was fired from the Mandela cabinet after his testimony to the Truth Commission about Stella Sigcawu's acceptance of a bribe from Sol Kerzner while she was leader of the Transkei homeland<sup>302</sup>. Holomisa then proceeded to form his political party, the United Democratic Movement, in 1997, which contested elections.

#### 7.3.4 Stuurman, A.B. and Magqashela, F.P. (1995) *Phantsi kwentab' etafile*

##### 7.3.4.1 Angen' Amanz' Endlini!!

##### Water (Danger) enters the House

Kwagalelek' ukreb' mlomo omkhulu sel'elambe kade

Wagaleleka lo mgqomo wakwaLanga ung' ubimb'  
iintlanz' elwandle.

UQavile isibofana sendodan' esimaqhokolo

Uqubul' imbiz' amanz' omphokoqo abilayo ngesiqophe  
Guqaqa wamb' imirhajana yakhe phezu kwaloo mbiza  
Gulukud' inkwenkw' omLungu ifun' ihotyazan'  
uNodompasi'

Ulivuthel' umntakwethu ichiza lakh' ezingisile  
Ukhondozil' umntu wasemzini ebiza futhi futhi

“Pass maan pass jong”

.....  
“Nokuba ndiseyezeni na madoda,  
Akuthethw' eyezeni nje bafondini”

kuba ke thina sasisebantwana singa singahleka

Koko kwakungemnandi kwakukubi ngaloo mini

Iphumil' inkwenkw' enkulu yasemzini  
Mpa emhlan' umbayimbayi intonga yakowabo  
Emtyhalela ngapha nangaph' uQavile emtshutshumbisa  
Uphinde wagaleleka kwimpi yamaZiyon' ezikhonzela

The shark hungry as never before with a large mouth  
has arrived

The police truck from Langa Police station was like a  
sharkswallowing small fish at sea.

Qavile the witty man grabbed a pot filled with boiling  
Water for dry porridge

He went into his knees, pot in front of him  
He grabbed a blanket and covered himself and the pot  
A young policeman burst in looking for the beautiful  
Nodompasi (pass/identification document)

My brother's attention wagon the pot with medicine  
Which he blew instantly with vigour  
The visitor was  
perseverant asking repeatedly

“Pass maan pass jong”

.....  
“Even if I am engaged in the healing process,  
One should not talk if engaged in the traditional  
healing process”

Because we were children, we were amused and  
wanted to laugh

But the situation was tense, it was a bad day.

The young man who is a foreigner dis-embarked  
Carried at his back his gun, his stick  
And pushed Qavile into the van  
He drove and arrived at Zionist Congregants

<sup>302</sup> Gumede (2007:376) Beinart (2001:294-295)

Eyibambil' umfo waseNkosini inkonzo ivutha  
Kungen' into esel' igxanyaza kade ivuthiwe  
Guqaqa umkhosi weNkosi ubiza kwiDini loMesiya  
Phezulu

Bambi sebebiza nakwimilowo  
Kungasekho nokuva ciko nayilo lakuthandaza

Kungasagqaleki limnandi nelirhwexayo ilizwi

Kubotshw' umthwal' omnye okhawuleziley' usiya  
kuQamata.  
Yakhwazwa neminyanya ukub' isindise ngephanyazo

Angen' amanz' endlwini kungasekho kunceda  
Guqaqa ngedol' elinye loo nkosana ixhathise ngenduku  
yayo  
Uzibikil' umkhokel' engalilibalang' ibandla alikhokeleyo

Uthandazile nay' umLung' ukuze abarhugule bonke  
kuloomhlambi  
Azuz' igama abe mhle naye kuthixo wakhe umqeshi  
wakhe.

Uwolule wamde umntu wenkosi engaphezi  
Wancedisa nay' umLungu engxamile  
"Amen, Halleluya! Mfundisi, Pass maan pass"  
Waxakek' umntu weNkosi engenelwe ngamanz' endlwini

.....  
Uncame wazinikela kunye nebandla lakhe lonke

Sesibulel' ukufa kwakho Nodompasi  
Ndlelantle ulutshutshisil' uluntu lwakowethu!!!!

Who were worshipping the priest, the Godly one,  
The police paced aggressively inside the church  
The congregation of Zion went into their knees and  
prayed

Some calling for help ancestors  
One could not distinguish who is singing or out of  
time of whether the prayer was relevant or irrelevant  
One could not distinguish between sweet and  
hoarse voices  
What was important was one joint prayer to God

The ancestors were also urged to save in this  
emergency.  
They had engulfed all in the house  
The white policeman kneed and joined the prayer

The leader prayed and also prayed for his  
congregation  
Asking for help so that he can arrest all the  
congregants,  
And he acknowledged for good work by his God his  
Employer.  
The priest dragged the prayer  
the white policeman assisted  
"Amen, Halleluia! Minister, Pass maan pass"  
The man of God was in a dilemma, agitated

.....  
The priest gave up and got into the van with the  
entire congregation  
We are thankful for your death, Nodompasi  
Go well you have oppresses our people!!!!

Democracy is a period of celebration, a period of tears, a period of reflection, but also a period of laughter/humour. This humorous poem of Magqashela is a celebration of freedom from the Apartheid regime which introduced the notorious Pass Laws, and the Influx Control Laws. The above mentioned laws made life difficult for Africans who were brought to the urban centres by droughts and famines which forced them to seek employment in towns and cities. Stock had died, or they were forced to sell at very low prices because of the stock culling legislation and the Trust Acts. But as Beinart (2001:126) says "... while passes hampered African freedom of movement, they did not prevent urbanization".

In the cities they had to confront the policeman who required them to produce the pass /identification document<sup>303</sup>. Failure to produce a pass book meant being arrested, jumping into

<sup>303</sup> Beinart says that Section 10 of the 1952 Urban Areas Act was one of a number of regulating African movement and urban rights and it specified who was permitted to live and work freely in towns.



the police van, taken to the police station and having to face a charge which may result in a conviction and imprisonment.

This is the context of Qavile's response to the arrival of the police van at Langa Township. Having noticed the arrival of the unfriendly visitor he jumped for a pot which was filled with boiling water, snatched a blanket and covered himself and the boiling water. In the Xhosa culture and tradition, one who engages in this traditional healing process, must not be disturbed hence the proverb "*Akuthethwa eyezeni*" meaning one who is in this healing process cannot be disturbed. But the White policeman could not be stopped by this amaXhosa tradition, and insisted "Pass maan pass jong". Qavile protested, but had to obey the instruction of the heavily armed policeman and get into the police van.

This is the situation that faced the priest of Zionist Independent Church when the police van stopped to check if the congregants had a legal presence in Cape Town. Anticipating the problem and knowing that their presence was "illegal" the priest intensified his focus on the worship to God, while the congregants made an extra effort to raise his inspirational levels to the highest point with songs of praise to the Lord. The policeman lost patience with the long prayer and interjected "Amen Haleluya! Mfundisi, pass maan pass". The priest gave up and led the congregation into the police van, leaving behind their drum.

Worth noting is the constant reference to the age of this policeman "*Gulukudu inkwenkw'omlungu*" "*inkwenkw' enkulu yasemzini*" this is a protest against the young Afrikaner official who ill-treated elderly Africans. The poet thanks the 1994 democratic government which brought an end to the notorious, humiliating and dehumanising pieces of legislation like the pass laws.

### 7.3.5 Moropa, K. (ed) (1996) *Nambitha Isihobe I*

#### 7.3.5.1 A! Ngubesizwe<sup>304</sup>

Ngusiximba kaXolothi inkwenkw' aseMzantsi.  
Nguntlokwan' imbhoxwan' ilwalwa lezizwezonke.

He is the strong one, a boy from the South.  
He is the one with an oval shaped head, the hard

---

<sup>304</sup>'Ngubesizwe' meaning 'Blanket of the Nation', a royal name for one who is protective to his people. Hence the preceding (Hail!) Ah! which is a humble greeting or welcome or a wish for good health.

Ngumaxhakaxhak' oxhas' ukuxhapha xhibeni linye.  
 NguSonjing' ojing' ubunjinga obungajikiyo  
 Nguntsobi zitheth' uthando lobuthandazwe.  
 NguThanduxolo elakokwab' eNtlanzini.  
 NguNgubeszwe elakowab' eMzantsi.

.....  
 Eqengq' iindebe ezindala zaphasalala,  
 Eqengq' ubuqili baziingodo.  
 Yaqweqwedis' amaqwili aqabel' eGqili.  
 Yaqweng' ubuhedeni kwahlanz' ingqobhoko  
 Zaphanz' iinkedama zezimoyoywana zooNoqhakancu

Abazibone sebengamadlagusha noko bengengawo.

.....  
 Nani niseza kulawula bonani!  
 Nani nisagay' iivoti yazini!  
 Nani niseneenkani namhla qiqani!

Kub' uNgubeszwe nguVulindlela ovulele zonk' izizwe.

Kub' uNgubeszwe nguFezekis' amaphuph' abe ziinyaniso.

Kuba narnhlathina sifundil' ukuthi kuhl' ukubonisana,  
 Kub' uNgubeszwe ebonisene noDalibhunga latsho ladaleka

Ilizwe loxolo laseMzantsi kwasal' ubuqhudetya.

stone of all nations.

He is the one who supports unity.

He is the wise one whose word does not change

He is the one that has love and patriotism.

He is the Lover of Peace, his name in Cape Town.

He is the Nation's Blanket, his name in South Africa.

.....  
 He rolled the old pots until they broke into pieces,  
 He rolled away evil until it became dead wood.  
 He pushed the conservative across the Orange River.  
 He destroyed heathenism and Christianity emerged  
 He brought an end to orphans of the Khoisan  
 community  
 Who thought they are whitewhen they are not

.....  
 You who are also going to rule, watch!  
 Those canvassing for votes know!  
 Those who are not convinced today you have to  
 realise!

“Blanket of the Nation” is a pioneer who has opened  
 the way for all Nations.

For ‘Ngubeszwe’ is fulfiller of dreams to make them  
 reality.

For today we have learnt that it is good to negotiate,

For Blanket of the Nation has negotiated with  
 Dalibhunga and created

The nation of peace, South Africa, only blunders  
 remained.

Manciya's poem affirms that isiXhosa poetry transcends boundaries of race and class. His powerful eulogy is directed towards former President F.W De Klerk. The poet expresses his respect and honour for what the former president did to unite the people of this country and to take the step towards the establishment of one united South Africa with a single democratic government (*oxhas'ukuxhapha xhibeni linye*). He commends him for being steadfast and not to allow himself to be derailed by circumstances (*ubunjinga obungajikiyo*). The poet gives the former president two names, one for use in the Western Cape, Thanduxolo and one to be used by all South Africans (Ngubeszwe). The South African name symbolises that he brings warmth, protection, and pride to all South Africans as a “blanket of the nation”. In the last stanza he invites all to follow on the steps of the pioneer (Vulindlela) who has created an opportunity for all. He commends him for co-operation and working as a partner in the creation of the New South Africa of peace. President Mandela, (Dalibhunga), during negotiations (*ibhunga*), a process which resulted in the blunders of the new government, are not associated with the two leaders.

What makes this poem unique is effective use of the stylistic device of alliteration. Manciya echoes Mandela's(1995:677) words when he was released from prison on 20 February 1990:

I told the people that De Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist leader to normalise the situation, I called Mr De Klerk 'a man of integrity'.

Booyesen (2011:16) states:

Election 1994 had a profound role of confirming the ANC as the popular and legitimate heir to state power in South Africa, in the spirit of reconciliation, nation building and limited co-governance with the former apartheid foe.

While not in absolute agreement with the latter part of Booyesen's statement, this study has observed a huge amount of poetry produced during the period 1994-2012 that demonstrates the ANC government's ideological hegemony. The poetry has also acknowledged the positive role of the last leadership of the National Party in bringing about democracy to South Africa. President Jacob Zuma, in his State of the Nation Speech of 11 February 2010, referring to the historic announcement by President F.W De Klerk, 20 years before, said: "President de Klerk demonstrated great courage and decisive leadership". President Zuma was referring to the release of former President Mandela from prison in 1990.

### 7.3.6 Mndende, N. et al (1998) *Siyacamagusha*

#### 7.3.6.1 Idemokhrasi ngumkhohlisi

.....	.....
Bathetha ngedemokhrasi, demokhras' andiyazi,	They talk about democracy, I do not know democracy
Gam' elitheni eli lifana nengcuk' eyambeth' ufele lwegusha,	What kind of a name is this, that is like a jackal in a sheepskin?
Gam' elitheni eli lindenz' undwendw' ekhaya,	What is this word that makes me a stranger at
home?Gam' elitheni eli lindiwez' ulwandle,	What is this word that makes me to cross seas,
Ukuze ndikwazi ukubang' umhlaba woobawo.	for me to be able to claim back the land of my forefathers.
.....	.....
Hay' hay' mawethu ndiyaliqalekis' eli qhosh <sup>305</sup> ,	My people I condemn this "button",
Kuba leli qhosh' eli lidal' amaxoki,	Because this "button" causes liars,
Hay' hay' mawethu ndiyayiqalekis' inkolo yaseNtshona,	I condemn the Western religion,
Kuba yiyo le idal'amaxoki namawexu-wexu,	Because it creates liars and vacillating people,
Wawukhe walibona ph' igqobhoka likhokhel'	Where can you find a Christian convert leading

<sup>305</sup> See Kropf (1915:360) who says: "Button without a hole" means European money, originally from Ntsikana, The Xhosa prophet.

umthonyama?

Yidemokhras' etheni le indenza ndiphile kabuhlung' ekhaya,

Namhlanj' amanzi kaQamat' ayathengiswa,  
Namhlanje ndinyanzelwa ngenkolo yengcinezelo,  
Yimpucuko na nokuba luqadeko,  
Hayi mna ndiyayicekis' idemokhrasi.

Ibuyambo mzi kaNt' osaqiqayo,

Umtyh' uvulekile amanyang' asixolele,

Ath' inkolo kaNtu zange yafa kakade,  
Iya kuhlala kude kube nini befuna bengafuni,  
Siyacamagusha sinqula kumathambo alel' ukuthula.

a traditional ceremony?

Why is this democracy making me to be unhappy in my home?

Today God's water is for sale,  
Today an oppressive religion is imposed on me,  
Is it acceptance or condemnation,  
I must say, I hate democracy.

Back to the roots Africans who are still mentally Awake,

There is an opportunity, our ancestors have forgiven Us,

They say the African Religion never died,  
It will stay forever whether they like or not,  
We propitiate ancestors who are peaceful in their sleep.

The democratic social order also affords space for dissenting voices to freely express their views. These are voices that articulate ideological positions that are contrary to the dominant ideology of the ruling government of the African National Congress. Mndende's poem demonstrates that though amaXhosa poets support democracy, there is, however, no homogeneity regarding the conception of democracy. Her bone of contention is that the democratic government has failed Africans who believe in the Indigenous Religion. The democratic government seems to favour the Christian Religion, at the expense of the Indigenous Religion. She expresses disappointment at the failure of government to address the land question, which causes Africans to lack access to basic needs like water. She rejects Christianity which she claims is a foreign religion that has made Africans to vacillate when they have to stand up for what is their heritage. Mndende comes out clearly in the last stanza where she makes a call for Africans to restore their indigenous religion, whose existence is eternal, which has survived the test of time. The contradiction in Mndende's poem is that she condemns democracy which is a form of government that has vested supreme power in her and in people of South Africa collectively, which also insists on equal rights and privileges for all. It is democracy that grants her freedom of expression to articulate her views openly. Mndende's cry is also difficult to understand as the Bill of Rights in Clause 31(I) of the Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) reads:

Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community:

a) To enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language; and

- b) To form, join and maintain culture, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

Mndende's poem, however, exposes the shortcomings or failure of the Democratic Government in her endeavours to implement the democratic principle of equality of rights and privileges for all. Mndende's poem challenges the dominant discourse of the hegemonic African National Congress. The irony is that while she questions the existence of democracy, she is enjoying her democratic right of freely articulating her views without fear of reprisals.

### 7.3.6.2 Ntengu-ntengu Macetyana<sup>306</sup>

### Bee catcher Bird

Ntengu ntengu macetyana wath'umMelika ndimntloko,  
 Ntengu-ntengu macetyana wath' uMtshayina ndimhlubulezi,  
 Ntengu- ntengu macetyana lath' iNdiya ndimfuba,  
 Ntengu-ntengu macetyana wath'umYurophu ndimnqe,  
 Hazi xa umnini nta'eshiyeke nemilenze uya kutya ntoni na?  
 .....  
 Iqumbil' iminyanya yomz' oNtsundu,  
 Kaloku yon' iyonyeliswa kuthiwa itshotsh' emva,  
 Bambi bath' ukuyibiza zidimoni,  
 Ingakumbi abo bathi baginye uYesu waseNazareth,  
 Yesundini abamenza isikhali sokwaphul' imiphefumlo  
 Yabantu.  
 Ndiyekeni mna ndithethe nje maqabane,  
 Umphfumlo wam uyakhathazeka xa ndicing'emva,  
 Xa ndicing' inkaba yam endayishiya mhla ngethrasti<sup>307</sup>  
 yomlungu,  
 Nithi kuthen' ilizwe ligcwel' impangampanga nje?  
 Nkululeko ni le indenza ndilahlekwe yingqondo?  
 Ukuba yinkululeko mayibuyise ubuntu bam,  
 Ukuba yinkululeko mayibuyise umhlaba woobawo,  
 Ukuba ndikhululekile amasiko am mawahlonitshwe,  
 Mandingavalelwa ngamadlagusha ukuba ndingaxheli,  
 Baphi n'abalweli benkululeko siphela nje?

Bee Catcher bird, The American said the head is mine,  
 Bee Catcher bird, The Chinese said the neck is mine,  
 Bee Catcher bird, the Indian said the chest is mine,  
 Bee Catcher bird, the European said the sirloin is mine,  
 I wonder when the owner of the bird is only left with the legs, what will he eat?  
 .....  
 The ancestors of the African house are full of wrath,  
 For they are insulted, it is said they are backwards,  
 Some call them demons,  
 Especially those that claim to have swallowed Jesus of Nazareth,  
 A Jesus they use as a weapon to destroy human souls.  
 Allow me comrades to speak freely,  
 My soul is hurt when I think back,  
 About my umbilical cord that I left due to forced removals of the Native Trust and Land Act of the White man,  
 What do you think is the cause of so many mentally deranged people?  
 What kind of freedom that makes me lose my senses?  
 If it is freedom, it must return my humanity,  
 If it is freedom, it must return the land of our forefathers,  
 If I am free, my customs must be respected,  
 I must not be prevented from slaughtering (a beast) by Whites,  
 Where are the freedom fighters, for we are dying?

