Xenophobic or not?

A case of amaXhosa with regard to amaGqunuqhwa as reflected in M. A. P. Ngani's Umkhonto kaTshiwo

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Abstract

This article seeks to answer the question of whether the traditional amaXhosa, particularly under the leadership of Khwane, were xenophobic or not. This will be fulfilled by examining the light shed in M. A. P. Ngani's historical drama text *Umkhonto kaTshiwo* (1985) which reflects the response of this community to amaGqunuqhwa (the Griquas) that came to them as strangers. Historical evidence of what this text is illustrating will be sought from various sources. The manner in which these newcomers were accepted and assimilated into the nation of amaXhosa, and the subsequent formation of the nation of amaGqunukhwebe (a sub-group of amaXhosa), will form the bulk of the different sections of this discourse. For clarity of the topic, an explanation of the concept of xenophobia will be included in the research. Towards the end of the presentation, concluding remarks will be included encompassing the summary of the study, findings and recommendations. **Key words:** Xenophobia, amaXhosa, amaGqunuqhwa (Griquas), Khwane, Mngaza, MAP Ngani, Umkhonto kaTshiwo, amaGqunukhwebe,

Introduction

While xenophobic tendencies are not a totally new phenomenon in South Africa, during the last decade (2005 to 2015) the country has experienced enormous attacks of foreign nationals from other parts of Africa. The fact that these inclinations are not new is confirmed by the claims that even before the democratic dispensation that came about in 1994, hatred towards people from outside the country was observed. Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia (accessed on 25/03/2015:1 - 2) reflects how "prior to 1994" xenophobia was practised against "immigrants from elsewhere in Africa", "East and Southern European immigrants" and "Mozambican and Congolese immigrants". Also, Wikipedia the free encyclopaedia (Ibid: 1) records that the "restrictions on immigration can be traced back to the Union of South Africa ...". The Union of South Africa was the form of government structure that was adopted in 1910 after the collapse of the different republics and South Africa would be ruled as a unity (Oakes, 1994:271). This was a government under white supremacy as, in it, "blacks would not have the right to vote" (Ibid.). This evidence of the attitudes of detesting non-nationals before the democratic dispensation (in which leaders of government are mostly black) came into effect, proves that even during the white regime in South Africa, the fear and hatred of foreigners was part of society. The disliking of people from other countries therefore cannot be confined to racial lines. It is a non-racial phenomenon. Irrespective of whether the

government is in the hands of whites or blacks, violence against foreign nationals may be experienced.

The xenophobic attacks during the last few years have mainly been directed, by black South Africans, at black people from other African states. This deems these attacks more as Afrophobia, which can be defined as fear and hatred directed at immigrants from other parts of the African continent. This point is also shared by Mathatha Tsedu, a South African Journalist, as he writes the following statements in the 'Voices and Careers' section of *City Press* (April 19, 2015: 1):

In our case, the ongoing pogrom is not a general attack on any foreigner. It is specific on black foreigners, with an emphasis on those from our continent and sometimes from an Asian background. But there has so far been no attack on any foreigner from a European background. And that is why, for me, this is more Afro-phobia than xenophobia, with the former a subset of the latter. But all pictures and stories have been clear – the attacks are targeted at people who look like the attackers.

The violence against African outlanders happens mostly in the townships of the country, where there is poverty. The locals generally complain that the aliens are taking up their jobs and run cheaper businesses compared to those of the natives. For this reason, Tsedu describes the violence as "a battle for scarce resources at the bottom of the food chain" (Ibid). This situation can be cited as one of the reasons for the violent attacks on newcomers in South Africa.

The idea of poverty as a cause source of the attacks implies that the government has not done enough to provide opportunities that alleviate this condition for the citizens of the country. The African people of South Africa are still not playing a pivotal role in the economy of the land. The coming of foreign nationals then creates an unhealthy competition between the latter and the aboriginals for resources that are scarce anyway.

Criminal elements can also not be ruled out as a cause of the aggressions. Colonialism may also be seen as a long term source of the hatred of Africans against their fellow Africans. Tsedu (Ibid) puts it this way: "Three centuries of indoctrination of black people in this country – that they and their African brethren are inferior - took root in many people". He argues this against the background that South African blacks direct their anger mostly at other Africans and not at Europeans who are also found in the country. It is a belief entrenched in the minds of some black South Africans that "the African foreigners bring nothing but leeching, whereas the white ones from Europe bring investment and economic progress" (Ibid). Although addressing a different topic, Mzi Kuzwayo, under the 'Business' section of City Press (May 3, 2015:2) also points to this positive attitude of black people towards white people. He expresses the conviction of some of these people that "Setlhare sa Mosotho ke lekgowa - the black man's medicine is the white man. It means the white person is the panacea of all black people's problems". While some black people may have this view about the white man, it is also a

generally undisputable fact that white people from Europe brought colonialisation and oppression towards, and the dispossession of land from blacks in South Africa.