<sup>306</sup> According to Krypt (1915:408) the bird "Intengu", is "the fork-tailed drongo or bee-catcher, *Dicrurus afer* (a licht)", so called from its cry, 'tengu, tengu', 'macetyan, to which is sometimes added: 'kazi ukuba benze-ntonina abantwana benkosi, Nombande'. (I wonder what the children of the chief have done, Nombande).

<sup>307</sup> Native Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act no 18 of 1936) subsequently renamed the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936 and the Development and Land Act) <http://en.wikipedia.org>.

Abalweli benkululeko bemke nomsinga wengcinezelo,  
 Kaloku bebengalweli nkululeko ngaphezu kweziqu zabo,  
 Bebelwel' ukufana nabeLungu ngokungakhathaleli  
 abany' abantu,  
 Bebelwel' imali ukuze bahlale kumapom' ezindlu  
 balibale ngomny' umntu,  
 Ndiyayoyika le nkululekokuba idale amaxoki.

The freedom fighters have been washed by away the  
 current of oppression,  
 For they never fought for freedom, more than their  
 personal interests,  
 They fought because they wanted to be like Whites  
 who do not care for other people,  
 They fought for money so that they can stay in  
 mansions, and forget about other people,  
 I fear this freedom, for it has created liars.

An isiXhosa folktale narrates the story of the bee catcher bird that assisted children who were fleeing from an ogre. They climbed a tree. Because the ogre could not climb the tree he chopped it. When it was about to fall the bee catcher bird sang “ntengu ntengu macetyana kazi ukuba abantwana benzeni, yima mthi uthi gomololo” The tree returned to its original condition and the ogre started from scratch chopping. Mndende uses this folklore tradition to launch a critique on the new democracy. She identifies flaws which she says are clearly visible. The first one identified is that the South African freedom is supported by international capitalists and conglomerates who are more interested in the land and the wealth of the country. They have already identified and allocated to themselves the natural resources of the country. America, China, India, and other countries of Europe are mentioned.

Mndende warns about the wrath of the ancestors who have been abandoned in favour of Western civilisation and religion. She condemns and condemns Africans for their failure to venerate, with religious awe the departed ancestors. She says the Christians are using Jesus Christ as a weapon of destruction to the souls of other Africans. She grieves that she was forced to abandon her original place of abode due to forced removals<sup>308</sup>. What pains her is that her umbilical cord was buried there rendering the place sacred. She says if the freedom attained is true freedom, it has to restore her humanity. Mndende thinks that the government does not give sufficient and urgent attention to the land question in South Africa. Ntsebeza, L. and Hall, R. (eds) (2007)<sup>309</sup> in their description of their book “The Land Question in South Africa” support Mndende:

The extent to which indigenous people were disposed of their land by whites in South Africa under colonial rule and apartheid has no parallels on the African continent. Since the advent of democracy in 1994, issues at the heart of the land question in South Africa are how to reverse this phenomenon and

<sup>308</sup> Lodge (1990:5 & 261) narrates how Africans lost and after the 1913 Natives / Land Act and the 1936 Native Trust and Land Bill.

<sup>309</sup> See [http://www.hsrepress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2181\\_cat](http://www.hsrepress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2181_cat)

how a large scale redistribution of land can contribute to the transformation of the economy and the reduction of poverty, both rural and urban.

Mndende thinks that the freedom fighters seem to have been fighting for inclusion or being accommodated in the Western culture. She thinks they were fighting for personal gain and accumulation of wealth. Her last words are expression of fear for the freedom that has created liars “*amaxoki*”. Worth noting is the attention paid by the United Democracy Movement (UDM) on religion. In the core values in its 2014 electoral manifesto<sup>310</sup> the UDM states that the core values which the UDM will uphold are:

- Freedom of religion and worship

The UDM aims and objectives are:

- The UDM shall uphold the freedom of religion, culture and tradition of our diverse communities.

It is within this context that the researcher postulates that this is the legacy that was bequeathed by Mndende who in the late 1990s was a member of parliament representing the United Democratic Movement.

### 7.3.7 Shasha, W. (1998) *Ngxe mawethu masibaxolele*

#### 7.3.7.1 Masibaxolele Abacudisi

#### Let us forgive the oppressors

Ngxe mawethu,  
Ngxe mzi kaPhalo,  
Ngxe mathol' onyongande kukudlelana:

I beg your pardon my people,  
I beg your pardon house of Phalo,  
I beg your pardon sons of those who have long hip  
bones due to sharing of food:  
Let us forgive them!  
But though listen to me,  
Peace goes with reconstruction and development,  
Peace is for the healing of wounds;  
Peace is the drug for my healing,  
For grudge can destroy me,  
Let us forgive them!

Masibaxolele!  
Kodwa ke noko ndiveni,  
Uxolo luhamba nokwakha,  
Uxolo lolokupholis' amaxeba;  
Uxolo liqwili lokundiphilisa,  
Kanti isingqukru singandigulisa,  
Masibaxole-e-e-ele!

<sup>310</sup> See 2014 UDM electoral manifesto. The extrapolation is that the intellectual Mndende might have influenced this organisation to prioritise indigenous religion. She served as a member of parliament representing UDM.

Ikamva lethu ukuze libe kuthi,  
 Iintshaba zethu ukuze zisoyike,  
 Masingaveli apho zilindele khona;  
 Kuba zilindele impindezelo,  
 Thina masibaxolele-e-ele!  
 Sithathe isabhokhwe kuqhube thina,  
 Sithathe imihlabelo kunyange thina,  
 Aphoziswe sithi amaxeb' engcinezelo,  
 Ibe sithi abavul' indlela entsha;  
 Indlela yesidima neyentlonipho,  
 Indlela yoxolo neyobulungisa,  
 Indlela efanele isizukulwana sikaNtu;

Mna ndithi masibaxolele-e-e-e-le!

For us to take charge of our future,  
 For our enemies to fear us,  
 Let us not attack where we are anticipated;  
 For they are expecting revenge,  
 Let us forgive them!  
 Let us take control and drive the vehicle,  
 Let us take the drug and do the healing,  
 Let the wounds of oppression be healed by us,  
 Let it be us who open the new road;  
 The road of dignity and respect,  
 The road of peace and justice,  
 The road that benefits generations and generations of  
 Africa;  
 I say let us forgive them!

Shasha's poem appeals to South Africans to welcome the new democracy, and work hard towards deepening democracy, but note the significance of reconstruction and development. In the first stanza, line six he says "Forgiveness goes hand in glove with reconstruction and development". Shasha reflects the government policy during the period of Mandela's leadership. Beinert (2001:304), in his comparison of Mandela and Mbeki policies, He says:

While Mandela stressed reconciliation, Mbeki proclaimed a specifically African Renaissance.

The emphasis on reconciliation is further explained by Tutu (1999:10) in the narrative "No future without forgiveness":

A poignant moment on that day was when Nelson Mandela arrived... He invited his white jailer to attend his inauguration as an honoured guest, the first of many gestures he would make in his spectacular way, showing his breathtaking magnanimity and willingness to forgive. He would be the potent agent for the reconciliation he would urge his compatriots to work for and which would form part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission he was going to appoint to deal with our country's past. This man, who had been vilified and hunted down as a dangerous fugitive and incarcerated for nearly three decades, would soon be transformed into the embodiment of forgiveness and reconciliation. (Emphasis mine)

The poem demonstrates how Shasha, who had earlier on exhibited attributes of the Pan Africanist ideology<sup>311</sup>, was in the late nineties, interpellated by Charterist ideology which was represented by Nelson Mandela. In full support of the democratic government policy, in the last stanza, Shasha appeals to South Africans to forgive, to be pioneers of the new agenda, to be

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<sup>311</sup> See chapter 6: the poets of the glastnost period.



exemplary in terms of dignity and respect, to fight for peace and justice, for the benefit of posterity.

#### 7.3.7.2 Masibaxolele, abangekaxoli

Let us forgive those that have not yet reconciled

Abanesingqukru nesingqala,  
Masingabagxeki kakubi;  
Kuba asiyiyo inqala;  
Ucudiso lwamatshijolo,  
Utshutshiso lwezikhohlakali,  
Lulo olwenza inxeba,

Those with grief in mind and heaviness of spirit,  
We must not blame heavily,  
Because it is not grudge;  
Prosecution by villains,  
Persecution by the merciless,  
Will cause the bruises,

Lulo olwenza isilonda;  
Masingabagxeki, masibaxolele!

Will make the wound;  
Let us not criticize them, let us forgive them

Xa bevutha ngumsindo,  
Bengafuni nokuva ngoxolo;  
Kuxela oko ukuphola,  
Kukurhawuzela kwenxeba;  
Kukusweswezela kwesilonda;  
Masingabagxeki, masibaxolele!

When they are excited with anger,  
Refusing to be inclined towards peace;  
That indicates healing,  
The itching of the bruise;  
The itching of the wound;  
Let us not blame them; let us forgive them!

Shasha takes the reconciliation and nation building discourse further by arguing that the persecution of the Apartheid villains and the prosecution of the merciless Apartheid ideologues will not bring about a bright future, instead, it will deepen the wound caused by Apartheid atrocities. Shasha echoes Tutu (1999:30) in his opening chapter to his book *“No Future Without Forgiveness”*:

Our country’s negotiators rejected the two extremes and opted for a “third way” a compromise between the extreme of Nuremberg trials and blanket amnesty or national amnesia. And that third way was granting amnesty to individuals in exchange for a full disclosure relating to the crime for which amnesty was being sought.

In the second and last stanza Shasha echoes what Tutu (1999:271) explains in his closing chapter of his book:

In forgiving people are not being asked to forget. On the contrary, it is important to remember, so that we should not let such atrocities happen again. Forgiveness does not mean condoning what has been done. It means taking what happened seriously and not minimising it; drawing out the sting in the memory that threatens to poison our entire existence.

It is against this background that Shasha's poetry is perceived to be a contribution to the post 1994 discourse of national reconciliation and nation building whose architects were President Mandela and Bishop Tutu.

### 7.3.8 Jafta, D.N. et al (eds) (2002) *Nawe unakho* Vol 2

#### 7.3.8.1 Isiqithi i-Robben Island

Robben Island ubuliziko lentuthumbo.  
 Ubuliziko lengcinezelo nokufa,  
 Siyabuza sithi, baphi n'ooMaqoma?  
 Siyabuza kuwe sithi,  
 Baphi na ooZephania Mothopeng?  
 Baphi na ooOscar Mpetha?  
 Ubagcinile ekhulukudu wath'abalawuleki.

Sibabhangisil'oNongqongqo  
 Sabenz'imizi yenkcubeko nokhenketho.

.....  
 Namhla sisizwe seentlanga ngeentlanga,  
 Sithi masimanyane sibuyisele inkcubeko nesidima  
 SeentlangazoMzantshi Afrika.  
 Sithi masixole singanqali.  
 Sithi namhla esi siqithi masibe yimbali,  
 Imbali entle kwisizukulwana seAfrika.  
 Kuba kulapho ooNojoma kunye noToivo ya Toivo,  
 Babufumana khona ubunganga, bokulawulaiNamibia.  
 Sithi makube chosi kube hele.

Bathi bakufika kuwe baphile bachwayite, okwentanga<sup>312</sup>  
 like the kaMosisi entlango.

#### Robben Island

Robben Island you were the centre of suffering.  
 You were the centre of oppression and death,  
 We are asking saying, where are the Maqoma's?  
 We are asking from you,  
 Where are the Zephania Mothapengs?  
 Where are the Oscar Mpethas?  
 You kept them in prison as you said they are  
 ungovernable.

We have closed down Nongqongqo prison  
 And transformed them into cultural institutions.

.....  
 Today we are a non-racial nation,  
 We say let us unite and restore the culture and dignity  
 of all the races of South Africa.  
 We say let us forgive and not bear grudges.  
 We say today this island must tell the history,  
 The beautiful history for the posterity of Africa.  
 Because it is where Nojoma and Toivo ja Toivo,  
 Received their legitimacy, to govern Namibia.  
 We say let there be alleviation, let there be  
 propitiousness.  
 When they visit you they must be healed and rejoice,  
 stick of Moses in the desert.

Mandindi's poem reflects the discourse of reconciliation and nation-building which dominated the first phase of democracy, and the discourse of African Renaissance which dominated the second phase of democracy. Mandindi, in the first stanza, reflects on the political past in Southern Africa which exposes the conflict between colonialism and Apartheid, and the indigenous people of South Africa. Political leaders like Maqoma (traditional leader), Zeph Mothopeng (PAC) and Oscar Mpetha (ANC) are mentioned. Mandindi argues for the political process of recasting the history and public memory<sup>313</sup> in the post-Apartheid era. He argues for the creation of a positive public memory through transformation of sites of the struggle and conflict to sites of

<sup>312</sup> Probably a typographical error. Should be "intonga kaMosisi" (The stick of Moses).

<sup>313</sup> Baines, G. in Stolten (2007:168) defines Public Memory as "a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future."

preservation and conservation of heritage and, therefore, sites of reconciliation and nation-building (*Sibabhangisil'oonoNgqongqo sabenz'imizi yenkcubeko nokhenketho*). We have closed down, the Fort Glamorgan prison, and the likes, and transformed them into cultural and tourism centres. Mandindi argues that now that we are a democracy, Robben Island, which has caused so much injury, pain and death must be transformed, and reborn into a positive symbol as it has produced not only South African leaders but also African leaders, namely, Sam Nujoma and Andimba Toivo<sup>314</sup> ja Toivo of Namibia. Mandindi articulates the philosophy of African Renaissance which was promoted in the second phase of democracy. During this phase it is clear that the past was being used to unify the South African races and to regain pride for all the Africans<sup>315</sup>. Mandindi's poem echoes this dominant discourse (*Sithi masimanyane sibuyisele inkcubeko nesidima seentlanga*) (Let's unite and restore the culture and dignity of all races). It is a call for the rewriting of history which according to Stolten (2007:6-7) "... is an important part of a nation state's collective memory and is not simply a product of the past, but often an answer to demands of the present". The democratic government must have recognised this fact as in the 1999/2000 financial year, the then Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Dr. Ben Ngubane, approved a budget for the transformation of the Robben Island prison to a museum<sup>316</sup>.

#### 7.3.8.2 Isikhalo sam kuThixo

.....  
AA! Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela-A-A!  
Masitsho sonke sithi AA! Daliwonga<sup>317</sup>(sic)  
Ungumafunga angajiki nesilwela inkululeko  
9Ungumntwan'omngquba akazange athengise ngenyaniso  
Intetho zakhe zithe ngo akanamaswayi swayi

Uyimbangi yokuphila nokutya kwabaninzi  
Mandikuyeke Diba singathetha kuse ngawe

Aho-o-o-o-o! Aho-o-o---o-o!  
AA! Thabo Mbeki AA!  
Ntong'esekhosi kaMandela,  
Sijonge kuni Zizi Mongameli,  
Isizwe sonke sikhangele kuni mntak'aZuma  
Xa nikho sinthemba lokuphila

#### My request to God

.....  
AA! Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela -a-a!  
Let us all say AA! Dalibhunga  
He is one who is resolute in his fight for freedom  
He is the son of the soil he never sold the truth  
He is forthright with his words, he never beats about the bush  
He is the source for survival and nourishment of many  
Let me leave you Diba we will speak the whole night until dawn  
Ahoo-o-o-o-o Ahoo-o-o-o-o!  
AA! Thabo Mbeki AA!  
The trusted one by Mandela,  
We look upon you Zizi, Mr President  
The whole nation looks upon you Son of Zuma  
When you are present we have hope for survival

<sup>314</sup> See Mandela (1995:546-547)

<sup>315</sup> See "Address at the occasion of the launch of Freedom Park" 16 June 2002 by Thabo Mbeki. See also address by Mbeki at the ceremony to hand over the garden of remembrance Freedom Park 8 March 2004

<sup>316</sup> See Saunders in Stolten (2007:185)

<sup>317</sup> Typographical error. The correct name is Dalibhunga one who causes people to gather together for a discussion. Figuratively creator of parliament or meeting of the people.

Sishiywe nanai ngamagqala asizonkedama  
Amandla-a-a-a-a!

We were left with you by the veterans, we are not  
orphans  
Power!

Nkosi, in “Isikhalo sam kuThixo”, pays homage to the veterans of the struggle for liberation namely: Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma. What makes Nkosi’s poem significant is its predictive characteristics. The poet as early as 2002 predicted that the successive presidents of the Republic of South Africa will be Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma. This capacity of indigenous poets to foretell or prophecy has been alluded to in the previous chapter 4<sup>318</sup>. Jacob Zuma started serving in the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress in 1977. His first position in government was that of Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) for Economic Affairs on kwaZulu Natal Province in 1994. In December 1994 and 1996 he accepted responsibility of chairperson of the ANC in kwaZulu Natal. In December 1997, at Mafikeng, he was elected as Deputy President of the ANC. On 16 June, in 1999 he was appointed as Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, until 14 June, 2005.<sup>319</sup>

The Deputy President was close to the youth and artists as he, in 1999, was allocated responsibility for the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM), an initiative of President Nelson Mandela which started in 1997. The President, Deputy President and the Deputy Minister of Education had a meeting which resolved to aggressively deal with the national challenge of the “worsening moral situation”<sup>320</sup>. This resulted in events around the country which revitalised the moral regeneration campaign:

- A religious parliament was held in the Northern Cape in May 2002.
- A religious parliament was held in the Eastern Cape in July 2002.
- A moral regeneration summit was held in Western Cape in August 2002.

In September 2002 Deputy President Zuma made an important announcement in Parliament that plans were on course for the drafting of a national ‘Moral Charter.’ The Achievements of Jacob

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<sup>318</sup>Goodwin (1982:X) in his introduction to his work on African Poets says that “the notion of the poet as a visionary, diviner, oracle, prophet, and social conscience has come to seem much more immediate”. He goes on to quote Wole Soyinka’s statement at a Dares Salaam conference of 1971 who said: “The writer is the visionary of his people, he recognizes past and present not for the purpose of enshrinement, but for the logical creative glimpse and statement of the ideal future. He anticipates and he warns.”

<sup>319</sup>[www.sahistory.org.za/.../jacob-gedleyihle...](http://www.sahistory.org.za/.../jacob-gedleyihle...)

<sup>320</sup> See <https://www.mrm.org.za>

Zuma as a political leader and as a Deputy President explains why Nkosi, in 2002, said: “Isizwe sonke sikhangele kuni mntaka Zuma” (The whole nation is looking upon you, son of Zuma).

### 7.3.9 Tutani, N. (2005) *Monti Lam*

#### 7.3.9.1 Imini yokubekwa kweGorha lamaGora(Oliver Tambo)

#### The day of laying to rest the hero of heroes (Oliver Tambo)

Uthambodala kade bemqongqotha!

The old bone that they have been knocking on a  
stone to extract marrow!

Ngamathambo akudala amhlophe,  
Amathambo awakrwalakaxiswa ashukunywisa,  
Kwavunywisa ngawo achan' umhlola wenkululeko.

It is old bones that are snow white,  
The bones that were shaken and moved,  
And used for divination and they prophesied  
freedom.

Igqirha lendlela lithila phezu kwamawa,

The indigenous doctor that dances on the verge of  
the precipice,

Lityibela amajoni oMkhonto ngentelezi!

Motivating the soldiers of Umkhonto with the wild  
captive!

Ngudizadala kade bemkhwahlaza!

He is the old stalk of mealies whose cobs have been  
reaped!

Idiza elavalelisa isivumo esiyintaba<sup>321</sup>,

The stalk of mealies that produced heap of maize/  
plenty harvest,

Kulo mbutho wenkululeko.

In the liberation movement.

OkaTambo phakathi kwabalimi,

Tambo amongst farmers,

Ube ngumlim' ophume izandla,

Was the one standing farmer,

Kule ntsimi ikuchuma yenkululeko.

In this fertile field of liberation.

Watyal' imbewu eya kuvelis' izithombo zenkululeko.

He planted a seed which produced plants of freedom

Sivakele isithonga sokuwa kokaTambo,  
Eso sithongakazi satsho sadiliz' iintaba!  
Sadiliz' iintaba zezwe lakowethu!  
UNtabankulu Phesha kweNciba bathi udilikile,

The sound of the fall of Tambo was heard by all,  
Such huge sound which moved mountains!  
It moved mountains of our country!  
Ntabankulu in the Transkei they say has been  
flattened,

Udilikile wankumka wangangesiqalane,

She was reduced by your death to the size of an  
anthill,

Kuthw' amaMpondo eQawuka ayagilana,

They say the Mpondos of Qawuka are colliding  
with one another,

Umhlola ulandwa lee kweleendunduma<sup>322</sup>.

The bad omen is traced to Johannesburg.

Tutani on the occasion of burial of Oliver Reginald Tambo reflects on the life and times of this “hero”. Tambo had passed on during the early hours of the morning of 24 April 1993. His significant contribution to the struggle for liberation, and his long service as the President of the

<sup>321</sup>Typographical error the correct word is “isivuno esiyintaba” (plenty of harvest)

<sup>322</sup> Where Tambo died on 24 April 1993

African National Congress led to his being honored with a state funeral<sup>323</sup> which was attended by representatives of the international community, politicians, various political organizations, delegates from a vast range of institutions, his colleagues and friends and the supporters of the struggle for liberation in South Africa. Mandela (1995:730) says about Tambo:

In Plato's allegory of the metals, the philosopher classifies men into groups of gold, silver and lead. Oliver was pure gold; there was gold in his intellectual brilliance, gold in his warmth and humanity, gold in his tolerance and generosity, gold in his unfailing loyalty and self sacrifice.

It is against this background the Tutani wrote this elegiac poem dedicated to this veteran who was born on 27 October 1917 at Nkantolo in the Mbizana district of the Mpondoland area of the Province of the Eastern Cape<sup>324</sup>. During his student days Tambo was an outstanding sportsperson and a brilliant student of natural sciences. This led to his being admitted by the University of Fort Hare<sup>325</sup> for a Bachelor of Science studies which he finished in record time. His working career started as a teacher at his alma mater, St Peters, in Johannesburg. He later pursued legal studies and after qualifying as an attorney opened an office with Mandela, in Johannesburg in 1952, a first Black law practice in Johannesburg<sup>326</sup>

Contact with Sisulu, Lembede, Ngubane and Mandela led to the establishment of the Youth League of the ANC and revitalization of the entire political movement. In 1943 the Youth League was officially approved by the ANC which was under the leadership of Dr A.B Xuma. In 1954 Tambo was elected Secretary General of the ANC, and, in 1957 he was elected Deputy President of the Organisation. In 1963 Mandela briefed Tambo about the establishment of Umkhonto Wesizwe and the decision to launch the armed operations inside South Africa. Tambo supported this decision and a later decision, when the High Command of Umkhonto Wesizwe was arrested in 1963, that he takes leadership of Umkhonto Wesizwe. Tambo visited a number of countries<sup>327</sup> introducing the ANC and explaining its strategy. His high profile speeches impressed a number of leaders in Africa, Europe and Asia. His most significant speech was

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<sup>323</sup>See Mandela (1995:731)

<sup>324</sup>See South African History online <http://www.sahistory.org.za> Consulted 20/09/14.

<sup>325</sup>Where he met Mandela who observed that "...he was destined for great things" See Mandela (1995:55).

<sup>326</sup>See Mandela (1995:226).

<sup>327</sup>See Mandela (1995:357-359).

delivered in 1985 when he gave the instruction: “Render South Africa Ungovernable”<sup>328</sup>. When the ANC and other political organisations were unbanned in 1990, Oliver Tambo returned to South Africa. Due to ill health he declined leadership positions in the Organisation, but in 1991 ANC elected him as National Chairperson. Nelson Mandela was elected president of the ANC.

### 7.3.10 Kosani, M. (2005) *Inxili kaNgconde*

#### 7.3.10.1 Ukumkani uSabata

#### King Sabatha

Sisihandiba setshantliziyo  
SikaDalindyebo kaNdaba,  
Inkos' emntu kubaThembu.  
Ngumehlo ayatshawuza  
Kukonyany' ubuxoki nobubhedengu.  
Ngungalo zingwanzilili  
Kukujjisana namadlagusha;  
Gxebe wona ayamceba  
Kub' athumel' oonongqayi  
Nonokrawuzana bakh' umkhanya.  
Ujonguhlanga yingqanga  
Ebhabha phezu koMthatha neCacadu  
Lintaba neentili zeBumbana  
Ziyazi ngokubek' ubilo.

.....  
Lukhozi lwezixhobo zaMatyengqina  
Elabhid' izabatha zikavelevutha  
Kub' akahlambi ngobulawu,  
Uhlamba ngemithombothi.  
Ngunyol' umbuso weenyhwagi,  
Zinyalas' ukuy'e sajoni.  
Yinkunzi yeempindo zoMgqumo,  
Ayigqubi ngakuntyontyelw' ePitoli,

Ayigqumi ngakudl' ihabile yeBhulu.

Iphahlwa zizixhinga zikaDalasile,  
Amafanankosi kaStokwe nGecelo;  
Ugabulelw' izigcawu zizithwalandwe,  
Zamaciko kaJumba noJoyi.  
Ndithi tshotsh' abekh' uDalaguba,  
Agcin' umnweb' ungatshicelwa,

He is the great stalwart  
Of Dalindyebo ofNdaba,  
A chief who is humaneto the Thembu.  
He whose his eyes are flashing  
As he hates lies and fabrication.  
He whose arms are tough  
As he fights the Whites;  
I mean they are plotting against him  
As they send police  
And spies to watch his movements.  
Jonguhlanga is a great bird of prey  
That flies over Mthatha and Cacadu;  
The mountains and hills of Bumbane  
Know him as it is where he rests.

.....  
He is the Hawk of the rocky Matyengqina  
Which evaded the traps of Verwoerd  
For he does not wash with fragrance powder,  
He washes with the 'Mthombothi'<sup>329</sup> leaves,  
He rejects the government of usurpers,  
They walk with confidence to Port St Johns,  
He is the bull of the Mgqumo River,  
He is not bellowing because of encouragement from  
Pretoria,

He is not bellowing because of nourishment by the  
feed of the Boer.

He is surrounded by the hefty sons of Dalasile,  
The chiefly bodyguard Stokwe and Gecelo;  
He whose path is cleared by honourable men,  
Eloquent men from Jumba and Joyi families.  
I am saying it is good that the Dalaguba is alive,  
To look after the King's garment so that no one spits

<sup>328</sup>Read the speech of OR Tambo in Oliver Tambo Speaks, delivered at the Second National Consultative Conference, Lusaka, 16-23 June 1985.

<sup>329</sup>Umothombothi (Sandal wood, Excoecaria Africana). Used as a perfume, pieces of which are worn on a string around the neck. Leaves are used for cleansing the body.

Ukuz' uBuyelekhay' ungamngcolisi;  
Aa! Jonguhlanga!

on it,  
So that it does not make Buyelekhaya dirty;  
Hail! Jonguhlanga!

Democracy created space for isiXhosa poets to laud praises to the traditional leaders that refused to co-operate with the Apartheid regime, and chose to align themselves with the liberation movement. One of these is Sabatha Dalindyebo, the king of the Thembus, who was born in 1928, and died in 1986 in exile, in Zambia. The king was not in good terms with the then ruler of the Transkei, Chief K.D Matanzima, who strongly supported the homeland system of the Apartheid regime.

Lodge (1983:284-285) explains that the source of conflict between Matanzima and Dalindyebo was the Bantu Authorities and Rehabilitation Scheme introduction, which was opposed by Dalindyebo and other chiefs in 1961. Matanzima who was then the chairperson of the Transkei Territorial Assembly accepted both Bantu Authorities scheme and its rehabilitation programme. Mandela (1995:271-272) narrates how this matter was brought to his attention:

On a number of occasions tribesmen and kinsmen from the Transkei visited me in Orlando to complain about chiefs collaborating with the government. Sabata was opposed to the Bantu Authorities and would not capitulate, but my visitors were afraid that Matanzima would depose him, which is eventually what happened.

This happened after his arrest in 1979 and his being charged for “subverting the sovereignty of parliament and constitutional independence of Transkei and for violating and injuring the dignity of the State President”. The King sneaked out of the Transkei to exile in Zambia where he died in 1986. He was buried under a difficult political climate of the Transkei. In 1989 his supporters organised a more dignified funeral when Transkei was under the military rule of Holomisa. The historical context provided is aimed at supporting the view that the poet, through this poem, is supporting and popularising the king and the ideology he stood for.

### 7.3.11 Nyamende, A. (ed) (2005) *Amazwi amatsha*

#### 7.3.11.1 Unyaka ka-2000

#### The year 2000

Zazitshilo iingcali neenkcuba-buchopho madoda,  
Zath'uyeza unyaka ka-2000,  
Zath'uyeza usiphathel'umgwebo,  
Nam nditsho ndithi nguwo, nguwo, ngumgwebo.

The scientists and intellectuals said it, gentlemen,  
That the year 2000 is coming,  
They said it is bringing the day of judgement,  
I also say that it is truly judgement day.



Babetshilo ooYakobi nooLuke basebhayibhileni madoda.  
 Bath' iyeza imini yomgwebo,  
 Aph'unyana aya kuvukela uyise,  
 Intomb'ivukel'unina.

Awu! Yeyani na le mbuqe, madoda?  
 Khangel'ihlabathi libhuqwa yi-Aids,  
 Athi amaXhosa nguGawulayo,

Yenyukel'emantl'e-Afrika, babhuqwa yi-Ebhola.

Andithethi ngazo iimfazwe madoda,  
 Abantu bafa okweempukane lizulu lezandla nendlala,

.....  
 Yhini kangaka! Somandla, Sonininanini?

Thob'umoya wakho, uxele kuNowa wamandulo.

Sijonge enkalweni njengamaXhosa e inde uNxele.

Asisayi kuyeka ukulinda de ufike.

Jacob and Luke in the bible said it, gentlemen.  
 That judgement day is coming,  
 Where the son will rise against his father,  
 The daughter will rise against her mother,

Woe! What is the cause of this disaster, gentlemen?  
 Look at the world it is destroyed by HIV/AIDS,  
 The Xhosa people call it "the one wielding a  
 chopping axe",  
 Go to the North of Africa, they are decimated by  
 Ebola.

I do not want to speak about the plethora of wars,  
 People are dying through guns and starvation,

.....  
 Why is there so much suffering you Almighty, you  
 Everlasting?

Let your spirit come down, as in the case of Noah the  
 olden days.

We are looking at the Horizon, like the amaXhosa  
 people waiting for the arrival of Nxele.

We shall not stop waiting until your arrival.

Sifumba's poem warns about the outbreak in South Africa and the world of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Sifumba's concern is aligned with the political leadership, clergy, and government concerns in the late nineties and around the year 2000. As early as 1995, in the Labour Relations Act 1995, (Act 66 of 1995), which was aligned with the constitution of the country, people with HIV were provided with legal protection and no job applicant or employee might be tested for HIV without his or her informed consent.

## 7

In 1998 the National Department of Health compiled and distributed guidelines to help employers, including government departments and their workers to deal with the growing number of employees infected with the communicable disease, HIV/AIDS. Health regulations were amended and published in April 1999. The regulations declared AIDS a notifiable condition and compelled workers to disclose the status of AIDS patients to government officials, the patient immediate families and health care providers. The matter of HIV/AIDS was prioritised by government and an Interministerial Committee on AIDS, chaired by then the Deputy President Mbeki was established to spearhead the campaign against AIDS<sup>330</sup>. It is against this context that Sifumba's poem warns of an impending catastrophe in the year 2000. The

<sup>330</sup>See also South Africa Year Book 1999 pp.394-395.

contention is that Sifumba echoes the dominant discourse that was in the public domain at the time. Mbeki, then a Deputy President on 9 October 1998, said:

For too long we have closed our eyes as a nation, hoping the truth was not so real. For many years, we have allowed the HIV to spread, and at a rate in our country which is one of the fastest in the world.

Two years later the retired President Mandela, on 13 July 2000, said:

Now... the poor on our continent will again carry a disproportionate burden of this scourge – would if anyone cared to ask their opinions, wish that the dispute about the primacy of politics or science be put on the backburner and that we proceed to address the needs and concerns of those suffering and dying.

The words of this icon were re-iterated by Tutu, then archbishop, on 30 November 2001, when he said about HIV/AIDS:

It is important that we recognise that we are facing a major crisis and that we want to invest as many resources as we did when we fought against apartheid. This is not a state of emergency but it is a national emergency<sup>331</sup>.

#### 7.3.11.2 Urhulumente wethu

#### Our government

Mntak'aMadib' uwenzil' umsebenzi nabanye  
Wasinik'inkululeko beyifel' abanye.  
Safuman' iRDP intw' ebesingayazi.  
Nditsho nemfundo le yezinhanha, isisulu samahlwempu.

Son of Madiba you and others have done a good job  
You brought us freedom, some became martyrs.  
We get RDP something we did not know.  
Education, something for the rich, is now easily  
accessible to the poor.  
You have really worked hard, it is true.

Usebenzile, inene usebenzile.

Umenzil' int' umnt' omnyam' eMzantsi Afrika ndiyakuvuma.

You have done good things for the Black person  
in South Africa, I acknowledge your effort.

Wavul' iBlack Empowerment  
Wavul' uMsobomvu Youth Development  
Wavul' iMandela Children's Fund.  
Usebenzile inene usebenzile.

You initiated Black Empowerment  
You initiated Msobomvu Youth Development  
You initiated Mandela Children's fund.  
You have really worked hard, it is true.

Rhulumente weth' othand' imali ngaphezu kwabantu.

Our government which is a lover of money more than  
the people.

Rhulumente weth' ohambayw' esakhasa.

Our government which walks when it is still at the  
crawling stage.

Qal' ume ngenja Rhulumente phambi kokub' uhambe.

Start leaning against the dog, government, before  
walking.

Uza kuwa, inene uza kuwa.  
Uza kuwa nathi nje, usisa phi?

You are going to fall, truly you are going to fall.  
You are going to fall with us, where are you taking us?

<sup>331</sup> See also Gumede (2008:187) Chapter Seven “Mbeki’s AIDS denial, grace or folly?”

Nahluthisana nodw' ePalamente, nithini ngabangaphandle na?	You are enriching one another in Parliament, what do you say about those that are outside?
Ingaba le Black Economic Empowerment nizenzele nina na, ningatsho nje?	Is this Black Economic Empowerment established by yourselves for yourselves?
Ingaba lo Msobomvu Youth Development ngowolutsha lwenunodwana?	Is the Msobomvu Youth Development for your young people only?
Ingaba le RDP niyenzel' ukufuman' amaqithiqithi na?	Did you establish this RDP for purposes of benefiting from kickbacks?
Ingaba le nkululeko bebeyilwel' ukuze kuhluthe nina na?	Did they fight for this freedom so that you only will be enriched?
.....	.....

Throughout this chapter it has been argued that the majority of poets express the dominant discourse of the ruling political party. This may also be said about Bunge who commends the former President Mandela for a sterling job during his tenure of office. He acknowledges his sacrifices which led to attainment of freedom in South Africa. He acknowledges the founding of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, Black Economic Empowerment, Msobomvu Youth Development Fund and Mandela Children's Fund. Bunge is, however, grieved by the inefficient manner in which government is managing and monitoring good initiatives. The good intentions are overshadowed by greed and self-centeredness at the level of implementation by government.

Bunge is concerned about the approach of government to development, which is not phased or incremental, and not aligned with the real conditions of the country. Bunge calls for an end to discrimination, corruption and nepotism in government. He calls on parliamentarians to lead by example through focus on the poor than self-enrichment. To the government he seems to preach allegiance to the four development principles of: competence, accountability, relevance and equity<sup>332</sup>:

- Competence – Ensure competence first do not embark on projects beyond your capacity (sukuhamba usakhasa, qala ume ngenja phambi kokuhamba).
- Accountability – Parliament is accountable to people (bangahluthisani bodwa epalamente).
- Relevance – Ensure relevance of projects. Bunge seems to think that the projects/strategies are relevant to the needs but incorrectly implemented due to the human follies mentioned above.

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<sup>332</sup> <http://developmentprinciples.org> accessed on 16/09/2014 Copyright development Principles 2014. Designed by Impression web studio.

- Equity – Bunge calls for equitable distribution of state resources. He is pained by bias and favouritism at the detriment of the poor and needy.

### 7.3.12 Mpande, K.M. (2006) *Masidimbaze*

#### Aah-hh-h! Daliwonga

Imkil'inamb' enkulu 'yaseMpuma Afrika.  
 Limkil'iQegu kubathembu bomthonyama bafondini..  
 Yintw'ekhwel'ishashe lomoya mfondini 'ing'iyadlisela.  
 Yintw'ebalekis' inkuku ngathi zifikelwe sisangxa.nokhetshe.  
 Yintw'ebalekis 'amakhwenkwe ngath'afikelwe yimpi.  
 Amadod' ingwatyu ziyalelezela kukoyik'u,  
 Kujongana nethole lesilo.  
 Awu-u-u! Kwedini.kaMhlobo uyiNkosi ngokwakho. '

Awuu-u! Ndunenkulu yesizwe sabaThembu.  
 Ntw'enganeli ngokwaneliswa.  
 Ntw'enobukhalibeliso nobengqondo.  
 Ze wenjenje ekuloluseni ilizwe lakowenu.  
 Sakufikelwa zindlala ze wazi sijongekuwe.