Although the above points may be regarded as the general causes of the attacks on foreigners, the situation between March and April 2015 is considered as having been specifically ignited by the utterances of King Goodwill Zwelithini, the King of amaZulu (one of the ethnic groups found in South Africa). The Monarch is reported to have expressed the following pronouncements in a meeting with his subjects in Phongola (KwaZulu-Natal) on 21 March 2015:

As I speak, you find [foreigners'] unpleasant goods hanging all over our shops, they soil our streets. We cannot even recognise which shop is which ... there are foreigners everywhere. We ask foreign nationals to pack their belongings and go back to their countries.

(Sunday Times: April 19, 2015: 4)

Some local nationals interpreted this utterance as a royal decree to chase the non-nationals away from South Africa. In an interview with *City Press*' Sipho Masondo and Athandiwe Saba, Mbambo, who was part of a crowd chanting anti-foreigner songs, is stated to have averred: "*Ukhulumile uNgangezwe Lakhe, umlomo ongathethi manga. Amazwi eSilo kufanele afezeke!* (The King has spoken. He is the mouth that tells no lies. His wishes must be fulfilled)" (*City Press*, April 19, 2015:1).

As part of the same interview, Fohla Sithole, who was one of Mbambo's companions, is noted to have shared:

Isilo asijwayelanga ukuphawula emphakathini ngezinto ezibalulekileyo ezithinta isizwe. Uma usizwa sikhuluma kanje, kusho ukuthi izinto zonakele. Kubi mfowethu. Abafokazana sebegcwele wonke amadolobha amakhulu akuleli. Thina asisakwazi ukwenza lutho.

(The King doesn't really speak often on issues of national importance. For him to speak like this, you must know that things are out of control. They are bad my brother. These quasi-men have taken over every major city in South Africa, leaving us with no space to move).

(Ibid.)

The idea that King Zwelithini's statements were responsible for the xenophobic violence is also echoed by Tony Leon in the *Sunday Times* (April 26, 2015:21) as he avers: "Towering above us is King Goodwill Zwelithini. His words are widely believed to have lit the embers

of resentment against "the others" among us and fired up the murderous assaults of foreigners". Paddy Harper and Carien Du Plessies, in their comment about investigations directed at the King, point out that the enquiry was "after his alleged anti-foreigner speech in Pongola last month, which is widely believed to have sparked the xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu-Natal three weeks ago" (*City Press*, April 26, 2015:1).

Commenting on the future of people who were accommodated at the refugee camps that were set up for these non-nationals during their flight, as these centres were due to be closed down some time after the incidents, Nathi Olifant, in the *Sunday Times* of July 5, 2015, also reports:

Many commentators blamed the violence on comments by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at a moral regeneration event in Pongola a few days earlier. There he said: "We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries." (Page 9)

While South Africa has become a country that is associated with the hatred of external nationals within her borders, Ngani's (1985) text illustrates the attitudes of the traditional amaXhosa under Khwane towards amaGqunuqhwa when the latter arrived among the former. There is also vast historical confirmation of this attitude.

Although Ngani illustrates the attitude of this nation towards strangers (amaGqunuqhwa), so far, no study has been conducted pointing out how his drama book communicates whether the traditional amaXhosa are xenophobic or not. Based on the revelations by this author, and the evidence to this unmasking, this study aims at proving if this nation demonstrated hatred towards outlanders that came to their territory or not. All this points to the lacuna that will be closed by this research in the study of isiXhosa literature.

The concept of xenophobia

The term "xenophobic" is an adjective derived from the noun xenophobia. It then is a description of someone or a group of people who have qualities or tendencies of xenophobia. Someone with these habits is generally termed a xenophobe. Xenophobia is generally the fear and hatred of people from other countries. Rooney (1999:2154) defines the term as "an intense fear or dislike of foreign people, their customs and culture, or foreign things". While this definition affirms xenophobia as the fear and hatred (dislike) of (foreign) people from other countries, it further views it as an "intense fear and dislike" of such people. The description of this situation as "tense" implies that it is a great, strong, extreme, edgy, fidgety, jittery, nerveracking and stressful state of affairs. All these descriptive terms refer to a state that is strongly distasteful. So, xenophobia is not just a normal or light fear and hatred of non-natives. It is one that may even lead to extreme danger and harm, hence it sometimes leads to brutal killing of non-nationals. It is the fear and hatred at a very high level.

It should be noted that the definition above does not mention foreign people alone as feared and disliked in xenophobic situations. Even their customs and culture are not appreciated. Normally, people learn some ways of life from the customs and culture of other people. What is positive and beneficial from the latter's lifestyle may be incorporated in the ways of life of the natives. However, the dislike of the customs and culture of foreigners, referred to above, indicates that the nationals may not be interested in learning from them.