Sakufikelwa zinkqwithela wazi sikhangele kuwe.

Sakuxengaxenga zewazi simelwe ukuxhaswa nguwe.

Aaah-aa.a!Daliwonga!  
 Ntweyagqwesa ngomsizi nobukhali bengqondo.  
 Ntw' ephath' isizwe ngaphandle kweruluwa nompu.  
 Uze wenjenjalo ke mfo kaNogeyithi,  
 Kub'inkonde zakowenu zikhangele kuwe.  
 Umlisela nomthinjane, ujonge ukukhokelwa nguwe.  
 Sithi bayethe Daliwonga!

#### Hail! Daliwonga

A huge python of Eastern Africa has departed.  
 A vehicle of the indigenous abaThembu has left.  
 He boards a flight with confidence.  
 He makes chickens to flee as if attacked by  
 the harrier<sup>333</sup>and falcon.  
 He makes boys run as if attacked by an enemy.  
 Men's pair of trousersshake because of fear,  
 Of meeting eye to eye with the royalty.  
 Woe! Son of Mhlobo, you are really a chief.

Woe! The elder of the Thembu nation.  
 He who does not get satisfied, though people try to.  
 He who has a sharp eye and mind.  
 Do as such to protect your country.  
 When we starve you must know, shall look upon  
 you,  
 When storms befall us, please know that we shall  
 look up to you for help.  
 When we are shaken you must know we deserve  
 yoursupport.

Hail! Daliwonga!  
 He who distinguished himself with education and  
 intelligence.  
 He who rules the country without gunpowder  
 and a gun.  
 Do as such, son of Nogeyithi,  
 For your ancestors look up to you.  
 Young men and women look to your leadership.  
 We say hail! Daliwonga!

The poem “Ah Daliwonga” is evidence of the fact that residuals of the previously politically dominant ideology of Apartheid still remain after 1994. The leaders of the Apartheid homelands did not immediately disappear from the memories of their former supporters. Mpande's poemexposes another mechanism of cultural dynamics, that, while during this epoch Charterism or ANC ideology was dominant, there also existed residual elements of the Apartheid culture.

<sup>333</sup> The South African harrier, *Circus ranivorus* (Daud). Sometimes applied to the Jackal Buzzard, *Buteo jakal* (Daud). Kropf, 1915. p. 10

The fact that Daliwonga is perceived as an ancestor who has to even after his death, continue looking after the abaThembu people demonstrates that he continues to enjoy respect amongst his people. While he is extolled for his manly and leadership prowess, there is, however, also a negative trait that is pointed out, that of autocracy and dictatorship which makes Matanzima (Daliwonga) to be feared by the young and the old. The metaphors and similes in the first stanza bear testimony to this observation. The fourth stanza exposes folly or vice and has an element of scorning Matanzima for being difficult (*Ntw' enganeli ngokwaneliswa*), though he is recognised for intelligence and sound educational qualifications. The traditional leader is nevertheless, requested, even after his death, to continue looking after abaThembu people. The son of Nogeyithi, son of Mhlobo is, in the last stanza, saluted by the poet, who bids him farewell. He implores him to continue providing guidance as an ancestor of the abaThembu people. This poem, which is written long after the reign of Chief Matanzima, and during the democracy epoch, demonstrates what Williams (1977:122<sup>334</sup>) defines as follows:

The residual has been effectively formed in the past, but is still active in the cultural process as an effective element of the present.

Williams means that the residual elements of Apartheid culture and ideology are part of the past, but they are, as well, effective elements of the present culture. This means that during the democracy epoch residual elements of the Apartheid homeland ideology do exist.

### 7.3.13 Khininda, M.A. (2007) *Usiba lukaDabul'edizeni*

#### 7.3.13.1 Vukuzenzele

#### Wake up and be independent

Ligqithile ixesha lokucalulwa kwilizwe lakho,  
 Ligqithile ixesha lokucinezelwa ngenxa yebala lakho,  
 Ligqithile ixesha lokucakaza, ulindele ukukhongozwa,  
 Ligqithile ixesha lokusikelwa imida elizweni lakho,  
 Uxelelwe ngabaphambukeli apho mawuhlale khona,  
 Ligqithile ixesha lokuphatha isazisi-udompas  
 Nebhokhw'efileyo,  
 Ligqithile ixesha lokuvinjwa amathuba kwezemfundo,

I your country, the time of discrimination has passed,  
 The time for oppression because of colour has passed,  
 The time for servitude, expecting handouts has passed,  
 The time for demarcation of boundaries in your country has passed,  
 To be told by settlers where you must reside,  
 Time for carrying the "dompass"  
 and the "book of life" has passed,  
 Time for deprivation in education has passed,

<sup>334</sup> In his earlier work "*Culture and Society*" Williams (1963:130 and 183) has referred to this phenomenon as "remnant" of culture.

Ligqithile ixesha lokucalulwa kwezempilo,  
Ligqithile ixesha lokucalulwa ezinkundleni zomthetho,  
Ligqithile ixesha lokucalulwa emidlalweni.

Eli lixesha lokuba uvuke uzimele,

Eli lixesha lokuba uvuke uzenzele,

Eli lixesha lokuba uzikhulise entlalweni,  
Ungajongi yonke into kurhulumente,  
Eli lixesha lokuba ugcine izinto eziluncedo kuwe,

Uyeke ukuthi wonela urhulumente-urhulumente nguwe.

Time for discrimination in health has passed,  
Time for discrimination in courts of law has passed,  
Time for discrimination in sport has passed.

This is the time for you to wake up and be on your own,

This is the time for you to wake up and be independent,

This is the time for you to develop yourself socially,  
And not to ask for everything from the government,  
This is the time for you to guard against assets that are of value to you,

Stop thinking that you are destroying government assets, you are the government.

Khininda's "*Vuk'uzenzele*" is in support of the democratic government of South Africa's programme named "*Vuk'uzenzele*". The initiative by government seeks to encourage South Africans to stand up and initiate and implement projects and programmes on their own. The government contributes in the creation of a favourable environment, contribution through legislation and policies, and creation of platforms and catalytic projects to capacitate members of civil society, guides and mentors them and assists them with finding markets for their products. Khininda's persuasive poem seeks to introduce a paradigm shift in the minds of South Africans who always see themselves as employees, and not as employers (*uvuke uzimele*), as initiators/drivers not as beneficiaries (*uvuke uzenzele*). He says this is time for self-actualisation, for one to take responsibility for his/her social upliftment (*uzikhulise entlalweni*). In the first stanza he argues that the excuse about the restriction on development that was imposed by apartheid is no longer valid. In the second stanza he indicates that opportunities are available in all spheres of life, namely education, sport, business, health, justice. Therefore, in the last stanza, people must wake up, and do things themselves. This policy of government was introduced by former President Mbeki during his first term of office.

Former President Mbeki, in 2002 on the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress which was held in Durban, announced that:

During this year, we must focus the mobilization of our people actually to engage in the process of continuing to be their own liberators, of occupying the frontline, in the popular struggle for the reconstruction and development<sup>335</sup>.

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<sup>335</sup> Speech of President Mbeki, 06 January 2002. <http://www.suntimes.co.za/2002/01/06/anc/anc/14.asp>. Consulted on 02/09/2014.

The year 2002 would be the beginning of “letsema” or ilima (working together) and he encouraged South Africans to contribute to the effort of building a better life for all. The President then launched the programme “*Vuk’uzenzele*”, which would have a mutual relationship with “*ilima*” campaign. According to Twala<sup>336</sup> on the date of the launch:

Mbeki urged South Africans to lend a hand in the national effort to build a better life for all. The pronouncement of this campaign was accompanied by the launch of the programme ‘*Vuk’uzenzele*’ which could be translated into “Arise and Act”. This programme too, was a vehicle for the success of the ‘letsema’ campaign. To Mbeki this volunteering campaign is the African Renaissance in practice.

This concept of *Vuk’uzenzele*; as stated above, was linked to the other concept that was promoted aggressively by former president Mbeki, that of African Renaissance.<sup>337</sup>

#### 7.3.13.2 Akufani noshici

#### Little is better than nothing

Izolo oku ibiseyibuqheleka,  
Ingasakhiwa bani,  
Into yokucholwa kwentsana,  
Zilahlwe enkukumeni,  
Ukuba zizifele.

Just yesterday it was becoming familiar,  
That no one was shocked anymore,  
When baby corpses are picked up,  
From rubbish dumps,  
Where they were left to die.

Bebesithi abaphandi,  
Konke oku ngunozala wendlala,  
Bambi baphinde bathi salahla isiko,  
Uthe osemagunyeni makuqhomfwe,  
Osinyembenya ezizweni.

The researches would say,  
This is the result of poverty,  
Some would say people have lost their customs,  
The one who is in authority suggested abortion,  
The one who is embarrassing us amongst nations.

Chule lithile lize necebo,  
Lokuba makubonelelwe iintsana.  
Namhla ndiyancoma abantwana bayathandwa,  
Kuba beza necebo ekhayeni,  
Itsho isuke ikat'eziko,  
Oonina bakwazi nokuthenga iibhulukwe,  
Balungise nenwele,  
Beve endleleni ngelizonwabisayo.

One expert devised a plan,  
That there must be a child support grant.  
Today I commend people for loving children,  
Because they bring something to the home,  
Which eliminates starvation,  
The mothers are now able to buy slack suits/pants  
and do their hair,  
And hit the road, in their view, to entertain themselves.

Khininda commends the democratic government for introducing the child support grant which he claims, has reduced the level of dumping of stillborns and infants by young mothers. The poet says research that was conducted attributed this evil practice to poverty, and or loss of African values which are preserved, disseminated and passed on to generations through customs and

<sup>336</sup>See [www.africanafrikan.com/folder12/.../Thabo%20Mbeki/Twala-c.pdf](http://www.africanafrikan.com/folder12/.../Thabo%20Mbeki/Twala-c.pdf)

<sup>337</sup>This will be dealt with in 7.3.14.1.

traditions. The significance of this poem in this study is that the poet supports the government policy which is contained in the policy of the Department of Social Development, and implemented by the South African Social Security Agency within the framework of the Social Assistance Act.2004 (Act 13 of 2004) and the children's Act.2005 (Act 38 of 2005).According to the South African Government Services, the child support grant is available to those persons that "are needy" for them to be able to raise the children they look after.<sup>338</sup> The criterion is as follows:

- Be the child's primary caregiver (e.g parent, grandparent or a child over 16 heading a family)
- Be a South African Citizen or permanent resident
- Not earn more than R34 800 per year if single, if married combined income not to be above R69 600 per year.

The child must:

- Be under the age of 18 years
- Not be cared for in a state institution
- Live with the primary caregiver who is not paid to look after the child
- Both applicant and child must live in South Africa.

The significance of the proverb "little is better than nothing" is aptly illustrated by Bundy's (2014:67) analysis of the electorate of the ANC since 1994:

The relationship between the ANC and the voting public is striking. The party has won a consistently high level of support since 1994 election. Over 60% of votes casts in each general election were for the ANC, at levels between just under 63%, to over 69%... The ANC's strongest supporters are among the poorest South Africans.

Bundy (2014:68) postulates the reason for the consistent support, particularly from Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape, constituencies that are rural and poor:

For the very poorest, there has been much more expansive welfare provision, through pensions, child grants and disability grants. Even for families without wage earners, livelihoods were stabilised, despair and deprivation cushioned. For the urban poor, there were benefits in the delivery of housing: the numbers living in formal dwellings, with piped water, electricity and flush toilets, have all risen continuously.

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<sup>338</sup> See <http://www.services.gov.za/services/content/home/servicesforpeople/socialbenefits/childsupportgrant/en.za>



The poet, however, deprecates the dishonesty by the young parents who abuse this financial support by government. Instead of attending to the needs of the child they buy slacks, do their hair “*Oonina bakwazi nokuthenga iibhulukhwe, balungise nenwele*”. The poet ridicules and scorns the dishonest and corrupt recipients of government support when he says “*Beve endleleni ngelizowabisayo*”. When they apply for funds they pretend to have the interests of the children at heart, in practice they have their own self-centred interests of self-gratification, which according to the poet, is real only in their eyes or dysfunctional mental state. The poet draws the attention of the government to the need for monitoring and evaluation of the child support grant.

### 7.3.13.3 Sibanye

Mayibuye i-Afrika ayitsho<sup>339</sup> amaqabane,  
E-Afrika sikhanye isibane zitsho iimboni,  
Ukusuka eKapa ukuya eKhayiro bathi sibanye,  
Sohlulwa yimida yabaphambukile<sup>340</sup>.ukuze basoyise.

Inkcubeko, iilwimi, amasiko nezithethe,  
Ibala nempucuko mazingaxabi endleleni.  
Esingisa kwimbuyambo lendlu eNtsundu,  
UMbeki ulubethe Iwavakala udaba lobumbano.

Sitsho i-Afrika eyabonwa nguNkwame waseGhana,  
I-Afrika kaNyerere noKaunda noLumumba,  
I-Afrika kaMachel, uMugabe noGadaffi,  
I-Afrika kaSobukwe, Luthuli noMondlane.

Yibambeni apho mafanankosi ningayiphonculi,  
Oongxowankulu mabakhulule amatyathanga,  
Bangathi bayasikhulula ngapha kanti bayasiqamangela,

Ngamatyala ngasoze aphele ngenxa yabo.  
“*Black man you are on your own*” watsho uBiko.<sup>341</sup>

### We are One

Africa must return, so say the comrades,  
In Africa the light must shine, so say visionaries,  
From Cape to Cairo they say we are one.  
We are separated by boundaries of colonialists,  
who wanted to defeat us.

Culture, languages, customs and traditions,  
Colour and civilisation must not block the way.  
Leading to African Renaissance,  
Mbeki explained clearly the need for unity.

We mean the Africa of Nkwame of Ghana,  
The Africa of Nyerere, Kaunda, and Lumum,  
The Africa of Machel, Mugabe, and Gadaffi,  
The Africa of Sobukwe, Luthuli and Mondlane.

Hold it there chief’s guards and never lose sight of it,  
The capitalists must unlock the chains,  
And not to pretend to be setting us freewhen on  
the other side they restrain us,

With debt that will never end, because of them.  
“*Mnt’omnyama zimele*” so said Biko.

Kininda’s poem celebrates the establishment of the African Union. He says that from Cape to Cairo Africans are one. He argues that the existing demarcations or boundries were imposed by colonialists who had a motive of weakening and conquering Africa. He advances the discourse

<sup>339</sup>Typographical error. Alternatively the poet is influed by isiZulu Language,a common practice in political or revolutionary songs and chants.

<sup>340</sup> Probably typographical error. Should be “yabaphambukeli”.

<sup>341</sup>Please Note code- switching or code – mixing. This is discussed in 7.5.2

of the present democratic government of “unity in diversity” as he argues that language, customs and traditions should not divide Africans. According to the South Africa Yearbook (2009:38):

South Africa hosted the launch in 2002 of the African Union (AU), a step towards further unification of Africa in pursuit of socio-economic development, the Organisation of African Unity having fulfilled its mandate to liberate Africa. President Mbeki Chaired the AU for its founding year, handing over the chair to President Joaquim Clissano of Mozambique in July 2003.

Khininda reverberates the speech of President Mbeki on the occasion of the Launch of the African Union on 09 July 2002.<sup>342</sup> Mbeki’s speech explained:

By forming the union, the peoples of our continent have made the unequivocal statement that Africa must unite! We as African have a common and shared destiny! Together, we must redefine this destiny for a better life for all the people of this continent. The first task is to achieve unity, solidarity, cohesion, co-operation among people of Africa and African States. We must build all the institutions necessary to deepen political, economic and social integration of the African continent. We must deepen the culture of collective action in Africa and in our relations with the rest of the world.

The poet has mentioned names of different African leaders, past and present, living and dead. He has also mentioned South African martyrs of the struggle for liberation. Mbeki, on the other hand, focused on African pioneers and left out the living, former and current leaders:

In this regard, we pay tribute to heroes such as Abdel Gamal Nasser, Nkwame Nkrumah, Sekon Toure, Patrice Lumumba, Eduardo Modlane, Ahmed Ben Bela. Julius Nyerere, Samora Machel and Modibo Keita.

Mbeki also paid tribute to Rev Dube, Chief Luthuli, Pixley Seme, former presidents of the African National Congress, some of whom are mentioned by the poet. It is, therefore, the postulation of this study that the poem “*Sibanye*” is the celebration of the founding of the African Union, in order to fight for ownership of Africa from Cape to Cairo, and to ensure economic development of Africa.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>342</sup>Speech of Thabo Mbeki on the launch of the African Union. <http://www.unisa.ac.za>. Thabo Mbeki African Leader’s Institute

<sup>343</sup>Both the poet and Mbeki mention Cape and Cairo, and the issue of economic development of Africa. Stanza I and IV of the poem. See p2 of Mbeki’s speech.

### 7.3.14 Duka M.M.M. et al (2010) *Isihobe seAfrika*

#### 7.3.14.1 Afrika yethu!

Silawula ithongo iphupha le-Afrika.  
Sililawula ngeNtshukumo yoVuselelo lwe-Afrika.  
Silithetha ngomlomo iNtshukumo yeNtlaziyeko,  
Intliziyo ithabathe ibeka, ithabathe ibeka,  
Ingqondo ikhumbule kanene, kanene,

Kwakhe kwakho amaqhawe iintshokotsheli zenene  
E-Afrika yethu!

Zishumayela igospile yovangelo ngobunganga be-Afrika,  
Zivuthele izigodlo zimemezela ama-Afrika  
E-Afrika eMelika kwiKharibha nezwe lonke,  
Abuyele ekhaya kuhlaziye neentlanti,  
Emiyezwani yoobawo kugquba iimpungutye,  
Izibaya iindladla izivivane zidilizwe.

I-Afrika yethu i-Afrika yoobawo, yakhiwe okutsha.  
I-Afrika yethu!

Sililawulile ithongo layo indod' eNkulu,  
UMarcus kaGarvey isisinunzenunze kowethu,  
Esijike sazala ezinye izinunzenunze,  
URholihlahla kaMandela eMzantsi Afrika,  
UBantu kaBiko eMzantsi Afrika,  
UMartin Luther kaKing eMelika,  
UKenneth kaKaunda aph'eZambiya,  
UKambarage kaNyerere aph'eThanzaniya,  
UJoshua kaNkomo aph' eZimbabwe,  
URobert kaMugabe aph' eZimbabwe,  
UJomo kaKenyatta aph' eKenya,

UKwame kaNkrumah aph' eGhana,  
Lawo ke bethu ngamaqhawe oVuselelo.  
A! Magorha e-Afrika.

.....  
Intshukumo yokuzingca ngobuntu bobu-Afrika.

Abantu bee xibilili iingubo zasemzini.  
Bambathe ingubo entsha ingcawe.  
Kuzalo olutsha uyilo lokutsha,  
I Afrika yoxolo i-Afrika yeendyebo  
Indyebo kuma-Afrika uxolo eAfrika,  
Kuzalo lweAfrika, ngamagorha akowethu  
A! Magorha e-Afrika.

#### Our Africa!

We are fulfilling the dream of Africa.  
With a Movement for African Renaissance.  
We express it verbally the Movement for Revival,  
The heart does not rest, it continues to complete,  
The mind remembers what happened in the distant  
past,

We had heroes true champions  
In our Africa!

Preaching the gospel of the golden age of Africa,  
Blowing the trumpets calling all Africans  
In Africa, America, Caribbean and the entire world,  
To come home to restore the kraals,  
In the orchardsfour fathers jackals dominate sheep,  
The folds, maize storages, milestones have been  
destroyed.  
Our Africa, Our fathers' Africa, has been rebuilt.  
Our Africa!

And fulfil the dream of the great man,  
Marcus Garvey the honourable at our home,  
Who gave birth to other honourable men,  
Rholihlahla Mandela of South Africa,  
Bantu Biko of South Africa,  
Martin Luther King of America,  
Kenneth Kanda of Zambia,  
Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania,  
Joshua Nkomo of Zimbabwe,  
Robert Mogabe of Zimbabwe,  
Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya,

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana,  
These are heroes of the Renaissance.  
The gallant men in Africa.

.....  
The movement of being proud about African  
Humanity.  
People to discard foreign garments.  
And adorn them with the new African blanket.  
For the rebirth, reformulation,  
Of the Africa of peace and prosperity  
Wealth to African peace in Africa,  
For the birth of Africa, by our statements  
The stalwarts of Africa.

Duka celebrates the Renaissance Movement that was spearheaded by President Thabo Mbeki. Akinboye in Buthelezi and Le Roux (eds) (2008:248) lists the following as key elements of the African Renaissance:

- The recovery of the African Continent as a whole;
- The establishment of political democracy on the continent;
- The need to break neo – colonial relations between Africa and the world’s economic powers;
- The mobilisation of the people of Africa to take their destiny into their own hands, to prevent the continent from being seen as a place for the attainment of the geo-political and strategic interests of the world’s most powerful countries;
- The need for the fast development of economic growth and development, aimed at meeting the basic needs of the people.<sup>344</sup>

Duka makes a clarion call for Africans of the Diaspora, to come back from America and the Carribeans to rebuild Africa. Duka’s poem echoes Deputy President Mbeki’s African Renaissance Statements of 13 August 1998:

I dream of the day when these, the African mathematicians and computer specialists in Washington and New York, the African physicists, engineers, doctors, business managers and economists, will return from London and Manchester and Paris and Brussels to add to the African pool of brain power, to enquire into and find solutions to Africa’s problems and challenges, to open the African door to the world of knowledge, to elevate Africa’s place within the universe of research the information of new knowledge, education and information. Africa’s renewal demands that the intelligentsia must immerse itself in the titanic and all-round struggle to end poverty, ignorance, deacease and backwardness....

Duka traces the origins of the Africanism ideology in Marcus Garvey’s teachings, and argues that the next generation of African leaders were influenced by this illustrious son of Africa. Mbeki had also made reference to these leaders in a speech of 09 July 2002 on the occasion of the launch of The African Union.

Gumede (2005:256) in his biography of Mbeki writes:

But, driven by economic development, Mbeki’s African Renaissance could hold the key to a bright new future for a continent that has known centuries of exploitation, colonialism and fragmentation... The truth is, Mbeki wanted it that way. The Renaissance was never meant to be an ideological objective, it is Mbeki’s rallying cry to unite South Africans-black and white-behind a vision for the future.

Duka perceives the African Renaissance movement as a restorer of pride about African humanity, as a harbinger of wealth, peace and prosperity to Africa. Duka’s poem follows on the footsteps of pioneers of IsiXhosa literature to name a few: Mqhayi, Siyongwana, Jordan, Jolobe

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<sup>344</sup> See also M.Mbeki, “The African Renaissance” in South African year Book of International Affairs 1998/9.p.212. 1998. SAIA.

and Mama whose writings rejected Colonialism, Segregation and Apartheid. Their writings were aimed at developing African nationalism and at evoking a spirit of regeneration of Africa, and an African renaissance. Kwetana (2000:17) in his “Call for African Renaissance through Xhosa Literature” argues that the African renaissance in South Africa’s historical and political context has been anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and counter hegemonic. He says that “anti-imperialist, counter hegemonic aesthetics and a psycho-political phenomenon in Xhosa literature had been building up over time developing a consciousness-nationalism; Xhosa writers had, in spirit, been campaigning for African Renaissance, evoking a spiritual and psychological regeneration, ... since the 19<sup>th</sup> century ...” (Kwetana, 2000:1). It is against this background that he argues as follows:

Mbeki and these Xhosa writers want the African and amaXhosa to move from the periphery to the centre, and, be subjects rather than objects of History, and be

the conscious creators of their own history  
(Mandela in Johns & Davies 1991:35)

in their struggle for the creation of a new, united, and prosperous human family. It comes out clearly that Mbeki and these Xhosa writers are fighting for the restoration of the wisdom of Ubuntu, brotherhood, and peace; for the re-establishment of the image of a human; for the re-building of the dignity of a human; for the revival of soul and spirit of a human; to amaXhosa and the result of the Africans who lost these human attributes through deliberate denigration and humiliation by

those who had imported themselves into our lands as our lords  
(Mbeki 1998:224)

- the early Europeans – who denied that the Indigenes had any cultural past nor any scientific contributions to the world, which indoctrination had negative effects then and right up to the present generation (Kwetana, 2000: 16-17).

Kwetana’s argument which he strengthens by quoting Mandela and Mbeki, supports the argument of this study that isiXhosa poetry of the second phase of democracy promoted the African Renaissance discourse.

#### 7.3.14.2 Ipalamennte yase-Afrika

Siyahalalisa ukukhanya kuthe chapha!  
Imvuselelo ifikile, e-Afrika kusile!  
Intsikelelo eMidrand, ithamsanqa e-Afrika,  
Inkolelo kumaAfrika, uphakamiso lwe-Afrika.  
Ukuzalwa kosana, kwizakhiwo eMidrand,  
Usana lobuzwe, iPalamente yeAfrika.  
.....  
Mbumba emanyama, khuseleko ebantwini,  
Ulawulo lwabantu nozinzo ekuphileni,

#### Pan- African Parliament

We are happy that light has dawned!  
The revival has arrived, in Africa it has dawned!  
Blessings at Midrand, fortunes for Africa,  
Belief in the African, uplifting of Africa.  
Birth of the child, in the buildings of Midrand,  
The child of the nation, the African Parliament.  
.....  
Unity, safety and security amongst people,  
People’s government, stability socially,

Intsikelelo eMidrand, ithamsanqa e-Afrika,  
Inkolelo kumAfrika, uphakamiso Iwe-Afrika.  
Intsebenziswano kumazwe, uphuhliso loluntu,

Ujongo enkalweni, kwikamva elinye.

Blessings in Midrand, fortune in Africa,  
Belief in the African, uplifting in Africa.  
Co-operation by all countries, development of  
people,  
Looking forward to a bright future.

The poem is a celebration of the establishment of the Pan-African Parliament in March 2004 at Midrand in Johannesburg. Duka once more celebrates the freedom of South Africa and commends her for taking the responsibility to entrench the freedom ethos in the entire Africa. He says revival has touched Africa resulting in the realisation of dawn, African renaissance, and rebirth of Africa. The Pan-African Parliament, which ‘...represents all the people of Africa’, have the following objectives<sup>345</sup>:

- Facilitate the effective implementation of the policies and objectives of the OAU/AEC and, ultimately, of the African Union;
- Promote the principle of human rights and democracy in Africa;
- Encourage good governance, transparency and accountability in member States;
- Familiarize the peoples of Africa with the objectives and policies aimed at integrating the African continent within the framework of the establishment of the African Union;
- Promote peace, security and stability;
- Contribute to a more prosperous future of the people of Africa by promoting collective self-reliance and economic recovery;
- Facilitate cooperation and development in Africa
- Strengthen Continental solidarity and build a sense of common destiny among the peoples of Africa;
- Facilitate cooperation among Regional Economic Communities and their Parliament fora.

According to the South Africa Yearbook 2009/10 (2009:38):

In 2004, the African Union decided that South Africa should host the Pan-African Parliament and it met for its second session in South Africa, the first time on South Africa soil, in September of that year.

It is against this background that Duka perceives the blessings that are showered at Midrand and blessings for the entire Africa. He foresees co-operation of African countries and economic development of Africa.

7.3.15 Madolo, Y. et al (eds) (2011) *Isivivane* Vol 5

7.3.15.1 Halala Mzantsi Afrika!

Well done South Africa!

Halala! Halala! Mzantsi Afrika!  
Kikizelani bafazi, ngqungqani madoda.

Well done! Well done! South Africa!  
Women ululate, men dance.

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<sup>345</sup> <http://www.pan-africanparliament.org/> Consulted on 30/09/2014

Nal' icharn silibon' eMzantsi Afrika.  
Aselami, asiphuphi, sibon' imihlol' emini!

Here is prosperity before our eyes in South Africa  
We are not seeing a vision, we are not dreaming we see  
wonders at day light!

Naz' iziphumo zokuqamela ngenqind' esiqithini!  
Naz' iziphumo zokulal' eRobben Island!  
Yi-yi-yi.i.!! Siphethwe lihlombe, siphethwe  
yimincili!  
Awu madoda! Ngathi liyazuza, ngathi liyezisa.

Here are the outcomes of imprisonment at the Island!  
Here are the result of the imprisonment at Robben Island!  
Yi-yi-yi.i.!! We are excited, we are ecstatic!

Nank' umnt' omnyam' echoban' iintwala nomhlophe.

Woe gentlemen! the country is beginning to travail, good  
things are about to happen.  
Here is a Black person sharing with a white person.

Aha' Aha! indeb' ilaph' ekhaya mz' ontsundu!  
Sibhal' imbal' engasayi kuphela ngawe Mzantsi  
Afrika.

Aha!Aha! the worlde cup is here at home Africans!  
We are writing a history that will not end with you South  
Africa.

Kuba nank' umlungw' ebeth' ivuvuzela nomdaka.

Because here is a white person blowing a “vuvuzela” with  
an African.

Nank' umnt' ornnyam' edanisa nomhlophe.  
Ndithi nank' omnyam' elala ngengub' enye  
nomhlophe.

Here is a black person dancing with a white person.  
Here is a black person working together with a white  
person.

Hele! Hele! Wothi wabonani mfaz' ongazalanga!

Hele!Hele! what will you say you have ever seen you woman  
who has never given birth to an off spring!

Ndithi ke nako madoda  
Nab' oo'Tshabalala bezifak' embalini.  
Kaz' abayi kufuz' ooBenny na?  
Ze kuthiw' umvundl' uzek' indlela.  
Mandingawuqweli kusesenyeleni.  
Feel it! it is here!

I say its time gentlemen  
Here are the Shabalalas writing their names in history books  
Let us hope that they will not behave like Benny?  
For we shall say they look alike.  
Let me not finish there is still a long way togo.  
Feel it! it is here!

Dyasi celebrates the successful hosting of the 2010 Fifa World Cup by South Africa. She is in a state of ecstatic frenzy as an event of such magnitude had never taken place on African soil, hence the rhetorical question “Are we not in a dream, is it reality?”. Dyasi sees the World Cup in South Africa as the fruits of the struggle for liberation which was the reason for the imprisonment of freedom fighters in Robben Island. In the third stanza she confirms that the World Cup is indeed in South Africa, a historic event in the entire Africa. Former President Motlanthe had assured the nation, in his state of the nation address of 6 February 2009 that South Africa is indeed the host:

.. How we position our country to take advantage of unique opportunities that have come our way will be of paramount importance. I refer here in particular to the FIFA World Cup in 2010 as well as the Confederations Cup a few months from now. Virtually all the projects and plans are completed or nearing completion - from stadia, transport infrastructure, security measures, issues of accommodation, to health and immigration plans - confirming the confidence of the global soccer fraternity that ours will be a truly successful tournament.

Dyasi highlights the contribution of the Fifa World Cup to social cohesion. The previously polarized racial groups rejoice together, there is inter cultural exchange, and there is sharing of thoughts, ideas and so on. Dyasi echoes the words of the President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, who said that “...the world cup is vital for the country’s future” and “South Africa ... should use the sport as a unifying force for years after the tournament”<sup>346</sup> The President emphasised:

South Africa has come alive and will never be the same again after this World Cup... The infrastructure development will continue as part of the World Cup legacy to benefit all South Africans in years to come and enable all citizens to have improved access to services and infrastructure. After the final whistle, we have to ensure through effective development programmes, that football becomes a truly unifying and meaningful sport for our people as part of the legacy of the World Cup...

Dyasi’s last stanza brings to our memories the popular slogans of the World Cup fever “*Ke nako*” meaning “Its time”. The seSotho phrase was part of the official 2010 Football World Cup Slogan “*Ke nako, Celebrate Africa’s humanity*”. The phrase meant that its time for Africa to be in the world’s spotlight, its time for Africa to host the World Cup of a sport that is hugely important to millions of Africans, its time for Africa to welcome the World to her shores, and its time for the world to recognize that Africa can be the capable host of a world-class event.<sup>347</sup> Having acknowledged Shabalala for the historic first goal of the world cup, Dyasi concludes by saying “Feel it! it is here”, a slogan that was popular during the world cup extravaganza.

7.3.16 Madolo, Y. et al (eds) (2012) *Isivivane* Vol 6

Booyesen (2011:16) observes:

The early days of the ANC in power (in government) were celebratory, ecstatic, and accompanied by the likely under-estimation of the full scope of the required turn around.

From the corpus of poetry analysed and interpreted in this chapter, the former part of Booyesen’s statement is supported<sup>348</sup>. The very first analysed poem (1994) celebrated the achievement of the African National Congress. One might say that the celebration continued longer than expected as

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<sup>346</sup>See [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/team/SouthAfrica.7809683/World\\_Cup-2010-S...Consulted](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/team/SouthAfrica.7809683/World_Cup-2010-S...Consulted) on 09/16/2014

<sup>347</sup><http://www.capetowndailyphoto.com/blog/2010/06/ke-nako-its-time. Consulted on 09/11/2014>

<sup>348</sup> A debate of the second part of the statement will be outside the ambit of this study.



in 2012 the poets continue to laud praises at the heroes of the struggle “Huntshu Maqobokazana!” “Victory! Heroines of the struggle”<sup>349</sup> and “*Maqhawe Omzabalazo Halala!*” meaning “Heroes of the struggle well done!”

#### 7.3.16.1 Huntshu Maqobokazana!

Zimazindin' ezimabele made zaseAfrika;  
Zimazindin' ebezisaya kucinezelwa yile Afrika;  
Zimazindin' ezalwa kwaqhum' uthuli mhlenikezweni  
Nashukumis' izilawul' ezazisibophelele ngepasi kwelethu.

Ayinini n' enalwa zashukumis' iindonga *zeeUnion Buildings?*  
Ayinini n' enalwa kwavakala ngo 1956?

Ayinini n' enalwa zangqangqa iingwatyu  
Ezazitywaku-tywaku zabamweka?

.....  
Yithani huntshu! kooLillian Ngoyi, Winnie  
Madikizela-Mandela,  
Adelaide Tombo, Albertina Sisulu, Helen  
Suzzman, noninzi.  
IBeijing isaman' ukuzigobh' amacala  
Ikhumbul' elenw' igalelo kumokhosikaz' ezizwe  
jikelele!

Yogray' imbokodo, zangeno zingqiyozi iimaz'  
epalamente!  
Graya mbokodo kub' uludondolo lokuv' iziziba;

Grayo mbokodo kub' imibethe namaqhwa zisawa;

Graya mbokodo kub' iindudumo zisagqekreza;

Graya mbokodo kub' imiban' isalenyenza;  
Graya mbokodo wenyiselel' isizukulwono seAfrika;  
Graya mbokodo kubuy' isidima seelwimi zeAfrika.

Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo!  
Wathint' imbokodo, wathint' abafazi!

#### Victory heroines!

Women of Africa who have long breast;  
Women who were oppressed by this Africa;  
Women who fought hard during their times  
Who shook the powers that used the pass laws to  
oppress people in our land.

It is not you who fought until the walls of Union  
Building shook?

It is not you who fought until there was an impact in  
1956?

It is not you who fought until the pairs of trousers  
of the white rulers were shivering due to fear?

.....  
Say Victory! Lilian Ngoyi, Winnie Madikizela-  
Madikizela-Mandela,

Adelaide Tambo, Albertina Sisulu, Helen Suzman  
noninzi.

Beijing continues to pride itself

Remembering your contribution to the women of the  
nation in General!

The Stone did the grinding, and women proudly  
entered Parliament!

You Stone do the grinding because you are the long  
stick for the testing the depth of the pools;

You stone do the grinding, because the frost and  
snow are still falling;

You stone do the grinding for the Thundering is  
extremely heavy;

You stone grind because the lightning is flashing;

You stone grind and feed the posterity of Africa;

You stone grind and restore the dignity of the African  
Languages.

If you touch women, you touch a stone!

If you touch a stone, you touch women!

Bini exults the heroines of the struggle for liberation. She crowns them over the vanquished foe of Apartheid. The interjective “huntshu!” expresses her sense of victory and triumph. She reflects on the acts of oppression of women in Africa, and in particular the Pass Laws of the

<sup>349</sup> The two poems are included as they were submitted by Eastern Cape writers to the Isivivane in June 2011. It is annual practice that the Eastern Cape writers gather at the National Arts Festival for their Festival of Words (WORDFEST). Each year they submit their manuscripts and request the Department to publish them in the anthology of verse, Isivivane.

Apartheid government. She commends women for the 1956 March to the Union Buildings in Pretoria. She then mentions the heroines that have “long / big breasts”. Jadezweni (2013:172) explains this metaphor as follows, as indicated earlier in this thesis:

The use of “amabele” is to indicate ... motherliness... generosity as a mother to the people... That the breasts are big is deliberate to represent... generosity and ... ability to reach out to as many who need help.