The phrase "foreign things", as used in the explanation above, is very generic and includes everything and anything that is foreign. So, in a xenophobic atmosphere nationals may abhor everything that has to do with aliens. That is how deep and intense a fear and hatred xenophobia can be.

Pearsal (2001:1654) adds the description "irrational" when defining xenophobia as "intense, or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries". The irrationality of this situation implies that it is illogical, unreasonable and unreasoning, crazy, injudicious, unthinking, unwise, senseless, unstable and wild. These terms paint an environment where there is no application of the reasoning and intellectual powers. Everything happens without any consideration of the possible consequences. People involved in animosity against newcomers use uncontrolled emotions to deal with the situation, hence they become wild in their approach. No wonder Landau (2010:35) describes the xenophobic attacks in South Africa as "outbursts of irrational, emotional-driven mob psychology". All this explains the brutal killing and physical assaults of non-natives and burning down of their properties by South African nationals during the past decade. Some xenophobic incidents of the last few years are illustrated by the following statistics as recorded in Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia (Accessed on 25/03/2015:3):

In the last week of 2005 and first week of 2006 at least four people, including two Zimbabweans, died in the Olievenhoutbosch settlement after foreigners were blamed for the death of a local man. Shacks belonging to foreigners were set alight and locals demanded that police remove all immigrants from the area.

In August 2006 Somali refugees appealed for protection after 21 Somali traders were killed in July of that year and 26 more in August.

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The most severe incidents occurred on 8 January 2008 when two Somali shop owners were murdered in the Eastern Cape towns of Jeffrey's Bay and East London and in March 2008 when seven people were killed including Zimbaweans, Pakistanis and a Somali after their shops and shacks were set alight in Atteridgeville near Pretoria.

On *News 24* (2015-01-30 14:18) it was reported: "Three foreign nationals were shot and injured and a fourth one assaulted in their shop in Nsuze near Dundee ...".

Again, Monica Laganparsad, in the *Sunday Times* (April 19, 2015:4) provides statistics as follow:

- ... 357 foreigners (were) killed during xenophobic violence over the past seven years.
- ... 100 Somalis had been killed since 2008 ...

In 2008, at least 62 people were killed, 670 wounded, dozens raped and more than 100 000 displaced.

Since mid-2008 and late 2010, at least 20 foreigners were killed and more than 40 seriously injured, while at least 200 foreign-run shops were looted and more than 4000 were displaced.

In 2011, at least 120 foreigners were killed (five of them burnt alive), 100 were seriously injured and at least 1000 displaced.

In 2012, there were 120 deaths and 250 serious injuries.

More detailed incidents of xenophobic attacks in South Africa are provided by Landau (2010).

Having provided the foregoing background, this paper seeks to prove whether the traditional amaXhosa were / are xenophobic or not. That will be fulfilled by revealing their response with regard to the arrival of foreigners, particularly amaGqunuqhwa, in their land, as it is dramatised by Ngani (1985).

At this stage it is worth noting that before the demarcation of boundaries by the colonialists in Africa, South Africa was not regarded as a single unified country. It was a land where different kingdoms occupied different parts of the land. As a result, a person who came to a section of the land from another region was considered a stranger in the new area. It is against this understanding that groups who came to the land of amaXhosa from other territories of the country are regarded as foreigners in this study.

Who are amaXhosa?

AmaXhosa are a nation that exists alongside other nations in South Africa. Although they are spread all over the country and beyond her borders, their kingdom is based in the area today known as the Eastern Cape Province, along the coast of the Indian Ocean, on the south-eastern part of the country. This assertion is confirmed by Landau (2010:85) as:

In the southeastern grasslands of South Africa ... the acceptance of rule in the name of a specific ancestor, Tshawe, is what allowed the expansion of "Xhosadom." What is Xhosadom? The limits of Xhosadom were not ethnic or geographic, but political: all

persons or groups who accepted the rule of the Tshawe [reigning house] thereby became Xhosa.

While this research's concern in the above citation is with the location of amaXhosa, it is also essential to note that Tshawe was one of the chiefs of this nation and his clan was later regarded as the "reigning house". It is also important to note from the excerpt that amaXhosa generally accepted and embraced whomever accepted the rule of their leader. This is significant for this study, as it will be elaborated on later. The kingdom's not being ethnic or geographic indicates that it keeps growing both by persons (those who are born into it and those who join it from other areas) and in space.

Johnson (2004:28) confirms the location of the kingdom of amaXhosa by fixing it in the Eastern Cape Province, when he reveals that: "As whites expanded into the Eastern Cape the first southern Nguni they encountered were the Xhosa ...".