Bini in “Huntshu Maqobokazana” reiterates the words of two presidents in different state of the nation addresses. Former President Motlanthe in his state of the nation address of 06 February 2009 included “Within the galaxy of outstanding South Africans” the name of Ms Hen Suzman he described as a “ ... truly distinguished South African, who represented the values of our new Parliament in the chambers of the old”. President Jacob Zuma in his State of the Nation Address of 11 February 2010 about Helen Suzman:

On this day, let me also acknowledge the role played by the late Ms Helen Suzman. She was for a long time, a lone voice in Parliament, calling for change.

President Zuma in his key note address on the 09 August 2011 womens day celebrations held in in Limpompo said:

It was in 1956, when more than 20 000 women from all walks of life marched to theseat of power to protest against the introduction of pass laws by the apartheid regime ... One of our icons of our women’s struggle who passed away this year – Albertina Sisulu- had banning orders totaling 18 years ... We are inspired by these women patriots who took up the fight for gender equality and freedom. We were inspired by Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa and Williams – De Bruyn.

The point of view presented in this study is that Bini’s poem diffuses the discourse of equality and dignity for a woman which is a fundamental tennet of the current democratic social order.

#### 7.3.16.2 Maqhawe omzabalazo halala!

Ngxatsho-o ke! Maqhaw' omzabalazo siyahalalisa!  
Ngxatsho-o ke! Mathol' anyongande ngokudlelana!  
Ndithi halala kuni mathandazwe!  
Ndithi halala kuni madelakufa!  
Ndith' ukwanda kwaliwa ngumthakathi!

.....

Heroes of the struggle for liberation well done!

Well done! Heroes of the struggle we hail you!  
Well done! You who are willing to share with others!  
I say well done you patriots!  
I say well done you who do not fear death!  
I say it is the witch only that does not wish to proliferate!

.....

Ndiyakhahlela ke kooWalter Sisulu!  
 Ndiyabhotisa ke kooOliver Tambo!  
 Ndithi bayethe kooRobert Sobukhwe!  
 Kubafazi bomzabalazo ndithi bhotani!  
 Maqobokazan' angalal' emzini  
 place yazini kunyembelekile!

Ndiyahalalisa kuNelson Mandela!  
 Ndiyahalalisa kuRholihlahla Mandela!  
 Irhamb' elirhono-rhono laseMvezo  
 Elarhong' esiqithini kwarhwaqel' amarhundasi.  
 Wancam' u-de Klerk wazivul' iingcango.  
 Laphum' ithole lomThembu lisithi:  
 Ndisatsho nangoku,  
 Ndith' ama-a-andla!  
 Yee gqi qhaph' inkululeko ngo 1994!

IsaluteWalterSisulu!  
 I greet Oliver Tambo!  
 I say hail Robert Sobukwe!  
 To the women of the struggle I say greetings!  
 Dispatch carriers who are sleeping at a stranger's  
 signify impending catastrophe!

I hail Rholihlahla Mandela!  
 The fearful Shaka of Mvezo!  
 That snored at the Robben Island  
 And caused the half- castes to withdraw.  
 And De Klerk at last opened the doors.  
 And the son of Thembu got out saying:  
 I am still saying what I said,  
 I say Power to the people!  
 And freedom came in 1994!

Mvabaza expresses joy and triumph at the achievement the heroes of the struggle for liberation. He says “well done” to the ones, who were not self centred, but prepared to share, the patriots who did not fear death. She expresses her gratitude to the veterans of the struggle Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Robert Sobukhwe and Nelson Mandela. F.W. De Klerk is acknowledged for opening the door to freedom. Though not mentioned by name, heroines of the struggle are also acknowledged in the second stanza in the penultimate and the last line. The outcome of the struggles of the heroes, according to the poet, were the release of Nelson Mandela and the democracy of 1994.

It is interesting to note the convergence of the commentary of isiXhosa poets with the scientific analysis of the regeneration of political power of the African National Congress. Booysen (2011:86) says about “the people” of South Africa:

They have a deep and forgiving bond with their ANC. They treasure the assurance of “power to the people” and largely continue to see the ANC as the torch-bearer for their aspirations. The bond captures both evidence of caring and delivery, and a sense of belonging and identification. It is bestows immense power to the ANC.<sup>350</sup>

Mvandaba’s poem, which extols the heroes of the struggle for liberation, explains why the people of South Africa have this deep bond. Mvandaba hails the leaders who dared to face death, the patriots who were not selfish but willing to share (mathol’oonyangande kudlelana), those

<sup>350</sup> Booysen continues to say that “Roughly 17 years into democracy, however, the bond has started to require careful nurturing to ensure regeneration”. The scope of this study which ends on 08 January 2012 coincides with the 17 years.

who sacrificed their lives(bancam'impilo/ubom), whose blood watered a valuable seed (imbewu yexabiso). He calls the heroes by their names: Walter Sisulu, Biko, Hector Perteson, Oliver Tambo, Robert Sobukwe, and ends with Nelson Mandela. He acknowledges the role of De Klerk of opening the door (wazival'ingcango). The memories of 1994 are still vivid in Mvandaba's mind. He has the vision of Mandela of the Thembu clan saying "I still maintain. Power to the people!" The argument that is submitted is that isiXhosa written poetry of 1994 – 2012 reflects that when the ANC celebrated a century of existence; it was at its highest water mark in terms of ideological and political hegemony. This postulation is supported by Bundy (2014:68) who avers:

Yet voter loyalty does not rest solely upon tangible benefits and self-interest. It is also a statement of identity and belief. People vote for the ANC because they still see it as a vehicle of national liberation, victory over a hateful racist rule. This is what confers legitimacy and authenticity on the party for millions of South Africans.

The poetry of 1994 – 2012 also confirms the existence of subaltern contending ideologies and emerging protesting voice of young people. These are, however, overwhelmed by the dominant discourse.

## **7.4 State Apparatus**

### **7.4.1. Ideological State Apparatus**

The democratic government of South Africa has since 27 April 1994 sought to create a favourable environment for languages and literature to flourish. Chapter 3 Section 15 (1) of the interim constitution of 27 April 1994 provides for the following fundamental rights:

Every person shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom to the press and other media and freedom of artistic creativity<sup>351</sup> and scientific research (emphasis mine).

Section 8(2) makes the following provision:

No person shall be unfairly discriminated against, directly or indirectly, and, without derogating from generality of this provision, on one or more of the following grounds in particular: race, gender, sex,

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<sup>351</sup> Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993 (Assented to on 25 January 1994). (Date of commencement being 27 April 1994).

ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture or language<sup>352</sup>. (Emphasis mine)

When the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996 was adopted on 8 May 1996 and amended on 11 October 1996 by the Constitutional Assembly, the pace of development and promotion of languages and literature was already accelerated. In terms of clause 6(1) and (2) the official languages of the Republic were to be Sepedi, seSotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. The state was mandated “to take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use” of indigenous languages. Change 16 (1) (a) emphasised freedom of expression by granting freedom of artistic creativity and academic freedom, and freedom of scientific research.

In the sphere of language and culture the constitution (clause 30) granted people the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, as long as these were within the parameters of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Cultural, Religious and Linguistic communities were granted the right in terms of Clause 31 (1) to:

- Enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language and to
- Form, join and maintain Cultural, Religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

The Constitution also created Departments at National and Provincial levels which had a mandate of Departments and promotion of culture in general and language and literature in particular (schedule 4 part A of constitution and schedule 5 part A). The Constitution, furthermore, made provision for the establishment of constitutional institutions which had a responsibility to monitor the implementation of the provisions of the constitution as far as the Development and promotion of language and literature is concerned. These are:

- The Commission for the Promotion and protection of Rights of Cultural Religious and Linguistic Communities (Clause 185-186) and the
- Pan South African Language Board (6 (5)).

Both institutions mandated by the constitution to promote and create conditions for development of languages and literature, including sign language to ensure that the function of Pan South

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<sup>352</sup> Ibid

African Language Board (PanSALB) filters down to provincial and local level the Pan South African language Board Act 59 of 1995 made provision for the recognition, implementation and furtherance of multilingualism in the Republic of South Africa and the development of previously marginalised indigenous languages.<sup>353</sup> In terms of clause 8 (a) and (b) the Pan South African Language Board has to establish provincial language committees. It is against this background that in 1998 the first Eastern Cape Provincial Language Committee was established for the purposes of advising PanSALB on matters pertaining to language and literature development in the Province.<sup>354</sup> A white paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was launched in July 1996. The first objective of the White paper was to:

Locate arts, culture, heritage and literature within the frame work of a democratic South Africa; to promote the arts, culture heritage and literature as sygificant and valuable areas of social and human endeavour in themselves in a democratic, post-colonial. South Africa, and set institutional arrangements for implementation of the new vision.

The third objective was to:

Develop a frame work for the contribution of arts, culture, heritage and literature in the economy and industry, and for lifelong hearing through books and other resources in libraries.

The second objective of the white paper was elaborated further through the development of the Cultural Industries growth statergy. (CIGS)<sup>355</sup> which was launched by then Deputy Minister pf Arts Culture Science and Technology Mrs B. Mabandla on 9 December 1998. The Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) sought to contribute to the government growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEARS) strategy through the cultural industries development initiative which was intendend to enhance the economic and social benefits of arts and culture. One of the four identified areas and development was the Publishing Industry<sup>356</sup>. For funding of language and literature development initiatives, the National Department of Arts and culture established National Arts Council which is established in terms of the National Art Council Act, 1997 (Act No. 56 of 1997).<sup>357</sup> The province of the Eastern Cape subsequently,

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<sup>353</sup>(See clause 3 (a-f) of PANSALB Act 59 of 1995.)

<sup>354</sup> The first chairperson of the Eastern Cape PLS was Professor Vivian De Klerk, then, Head of Department of English at Rhodes University.

<sup>355</sup> [www.polity.org.za](http://www.polity.org.za)02/10/2014.

<sup>356</sup> See Publishing Industry report of 21 November 1998) [www.gov.za/documents/](http://www.gov.za/documents/)

<sup>357</sup> Publications like Amazwi Amatsha (2005), edited A. Nyamende for Realities Xhosa, P.O Box 90 Athlone, were funded by the Ministry of Arts and Culture.

within the framework of the National Arts Council Act, established the Eastern Cape Provincial Arts and Culture Council Act (Act No 6 of 2000).<sup>358</sup>

The National Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) in an endeavour to develop and promote writing and reading launched in 2010, a project named National Book Week. This annual celebration with the caption “Buy a book Read a book, share a book” is held during the September month, i.e. the heritage month. The implementing agent is the South African Book Development Council on behalf of the Department of Arts and Culture. The main purpose of the project is to encourage reading of books among South Africans and to support reading initiatives and the publishing industry through devising strategies for increasing book sales, particularly those written and published by South African Authors/ writers. According to the 2011 National book Week (5 – 10 September 2011) Report, South Africans are not reading enough. The following are results of a survey that was conducted by DAC in 2007:

- 57% of households in S.A did not have a single book in their home.
- 14% of the populations are avid book readers.
- 5% read to their children.

The reason for the above shocking statistics range from the expensive price of book, lack of libraries, difficulty of books, the lack of book in the official languages and lack of co-ordinated effort to promote reading South Africa. The strategy devised by the Department of Arts and Culture to deal with the challenge of cost through promotion of the book weeks in major centre in South Africa in order to promote a reading Culture. In collaboration with the Publishers Association of South Africa (PASA)<sup>359</sup> publishing of literature in the eleven official languages in promoted. PASA, in 2007 published a catalogue of literature and readers in nine African languages for South Africa. In his message on behalf of PASA, Ntlantla Ngubane says:

The publishers Association of South Africa is confident that this catalogue will prove to be an invaluable reference for all involved in the world of books and will satisfy a line-identified need in South Africa, Africa and beyond.

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<sup>358</sup> Publications like Nawe Unakho Vol 1-5 edited by Prof N. Jafta et al for Eastern Cape Provincial Arts and Culture Council, and other individual initiatives, were funded by E.C Government through the Eastern Cape Provincial Arts and Culture council whose first chairperson in 2001 was Prof B.B. Mkonto.

<sup>359</sup> See PASA Catalogue, “Writings in Nine Tongues” (2007)

He DAC has shared the risk with publishers by subsidising the publication of selected classics from the eleven official languages.<sup>360</sup> The reprint of African Classics Project is done by DAC in collaboration with the National Library of South Africa (NLSA). The books were distributed to the libraries of the nine provinces. The Department of Arts and Culture furthermore published a Catalogue of South African literature. This was part of the initiative of the Department of revitalising South Africa's Community Libraries. In his foreword the Minister says:

The Department of Arts and Culture is determined to fulfil its historic role in the restoration to Africa and its people, those aspects of our rich heritage that they can harness to expand their horizon and their skills. This catalogue is part of the National Library's ongoing audit of our literary heritage. The entries are in IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Khoi San, Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga.<sup>361</sup>

The pieces of legislation promulgated, the public entities created and the formal structures created by national and provincial government lead to the establishment by civil society, of language and literature development and promotion associations which played a significant role in mobilizing writers, encouraging them to try their hand in creative writing and addressing the challenges that they faced. In the Province of the Eastern Cape mention may be made of the "Nawe Unakho Women Writers Movement" which was lead by Prof D.N. Jafta, Ms S.M. Maqagi and Miss T. Mbobo. The Bhala Writers Guild/ Association was lead by Prof B.B. Mkonto, with Prof N. Saule as Vice Chairperson. In the Port Elizabeth area of the Eastern Cape, the Swii Arts Amendment<sup>362</sup> lead by Mr M. Ngonyama also contributed toward production of IsiXhosa written poetry. Another association which contributed to production of literature in the Eastern Cape is Ibutho labaBhali, lead by Dr L. Kwatsha-Nkukwana<sup>363</sup>. In the O.R. Tambo District Municipality the Simanywa Lusiba Writers Club lead by Mr M. Mraxa<sup>364</sup> mobilized writers of the district and provided them with writing skills<sup>365</sup>. In the Chris Hani district writers lead by Ms Bini met regularly at the Chris Hani Arts-Centre for writing workshops and

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<sup>360</sup> See Reprint of African Classic Project

<sup>361</sup> See catalogue of South African literature (2008:3)

<sup>362</sup> Example is Pumelelo Anthony, Member of Bhala Writers Guild, member of Swie Arts Amendment, COSAN. published Isimbonono in 2009. Funded by ECPACC, See Eastern Cape talent.

<sup>363</sup> Product of ibutho is Fundiswa, S. Tshazibana, writer poet performer. Member of Ibutho, Bhala writers Guild, and Swii Arts. See Eastern Cape Talent.

<sup>364</sup> See <http://152.111.1.87/agrief/beryste/dailysun/2008/04/08/DJ/25/Mbuyiselo.html>

<sup>365</sup> Example is Nolundi Ncapai <http://za.linkedin.com/pub/nolundi-ncapai/50/842/560>



production of literature manuscripts. All these initiative lead to a significant increase of the volume of literature produced in the first seventeen years of democracy.

#### 7.4.2 Repressive state apparatus

Up to the 29 April 1994 the Internal Security Act was in place. Merret (1994:163) states that:

Symbolically, section 29 was abolished on 29 April 1994 by president DeKlerk in one his last official acts as head of state.

Merrett (1994:171) continues:

However, as a result of the constitutional negotiations of 1993, the Abolition of Restrictions on free political Activity Act amended the Publications Act by repealing sections 47 (2) (c), (d) and (e). This effectively ended political censorship in South Africa and left the Publications Act to deal with obscenity and blasphemy.

It is against this back ground that Van der Westhuisen (2013:4) states:

Artist have enjoyed unprecedented freedom to be creative in South Africa since the transition to democracy<sup>366</sup>.

Contrary to the repressive state apparatus of the Apartheid era, the new democratic government created a favourable environment for development of literature through the White Paper on Arts culture and Heritage which was published by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology on 04 June 1996. Chapter 4, Paragraph 37 of the White Paper states:

Our literature, the written record of our many languages, embodies a richness which sets us apart from other nations. Unsurprisingly our policy views literature as an important component of the arts, culture and heritage. The ministry aims to promote, develop and make accessible the rich and diverse traditions of all South African Literatures in written and oral forms. The development of previously marginalized languages is regarded as a prerequisite for meaningful multilingualism and real language equality.

In 2002 the Promotion of Access to Information Act was promulgated. This act guarantees access to information by all South African citizens.

In 2011 the Protection of State Information Bill was drafted. Amendments to the Bill were effected in November 2011 and May 2012. This makes comments on this Bill to fall outside the

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<sup>366</sup>McDonald, P.D (2009) The Literature Police: Apartheid censorship and its cultural consequences.

scope of this study. It may, however be stated that this is the first piece of legislation, during the democracy epoch, which poses a threat to freedom of expression in South Africa.

## 7.5. Aesthetic Ideology

### 7.5.1 Rhyme

Notable is the desperate attempt by some writers of the post Apartheid era, to rhyme. As stated in the previous chapter this western device is not compatible with the isiXhosa language. What is in comprehensible ... from pg 14. An other example is Mlungwana's poem "Hamba kakuhle Tshonyane" in Moropa (ed) *Nambitha Isihobe*:

Madoda masiye kuCofimvaba,	a	Gentlemen let us go to Cofimvaba,
Indoda iyophuthum' <u>uvaba</u> . <sup>367</sup>	a	A man must go to fetch a <u>milksack / thornwood heap</u> .
Bayibulel' into kaChris Hani,	b	They have murdered Chris Hani,
Bab' umzabalazo ukwaHani,	b	They think that the struggle is in the Hani home,
Kanti yen' uwushiye kwisininzi.	b	When he has imparted it to multitudes.
Arnbulele amadla-gusha,	a	The "mutton – gluttons" have murdered him,
Ngeengqondo zobugusha.	a	Guided by their sheep-like minds.
Ay' etafileni embethe ufele lwegusha.	a	They went to the negotiation table covered in a sheep skin.
Zaziphi iintwana zoMkhonto?	c	Where were the UMkhonto weSizwe young cadres?
Kamb' uSathana ligqubusha. <sup>368</sup>	a	The Devil is definitely elusive.
Uz'uthi ke wakufik' ehadesi,	e	When you reach heaven,
Uxelele iinto zooSolomoni	e	Tell the people like Solomon
Ukuba amaBhulu asengaboni,	e	That the Boers are still sinners,
Inkululeko yon' isemnyango.	c	Despite all, freedom is imminent.
Phumla uwufezil' urnsebenzi wakho.	c	Rest you have accomplished your task.
(Emphasis mine)		

In this elegiac poem about Chris Hani, the poet makes an effort to construct a rhyming verse. The partial success is at the expense of sense and effect. For example the second line which seeks to rhyme with the first line mentions "uvaba." It is difficult to understand the meaning of

<sup>367</sup> Probably typographical error. Closest word is "imvaba" which according to Kropf (1915:450) is a leather milk-sack with a bottle like neck in which sweet milk is fermented and curdled. Figuratively that which supports, and maintains. Another close word is *Ivaba* which means a heap of thornwood.

<sup>368</sup> Literally a bird, the rufous – bellied puffback shrike, *Lamarius rufiventris*. (Kropf 1915:131) Figuratively an elusive difficult to catch or find and difficult to track down person.

“uvaba”.The coherence and cohesion of the poem is therefore negatively affected. The penultimate line of the second stanza has failed to rhyme with the other lines. As stated in the previous chapters an aesthetic that is not compatible with the revolutionary content results in a disjuncture.

### 7.5.2 Code switching or Code Mixing

The poetry of the Democratic era exhibits acceptance of code switching or code mixing. An example is Khininda’s poem “Sibanye”. The closing line is in English.

Yibambeni apho mafanankosi ningayiphonculi,  
Oongxowankulu mabakhulule amatyathanga,  
Bangathi bayasikhulula ngapha kanti bayasiqamangela,  
  
Ngamatyala ngasoze aphele ngenxa yabo.

Hold it there Chief’s guards and never loose sight of it  
The Capitalist must unlock the chains,  
And not to pretend to be setting us freewhen on the  
other side they restrain us  
With chains/shackles that will never be released by  
them

Another example is Diaho’s seSotho poem:

“Tlotla ho matitjhere ohle”:

“Honour to all teachers”

.....  
Motho ya nthutileng A, ke mo leballa eng?  
Anthuta nngwe, a tlaseletsa kaya baditjhaba puo.

Kajena ke ya peteketsa, ke bua malemeleme,  
Ke bitsa bo **I can, Ek kan ook**, ke reng na?  
**Communication** ha ke sa bua

O e rupelletse hore e kene keni,  
Ke se be le bothatha hara matjhabatjhaba.

.....  
A person who taught me, ah! how do I forget?  
Who taught me to count, and also added a second  
language  
Today I can speak other languages, I am multilingual,  
I can say **I can, Ek kan ook**, what do I say?  
As for **communication** there is not even any need to  
talk  
He taught me so well that I am well taught,  
To that extent I don’t have difficulties speaking  
amongst other nations.

### 7.5.3 Diction

Poets who transmit or diffuse the Pan Africanism ideology tend to adopt a politically radical stance. The tornado symbol signifies violence as this large swirling funeral cloud results in death, injury damage and destruction of property. An example is Tutani’s, (2005) “Izibongo zikaProf. Mangaliso R. Sobukhwe” in book: *Monti lam*. The imagery employed by the writer depicts a turbulent atmosphere.

Nto kaSobukhwe uyinkanyamb'  
eyahamba kwadililk' amahlathi!  
Wadubul' amaBhulu wawalahlel' elwandle.

Antyumpantyumpeka erhaxwa kunguduntsuduntsu,  
Wasiphul' iingcambu zemith' emikhulu,  
Kwaamgqubagqubane kweli lingudulukubhetshu,

Emk' abalakeka amabibi emhlabeni phantsi,  
Ee qelele phezulu ebalek' isitshingitshane ezantsi,

Son of Sobukwe you are a tornado  
that destroyed forests!  
You shot at the Boers and threw them into  
the sea.  
They struggled avoiding drowning.  
He uprooted gigantic trees,  
There was a translucent dust and  
pandemonium,  
Debris was from the ground to the sky,  
It flew in the air escaping the violent storms  
on the ground(Emphasis mine)

Limitations of space and time do not allow an extensive discussion on language, power, and ideology which could provide an analysis of language use in political discourse of isiXhosa poets<sup>369</sup>. It is, however critical to mention that the democratic social order allows writers to be creative and grants them freedom to decide on strategies of discourse. However writers should tread cautiously and avoid gravitating towards “hate speech” which is infringement of Section (16) 2 (c) of the the constitution, and Section 29 of the Films and Publications Act which criminalises a publication, broadcast, film, entertainment or play that “advocates hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and which constitutes incitement to cause harm”. The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act in section 10 (1) reads:

Subject to the rovision in section 12, no person may publish, prepagate, advocate or communicate words based on or more of the prohibited grounds, against any person, that could reasonably be constued to demonstrate a clear intention to be hurtful, be harmful or to incite harm, promote or propagate hatred.

By ‘prohibited grounds’, section 1 defines that it is meant grounds pertaining to race, gender, narital status, sexual orientation, age disability, and language. Included are any grounds where discrimination causes disadvantage, undermines human dignity or adversely effects equal enjoyment of rights and freedoms. Guidance to writers is provided by Penfold in Jenking and Du Plessis (eds) (2014) in his discussion “Aspects of the treatment of freedom of expression in South Africa’s democratic transition when he says:

Given the South Africa’s past, it is understandable that our post-democratic law includes prohibitions on hate speech. In this difficult and emotive area, the challenge is to ensure that a balance is maintained between the values of dignity, equality and nation building, on the one hand, and freedom of expression, on the other.

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<sup>369</sup> Read Wodak (ed) (1989) Language, Power and ideology: studies in political discourse.

#### 7.5.4 Promotion of Multilingualism in anthologies of the epoch of democracy

Of profound significance is the development and promotion of multilingualism during the era of democracy. A significant number of Eastern Cape writers is at least able to produce poetry in two of the four official languages of the province. This is evident in “*Nawe Unakho*” and “*Isivivane*”: which caters for the four official languages: IsiXhosa, English, Afrikaans and seSotho<sup>370</sup>. This is a significant step that is at the core of a democratic social order. The two anthologies “*Nawe unakho*” and “*Isivivane*” accept manuscript in four official languages: IsiXhosa, English, Afrikaans and Sesotho. This has motivated Eastern Cape writers to move away from monoligualism. An example of a bilingual writer is Ngqongwa, who in the anthology, *Isivivane* Vol. 1 (2004:141) submitted the following isiXhosa poem:

Ukutshintsha kwezinto<sup>371</sup>

Hayi ukutshintsha kwamaxesha  
Ndithetha ngokutshintsha kwezinto zalo mhlaba.  
Azi angathini na amanyange alel’ ukuthula,  
Zitshintshile izinto.

Sizwe esiMnyama thethani, ifikile ingxaki;  
Ndithetha ngantoni xa ndingathethi ngentlonipho?  
Yaya phi na intlonipho kumlisela nomthinjana wezwe  
lakowethu?  
Yaya phi na intlonipho kootata noomama beli lizwe?

Ndithetha kaloku ngentlonipho.

.....

How things have changed

How swiftly time brings about changes  
I mean how things have changed in this world.  
I wonder what the ancestors would say,  
Things have changed.

Black nation speak, a catastrophe is impending;  
What am I referring to if not refering to respect?  
How did the young men and maidens of our country  
loose respect?  
How did the fathers and mothers of this country loose  
respect?

I am making reference to respect.

.....

In the same anthology the following poem was submitted:

Ten Years of democracy<sup>372</sup>

We have to celebrate  
Celebrate 10 years of freedom;  
freedom of the mind,  
Freedom of the country,  
Freedom of the continent!

For the freedom we are free,

Iminyaka elishumi yedemokhrasi

Kufanele sibhiyoze  
Sibhiyozele iminyaka eli- 10 yenkululeko;  
Inkululeko yengqondo,  
Inkululeko yelizwe, (South Africa)  
Inkululeko yelizwekazi! (Africa)

Kuba ngenkululeko sikhululekile,

<sup>370</sup> See *Nawe Unakho*: Vol 1-4 and *Isivivane* Vol 1-6. Published by Lovedale Press for the Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture, Province of the Eastern Cape.

<sup>371</sup> *Isivivane* Vol. 1 (2004:141)

<sup>372</sup> *Isivivane* Vol. 1 (2004:206)

We are free from the chains of oppression,  
The oppression of the people.  
Let's celebrate our victory!

.....

Sikhululekile kumakhamandela engcinezelo,  
Ingcinezelo yabantu.  
Masibhiyozele uloyiso lwethu!

.....

Kaschula (1995:3)<sup>373</sup> observed this trend in isiXhosa oral poetry:

It is also interesting to note that oral, as opposed to written poetry, is now also produced in English, but that it clearly draws on traditional roots.

The argument of this study is that during the democracy era multilingualism is also evident in written poetry as well. This is evidence of dynamism of culture which has an ability to assimilate aspects of other cultures and also to be assimilated by other cultures. I argue that this must be accepted as a positive development, and not as a negative one. Writers should be encouraged to produce literature in more than one language and to read literature that is written in other languages spoken in South Africa. This will maximise the circulation of the South African narratives and their accessibility to the diverse language communities of South Africa.

## 7.6. Conclusion

The poems analysed and interpreted (i.e. literature which is an aspect of culture) reflects that the epoch of democracy 1994-2012 realised a period of “ideological consistency”<sup>374</sup> in South Africa. What this means is that there is a huge over of progressive ideology. In terms of Gramsci's theory of cultural construction the progressive values of non-sexism non-racialism and democracy were hegemonic. The reduced levels of polarization resulted in the reflection by the writers of mostly consistent messages. This means holding of political values that are democratic by a significant majority of writers. The implication is that the ANC held on to its ideologically hegemonic position. Some contradictions are, however discernible in the finer values and attitudes toward issues of governance by the state, e.g.

- The neglect of the question and indigenous religion which is sharply challenged by Mndende

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<sup>373</sup> See <http://journal.oraltradition.org/files/articles/10i/kaschulapdf>

<sup>374</sup> Term used by American Researchers of the PEW Research Centre in their article of 12 June 2014.

- The poor service delivery that is challenged by poets in “Amazwi Amatsha” edited by Nyamende.

Literature of the period 1994-2012, therefore, reflects, as never before, political consistency, and the hegemony of non-racial, non-sexist and democratic values that were championed by the African National Congress. The victory of the ANC in the polls of 1994 and subsequent polls is evidence of the hegemony of the ideology of the governing party. Celebration of the victory of the “National Democratic revolution” which is spearheaded by the ANC manifests itself in literature of 1994 -2012. An appeal is made to leadership for genuine representation of the people, to ensure continuous progress. A request is made to the leadership to advance the project of transformation of the South African Society. The ANC continues to be seen as the main liberation movement, subsequently all hopes are placed on the shoulders of the ANC to deal with the remaining vestiges of Apartheid and its processor, colonialism, in particular the racialism sexism and lack of democracy. Writers seem to acknowledge progress made, both at provincial and national levels, but emphasise that there is still more work to be done in the economic, educational, cultural, and social spheres of society. The political gain which manifests itself in the democratic government is acknowledged.

The changing of political leadership personalities does not seem to have had a profound impact on the writers who seem to continue to align themselves with the dominant ideology irrespective of who is at the helm. The poets seem to pay allegiance to the organisation and not the leaders themselves. However it must be noted that up to the end of the epoch the name of Mandela continues to dominate the consciousness of the poets. In the eye of the poets of that era who ran with the baton to 100 years finishing line, the ANC seem to be viewed as a strong, solid and monolithic organisation. Their poetry seems to be a terrain of the struggle which is dominated by the dominant ideology which is hegemonic.

Booyesen (2011:xvi) observes that: ‘The ANC dominance over South African state is high, and has assumed different presidencies’. This study of the ideological contest in South Africa during period 1994 – 2012 supports the foregoing observation. The period can be said to be the period of the hegemony of Charterism ie the ideology of the African National Congress whose fundamental tenets are non – racialism, non – sexism and democracy. The articulation by the

majority of poets of this period is that equality, peace and justice must prevail in all spheres of life. Poverty, racism, ethnicity and sexism must be dealt with. Opportunities for education and economic development must be accessible to all. Basic needs of land, water, electricity and so on must be provided to all citizens.

The non – racialism discourse means inclusion of all social groups in all social, political, economic and educational discourses. The poets seem to support the government initiatives for unity in diversity “/KE E: XARRA //KE”. The poets are in agreement with Norval (1996:303) that:

What is important is precisely the possibility of relating to those who are ‘different’ without simply excluding them as ‘enemies’. This was precisely what was not possible under the discourse of apartheid, for it was premised upon a conception of organic identities which ruled out, by law, any other form of identification.

This study, because of the time parameters including the end-date of 08 January 2012 could not be able to include the poet’s voice on the interesting and historic national and international development of 9 January 2012 to date. However this thesis is concerned with a period of one hundred years. It is suggested that post-2012 isiXhosa poetry can be analysed as a separate study.

## **CHAPTER 8**



## SUMMARY AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

### 8.1. The Ideological Context

The dominant ideologies over the past century (1912-2012) were Segregation (1912-1948), Apartheid (1948-1994) and Charterism of African National Congress (1994-2012). The main alternative/subaltern ideologies were Africanism (1912-1955), Charterism (1955-1994), Pan Africanism (1960-2012) and Black Consciousness Movement (1969-2012). The segregation discourse is discussed below.

#### 8.1.1 Segregation epoch and Segregation discourse

Literature of the period 1912-1948 reflects the resistance of the ‘subaltern’ subjects; segregation ideology which defined them as the “other” and created a discourse of the dominant which persuaded the subaltern to accept domination. This differentiation of the other of the segregation discourse was an evolution of the earlier colonial discourse (Reddy, 2000). The isiXhosa writers also resist the production, perpetuation, consolidation and justification of the dominant discourse on “the other”.

#### 8.1.2 Apartheid Epoch and Apartheid discourse

Literature of the period 1948-1994 resists the Apartheid ideology of the Nationalist Party which took over from the Segregation rule of the United Party. The transition from Segregation to Apartheid marked the intensification of the control over the subaltern and created a discourse that emphasised the constitution of the subaltern as the “other”. Apartheid discourse emphasised the “Superiority” of the dominant white ruling class, and consolidated white hegemony.

1948-1973 Period is divided by historians into the first and second phase of the Apartheid. The then new Apartheid ideology competed with the Africanist ideology which transformed into the Charterist ideology in 1955. In 1960 Pan Africanism and in 1969 Black Consciousness Movement entered the contest to add to the ‘cacophony’ of ideological sounds. The period 1973-

1994 was the last phase of Apartheid. The banned PAC and ANC had insignificant influence. During this period, Black Consciousness became stronger and more influential. In the eighties the United Democratic Front, an internal wing of the banned ANC, emerged and became influential, and resisted the dominant Apartheid ideology.

### 8.1.3 Counter hegemony discourses

The political discourse impacted profoundly on the cultural terrain, in particular IsiXhosa written poetry. The Apartheid discourse resulted in resistant counter-discourses which resisted White hegemony. The counter-discourses of the Apartheid epoch were:

- Africanism and Charterism discourse of the African National Congress (ANC).

The founding of the ANC in 1912 and throughout its existence up to 1948 championed the Africanism ideology which entailed the discourse of equal rights within a multi ethnic democratic state. In 1955 the ANC transformed its ideology and adopted the Freedom Charter which is up to this day contains the Charterist discourse of the ANC. Socialism formed a power block with the ANC. The International Socialist League was established in 1915. The league developed into the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921. It was first confined to White working class, but Blacks were later allowed to join. Workers also joined the ICU which was led by Kadalie, who advanced the workers' rights discourse. The ICU was the first large-scale black workerorganization which fought for economic and political emancipation. The ICU also advanced the discourse of Africanism.

- Pan Africanism discourse of the Pan African Congress (PAC).

In the ANC the psychological liberation discourse was initiated by Lembede in the late 40's and taken over by Sobukwe in 1960 who left the ANC to found the Pan African Congress. The PAC advanced a radical political position that promoted African identity, values, and culture.

- Black Consciousness discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

After 1960 the banned PAC and ANC had insignificant influence. During this period, Black Consciousness, which emerged in the late sixties, became stronger and more influential. Black Consciousness challenged White supremacy and liberal discourses. It emphasised “psychological liberation” of the Africans.

- All African Convention discourse of the All African Convention (AAC)

The All African Convention emphasised unity of the ethnic groups in South Africa, and at a continental level advanced the ideology of Africanism. The impact of the AAC on IsiXhosa literature is found in the writings of D. D. T. Jabavu and A. C. Jordan.

About the above-mentioned organizations, Reddy (2000:183) states:

These organizations weaved together a hybrid set of ideas and practices to “mobilize, educate, and organize” the subaltern into a social force of resistance and transformation; in other words they wanted to translate resistance from the “hidden transcript” into the “public transcript”. From the stand point of the state all of these organizations were considered dangerous to the existing order and were consequently made unlawful.

#### 8.1.4 Democracy discourse

The period between 1994 and 2012 is the Democracy period which was marked by a period of hegemony of the ideology of the African National Congress (Charterism). That is, democracy discourse dominates this epoch. Nevertheless the argument of this study is that the hegemony is not absolute, as vestiges of the Apartheid ideology are observed. Pan Africanism and the United Democratic Movement philosophy, which focuses on the land question and indigenous religion, is also discernible in the poetry of this period.

## 8.2. Summary of Chapters

The following sections present a brief summary of each chapter, followed by the findings of the research.

Chapter 1 introduced the problem of the lack of a comprehensive empirical investigation on isiXhosa written poetry produced between 1912-2012. This was done in order to explore the extent to which amaXhosa written poets have critiqued the socio-political and economic realities, thereby contributing to the ideological context in South Africa. The five objectives were presented as follows:

- Determination of the impact of contending Segregation and Africanism ideologies of the period 1912-1934.
- Analysis and interpretation of the literature of the ‘modernisation and militancy’ epoch of 1935-1947.
- Assessment of the impact of the first and second phase of Apartheid in 1948-1973.
- Analysis and interpretation of the literature of the third phase of Apartheid in 1974-1994, and
- Assessment of the impact of the ideological contest on the literature of the democracy era of 1994-2012.

The methodology and scope of the study revealed that the Marxist literary criticism, and in particular, the revolutionary aesthetics, serve as a basis of the analysis of the form and the content of isiXhosa written poetry. The chapter also elucidated on how data was collected from selected newspapers, books, journals and anthologies of poetry of the period 1912-2012. The chapter also presented the significance of the study, which gives an opportunity for exposure to men and women who were previously marginalized, and the contribution of the study towards the imperatives of the new democratic social order.

Chapter 2 had a sharp focus on the theoretical foundations of the study. The study is guided by Antonio Gramsci’s theory of praxis which entails an understanding of the relationship between ideology, culture, hegemony, and organic intellectuals. Gramsci argues that ideology and culture play a decisive role in the process of asserting hegemony over people. Althusser, a student of Gramsci, also illuminates our conception of the ideological and repressive state apparatuses.

According to Althusser both the ideological and repressive state apparatus operate to prevent subordinate groups from challenging their subordination in meaningful ways. The ideological state apparatus ensures that the repressive state apparatus complements or supplements the ideological state apparatus by imposing laws and decrees which enforce compliance. The second chapter concludes with Udentia, a scholar who argues for a revolutionary aesthetic path in creative and critical practice. Udentia's view provides guidance to this study.

In Chapter 3 the poetry of 1912-1934 which was produced against the context of the Union Government of 1910, which excluded Africans from the socio-economic and political dispensation; and the contending Africanist ideology, which was represented by the ANC, ICU, Communist Party and other smaller formations which demanded inclusion in the socio-economic and political dispensation is presented. The isiXhosa written poetry of the period promoted the Africanism ideology. The content raised the land question, resisted proletarianisation of Africans, and in the economic sphere demanded equal opportunities of all races. To the Africans, the poetry preached unity and a return to African values and acquisition of skills through education. There is also a call for adoption of the positive aspects of Western culture and retention of the good aspects of African Culture. The poets of this period: Mqhayi, Solilo, and Mgqwetho resist discrimination, ethnicity and the exploitation of Africans and encourage them to acquire skills through education through their poetry. In doing so they resist the ideological and repressive state apparatus and are resilient in their call for Africa to return, "*Mayibuye iAfrika*".

In Chapter 4 the period of 1935-1948, a period of political hegemony of the Segregation ideology was analysed. The publishing industry was strictly controlled by the missionary press. There was an effective censorship of material that was published, as it was prepared for consumption by pupils and students of the missionary controlled education. The ageing Mqhayi managed to publish an anthology of verse "*Inzuzo*" to compete with W. Bennie's "*Imibengo*". A younger writer, Jolobe, also published "*Umyezo*". These books were published by the Witwatersrand University Press in an attempt to promote the publishing of African literature. The ideological (church) and repressive state apparatus (state) of the Segregation government was consolidated to ensure that there was little or no resistance of the Segregation ideology. However, Mqhayi and Jolobe, through their published anthologies and through newspapers ensured that the ideology of

Africanism was diffused through their written poetry, and that the socio-economic and political realities of this epoch were depicted through their creative works.

In Chapter 5 it is noted that the isiXhosa written poetry of 1948-1973 was produced within the context of the first and second phases of the Apartheid regime. 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 current 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, 1989:21). 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 popularises its ideologues. 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 emphasizes 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. During the first and second halves of the first phase (1948-1963), the majority of isiXhosa poems were produced in the indigenous style used by oral poets who produced 'izibongo' or praise poems. 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.

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 the 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”. In the study, a reasonable focus has been given to the few writers during this period whose ingenuity enabled them to elude the censor, albeit in an inadvertent obscurity of their message from their consumers. The second phase of Apartheid (1963-1973) is also 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 focuses on nature and abstractions like love, religion and so on; and their de-emphasis on socially oriented poetry within the contemporary context, for example 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. Writing during this period, Beuchat<sup>375</sup> (1962:13-14) states:

Rhyme has been attempted by most Bantu poets, but with little success. Rhythm in English poetry is based on the varying recurrence of strong and weaker stress; but the South Eastern Bantu languages do not have stress, so the achievement of a rhythmic effect must be based on different factors, such as number of syllables, length of words, the penultimate length characteristic of words or groups of words, etc. Let me hasten to say that I do not believe it necessary for any Bantu author to go to French, Russian, or English poetry for inspiration or for a model. He has at his disposal the almost inexhaustible stock of praise poems, which can inspire him.

Beuchat underscores the point of view of this study regarding aesthetic ideology and isiXhosa written poetry.

Chapter 6 is concerned with the third phase (1973-1994) which began with discernible Apartheid hegemony. From 1981 onwards a transformation in the balance of forces surfaced and an ideologically hegemonic Charterism emerged. Poetry that hails leaders of the liberation

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<sup>375</sup>Beuchat was then lecturer in African Language at the University of Witwatersrand. Her paper “Do the Bantu have a literature?” was published by the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa (ISMA) no. 7 August 1962.

movement, and denounces Apartheid ideology appeared. Also of profound impact during this phase is the Black Consciousness ideology with its self-assertive and affirmative poetry. 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 (1981-1994) there is an observable move away from the Western form towards an African form that draws heavily from the styles and techniques of the indigenous oral forms. This fact is confirmed by Kaschula (1991:226) who states:

The oral form of the imbongi continues to survive today. Even in written Xhosa poetry we find the use of oral techniques.

This aesthetic ideology is compatible with the subordinate alternative socio-political ideology and affirms its cultural hegemony. This is what happened during the period 1990-1994, which we have designated the “glasnost” era. The freedom of expression which was ushered in by the unbanning of political organizations and the lifting of censorship laws, had an impact on aesthetic ideology. Stylistic devices, which demonstrate the richness of isiXhosa language, are abundantly deployed.

In Chapter 7 the huge collection of poetry of 1994-2012 can be described as a celebration of the victory of Charterism. It reflects the salient features of the ideology of the African National Congress. In other words, it exhibits the fundamental tenets of the ideology of Charterism both in form and content. The form is African. There is a significant move away from the Victorian structure to an African form that is informed by indigenous oral poetry. The content reflects the social, political and economical experience of the post Apartheid era. It celebrates the attainment of freedom, extols the heroes of the struggle for liberation, mourns the passing on of veterans of the struggle and appeals to the democratic government to go further and address the critical social, economic, educational, backlogs, among other issues that have been the consequence of the Apartheid ideology.

The poets of the period 1994-2012 seem to support the establishment of a democratic society and the principle of pluralism. The youth, however, seem to lose patience with the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of governance. The uneven and slow pace of the democratic government to deal with



material deprivation of the communities, particularly the previously disadvantaged, leads to this resentment. The youth make reference to lack of or limited access to educational, economic and cultural opportunities. The impatience of the youth is plausible if one considers what Norval (1996:305) states:

It is only on condition that the new democracy is articulated around the protection and fostering of difference, and the eradication of material inequalities that one could truly argue to have gone beyond Apartheid.

One observation is also worth mentioning: the remnants or residual of the Apartheid ideology is exposed by some poems of the first and second phase. Some poets continue to reflect on “achievements” of some homeland leaders, e.g. Chief K.D. Matanzima. Also discernible during the epoch of democracy, is the ideology of the contending political parties that are represented in Parliament, namely the Pan Africanist Congress and the United Democratic Movement. The two parties’ movements insist on the land question and freedom of religion.

Poetry of the last epoch of the century is a celebration of freedom. It looks at the past, present and future and exhibits the following characteristics in its content: Immortalization of the heroes of the struggle irrespective of race, colour or creed; ideological values of non racialism, non sexism and democracy; ideological synchrony or convergence of diverse political parties; little interest in intra-party contestations e.g. ANC, PAC, UDM; Renaissance philosophy and Call for a United Africa; hegemony of the ruling party despite all weaknesses; support for government programmes; rejection of corruption and immorality, call for an ethical South Africa and a call for hard work for improvement of quality of life.

### **8.3 Why this study is unique**

#### **8.3.1 Interdisciplinary Nature**

This complex qualitative research has adopted an interdisciplinary approach. Kaschula (1993:VII) in his introduction to *Foundation in Southern African Oral Literature* makes a call:

The future of African oral literature lies, therefore, in comparative interdisciplinary approaches which will enable the study to come alive and take its rightful place in scholarly circles worldwide.

To elaborate further he quotes Barber who states that ‘There is an obvious and very good reason for taking an interdisciplinary approach to African oral texts, and that is that the texts themselves can combine “literature”, “history”, “music”, “medicine” “religion” and other things’. The study argues that Kaschula’s observation is also relevant to written poetry texts. The study transcends the traditional-modern analytical approach, and the oral-written dichotomy as the isiXhosa written poetry is profoundly informed by the indigenous oral forms. The mutual relationship between the oral and written isiXhosa poetry and how the oral and written complement and supplement one another is, in this study is acknowledged.

### 8.3.2 Exposure of the relationship between literature and philosophy

To Barber’s list of disciplines, this study adds philosophy and sociology which enables us to study the relationship between oral or written literature, and ideology. It is against this backdrop that Gramsci’s theory of cultural construction becomes central in this study. Antonio Gramsci, a student of linguistics, history and philosophy, argues that ideology and culture play an indispensable role in the process of asserting hegemony over people. The study has made the legacy, bequeathed by Gramsci to students of literature, available to students of isiXhosa written poetry, through a detailed interpretation of Gramsci’s philosophy of praxis. The concepts that contribute to an understanding of hegemony, which were developed by Gramsci’s students like Althusser, have also been thoroughly scrutinized. These are the notions of interpellation and the repressive and ideological state apparatuses. International scholars, to name a few, Eagleton (1978) and Therbon (1980), emphasis the existence of a relationship between literature and ideology. African scholars have also taken a keen interest in this relationship between literature, aesthetics, and ideology. The study explored the writings of Ngara, Mphahlele and Udentia who support NgugiWaThiong’o (1981:2) who states that:

Literature cannot escape from the class power structures that shape our everyday life. Here 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 the 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 has manifested itself in the socio-political and/or aesthetic ideology within the same text, repertoire and or oeuvre of amaXhosa artists.

### 8.3.3 Historical contextualization and periodisation

The poetry of 1912-2012 is located within the historical context of two historiographical schools: the Revisionists or Radical School and the Black Nationalist historiographical school. Regarding the significance of periodisation of the study of South African history, 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, the research has employed the model of periodisation of the Segregation and Apartheid era, whose authenticity is proven by the support it has received from 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 characterized 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). The Segregation period periodisation is in line with Karis and Carter (1972 and 1973) and Bozzoli (1981:4) who divide the epoch into two phases, the first(1912-1933) and the second(1934-1948).

#### 8.3.4 Revolutionary Aesthetics employed

The study proposed the revolutionary aesthetic path for the analysis and interpretation of isiXhosa written poetry in particular, and African literature in general. The tool is interdisciplinary and is therefore able to expose the socio-political and economic relationships between literature and society. About the present and the future of this creative method Udentia (1993:22) states that:

Just as the socio-historical conditions of the late colonial and early neo-colonial periods gave rise to the first stage of revolutionary aesthetics in Africa, and the conditions of the later sixties, seventies and eighties gave rise to the present stage of its development, the eighties, nineties and thereafter will definitely provide the necessary impulses and stimuli, and supply the vital materials for the continual enrichment of that aesthetic and ideological method.

Udentia (ibid) concludes by predicting the future of revolutionary aesthetics in Africa:

...Revolutionary aesthetic will continue to advance to be further enriched; for it is nothing but the truthful artistic response to social reality in a revolutionary form.

The study supports Udentia's prediction of African Literature and finds it relevant for the analysis and interpretation of isiXhosa written poetry.

#### 8.3.5 Sufficient text exposure with translations

This is a study of poetry and therefore it is fair that the poets be afforded sufficient space to present their poetry and express their views. This will ensure that poets are fully understood and not misinterpreted. The readers are also afforded an opportunity to detect misconceptions of the text by the translator and interpreter. This is the rationale behind the provision of sufficient poetry text for analysis and interpretation.

#### **8.4 Further areas of research**

The study generates insight upon which future research on literature and ideology can emerge. The following are possible avenues of research:

- IsiXhosa Literature research methodology will benefit from this study which has demonstrated how one can make use of an interdisciplinary approach.
- The study has provided a body of literature that may be used for further research in ideology and literature in the eleven official languages of South Africa.
- The study could not analyse and interpret each and every poem of the century. There is therefore an opportunity for focused in depth research on some of the aspects raised in the study and on the specific epochs.
- Further discourse on how “our poetic heritage” (Udenta, 1996:135) in particular, and literature in general, can be used for the noble cause of democratisation and humanisation of South Africa and the African continent.
- Development of South African poetry from “poetry of protest and anguish” to a medium for reconstruction and development. Udenta (1996:134) states:

African poetry can no longer afford to be poetry of protest and anguish. It must become reconstructive, not as a marginal cultural force in the process of social transformation, but as a dominant element in the task of social engineering and continental renewal.

- Further discourse on revolutionary aesthetics and isiXhosa literature in particular, and African literature in general.
- Extending the research on the relationship between ideology and other genres of isiXhosa literature e.g. the novel and drama including all genres of oral literature.

## 8.5 Recommendations

The study recommends the following in line with the research objectives:

- Fast tracking of the process of promulgation of the Provincial Language Act in line with the National Language Act to create a favourable environment for indigenous languages and literature to prosper.
- A concerted struggle against censorship and any form of infringement of the right of the poets. Poets should be given room to be creative and to freely express their views, subject to the provisions of the Bill of Rights.
- Building of the capacity of writers, readers, editors and educators.
- Promotion of reading and writing through provision of the necessary infrastructure e.g. libraries in both poor urban and rural areas of the country.
- Focussed research on the post-Apartheid or democracy oral and written poetry, and literature in general, to assess its contribution in the deepening of democracy.
- Support the translation studies discipline so as to supplement and compliment the development and promotion of multilingualism.
- Funds should be mobilised for reprinting of the rich poetic heritage that is currently out of print. Copies to be deposited in Community and University libraries. In this study, it was very difficult to access IsiXhosa poetry texts. This preservation will be for the benefit of posterity.
- Alternatively, use of technology to create Adobe pdf copies which will be accessible to students and community members.
- The findings of this research support recommendations made by previous researchers like Jadezweni (2013:338) who share the view that government should support the publishing industry:

State initiatives like the Eastern Cape's Department of Sport, Arts and Culture "NaweUnakho", among others, can be revived.

- Close co-operation and pooling of resources by all state and civil society structures that deal with the development of languages and literature.
- Engagement of SABC for the development and promotion of literature. In support of a recommendation made by Mpola (2007:239), the isiXhosa Radio station UmhloboWenene is

urged to promote music and literature. Mqhayi's only two recorded poems were located at MhloboWenene in Port Elizabeth.

## **8.6 General Conclusion**

Central to this study is the argument that isiXhosa written poetry of the period 1912 – 2012 has been a terrain of the ideological struggle for hegemony between the dominant Segregation (1912-1948) and Apartheid (1948-1994) ideologies; and the subordinate alternative ideology of Africanism, Charterism, Pan Africanism, and Black Consciousness ideologies, which struggled/aspired for realization of a democratic non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. The ideological struggle continued during the period of democracy (1994-2012). The general conclusion confirms that the objectives of the study that were presented in the first chapter, have been achieved. The objectives constitute the chapters of the thesis. Each objective has critical elements that the study had to investigate which may be summarized as follows:

- Presentation in the first chapter of a clear road map that will guide the research, which also has critical constituent parts namely: The problem, aim and objectives, methodology and scope and significance of the study.
- The second chapter outlined the theoretical foundations of the study.

The foregoing argument validates Eagleton's (1978:101) 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 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 cognizant of this significant political role of culture. Xhosa written poetry of 1912-2012 is testimony of the struggle by the Segregation and Apartheid ideologies to appropriate African culture to serve its own political interests, and the resistant struggle by the alternative ideology

for the control over its cultural heritage. This study exposes how the Segregation Ideology through the Church, and Apartheid ideology through Bantu Education, through laws that controlled literary production, and other forms of coercion, struggled to assimilate and to conquer 'ideologically' "some isiXhosa writers who originally might have been classified under Gramsci's category of "traditional intellectuals", transforming them into Segregation and Apartheid's "organic intellectuals". This study further evinces how literature (Xhosa written poetry in particular) that has been appropriated by Segregation ideology and Apartheid's Bantu Education, has been an effective tool in this struggle of the dominant ideology to elaborate its intellectuals through its primary, secondary and tertiary schools. These writers who chose to carry out the functions of "organic intellectuals" of the dominant ideology utilized Xhosa written poetry as a medium for imparting the ideology of Segregation and Apartheid to the pupils and students. According to Gramsci (1973):

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. The study, however, argues 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 isiXhosa written poetry). It may therefore be concluded that amaXhosa 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).

It must be pointed out that being an organic intellectual of a particular "fundamental social group" is not linked to gender, race and class of an individual but to the ideological inclination of the individual. Zotwana (1993:160) emphasizes "the complexity" of this issue, but tries to provide a clear distinction:



The issue seems to revolve around the question of the prevailing power relations and the literary artist's own position in those relations. The choices that a literary artist makes will of necessity be conditioned by whether he subscribes to the views of the dominant class or to those of the dominated classes. It is not a question of which class an artist belongs to, it is a question of which ideological position he identifies with... In South Africa there have been examples of writers who belong to the ruling class, but who have used their literary skills to expose the evils of the Apartheid policy. In South Africa too, as we have seen from Xhosa texts ... there have been, and still are, literary artists who, because of their position in the existing power relations, have had their art appropriated for the sustainment of the ideologies of the dominant class. (Emphasis mine)

What in the final analysis, emerges from this study, is that isiXhosa 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 isiXhosa written poetry and therefore culture in general plays a significant constructive and developmental role in the process of deepening the current democratic social order.

IsiXhosa written poetry plays a decisive role as a vehicle for dissemination of the noble democratic values of non-racialism and non-sexism and in disseminating the ideals of the reconstruction and development programme, unity and national reconciliation. The message that emanates from the poetry of the past century is that the contested terrain of culture will continue to play a prominent role as medium of dissemination of the democratic values and the ideal of social cohesion. As a mechanism of culture, isiXhosa poetry plays a meaningful role as a vehicle for transmission of the ideal of mental reconstruction of South Africans. It also has the intrinsic value of liberation of the minds of South Africans of the post Apartheid epoch, from psychological effects of Apartheid that made suffer from entitlement, indolence and dependency on government.

Also significant is the role that the marginalized culture, and isiXhosa written poetry in particular, plays in strengthening the South African identity of the New South Africa. IsiXhosa written poetry continues to entrench the values of unity in diversity through ensuring respect and recognition of customs, traditions and values of the diverse cultural and language groups of South Africa. This will resist the ethnic and racial tendencies that continue to raise their ugly heads,

threatening the hard work and achievements of the entire century.

To all South Africans, the message from the poetry of the past century (1912-2012), is that the stern eye of the poet, who has exposed the injustices of the past and struggled to close the racial divisions of the past and sought to establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights, will never be silent when the people's socio-political and economic rights are violated. By the same token, culture in general and isiXhosa written poetry in particular, will also continue to serve the interests of those who resist democracy. Thus the struggle, in the cultural terrain, continues.

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