The reception of amaGqunuqhwa (the Griquas)

AmaGqunuqhwa (the Griquas) are a small nation that is part of the Hottentot tribes in South Africa (Halford, N. d.: 15). Nowadays, these people are mostly found in the Northern Cape and North West Provinces of South Africa. They are also found in Namibia. Before the demarcation of the land, with artificial boundaries, into different parts by the colonialist, these people led a "nomadic" lifestyle (Frankental and Sichone 2005:66). As a result of their migratory nature, they would move around in search of greener pastures for their livestock. It is also possible that they would be running away from groups that attacked, defeated and displaced them. In their migration, a band of these people is reported to have come across amaXhosa at Mngaza Forest, not far from the present day Mthatha in the Eastern Cape Province. '

In his historical drama, Ngani (1985) depicts how these people met Khwane and his subjects who welcomed them in the forest. Khwane was Chief Tshiwo's councillor who was mandated to execute people who were condemned of witchcraft. Instead of killing these outcasts, Khwane hid them in the forest until they became a huge group and installed him as their leader and gave him the salutation "Sobantu" (Father of the People) (Ngani 1985:76). The bestowal of this salutation praise name on Khwane is in line with the general practice of amaXhosa of giving such to kings and chiefs. This is confirmed by Mtumane (2006:46) as follows:

Because of their position, chiefs and kings are so highly respected among the traditional amaXhosa such that they are not referred to by their proper names, especially in public. For this reason they are given special praise names called *izikhahlelo*.

Izikhahlelo is an isiXhosa word for are salutation praise names. In the drama, the welcoming of the Griquas by Khwane is reflected on page 68 when a character by the name of Mnqarhwana reports to him the arrival of these newcomers. Khwane's response is:

Ndiyakuva Mnqarhwana.

Mabafumane isixhaso senyama kuqala.

Siyithethe leyo izisu zizele.

(I hear you Mngarwana.

They must have meat to eat first.

We will discuss that when the stomachs are full up.)

In his analysis of the text, Mtumane (1992:58) expresses:

Khwane's giving meat to the Gqunuqhwas (Griquas) shows his generous acceptance of these strangers. Meat is one of the most important types of food among the Xhosa people. As it is used in the gatherings, meat may be used to show good fellowship among people. Khwane's giving meat to amaGqunuqhwa shows his acceptance that these strangers may have fellowship with his people. The giving of food to amaGqunuqhwa is in line with the claim that strangers among the Xhosa need not be in apprehension about meat and drink... This is claimed probably because the traditional Xhosa people are always free to give meat and drink to strangers.

On page 81 Khwane expresses his complete acceptance of these newcomers into his kingdom, when he addresses them, as follows:

Nalo ilizwe lelethu, sonke

. . .

Nasi isizwe, niyinxalenye yaso.

Yazanani, thandanani, nendiselane, nichume nande.

(There is the country, it is for all of us.

• • •

Here is a nation, you are part thereof.

Get acquainted with one another, love one another, intermarry, flourish and increase.)

The phrase "lelethu sonke" (it belongs to all of us) illustrates how the Griquas are allowed to share the land with Khwane's people. They would not be limited to a separate piece of land. There would be no dividing line between them and the new acquaintances. Foreign as they are, they are going to have the same rights as Khwane's people in the occupation and use of the land (Mtumane 1992:60).

The phrase, "niyinxalenye yaso" (you are part thereof) reflects that the Griquas are not only given the right to stay in the land but are to become part of the nation of amaXhosa. There will be no segregation between the two groups as amaGqunuqhwa are absorbed into the nation of amaXhosa. With amaXhosa they are going to form one nation (Ibid: 61).

It should be noted that in the above arrangement, the Griquas are not absorbed into amaXhosa forcefully. It would be out of their own volition that they would become part of the nation. Judging by the kind spirit of the king, Khwane, should they opt not to be incorporated into amaXhosa, they would be allowed to go their way. In other words, these people are not colonised but welcomed as equals with members of the host nation.

In the drama text, the confluence of Khwane's group of amaXhosa and the Griquas leads to these two nations (combined) getting a new name, amaGqunukhwebe. This name is given by Khwane himself as the conversation below, between him and the mixed group, indicates:

UKHWANE: Niyalifuna na igama?

BONKE: Thiya esi sizwe!

UKHWANE (ehleka): Niya lifuna na igama?

BONKE (bedloba): Thiya esi sizwe!

UKHWANE: Ndisithiye ndithini na?

BONKE: Thiya esi zizwe!

(Akhe ee ngumama uKhwane. Adubuleke emzuzwini):

UKHWANE: NingamaGqunukhwbe!

(Hayi ke izikhahlelo! Hayi imincili! Hayi imiguyo! Lide liye kutshona ilanga).

(Ngani, 1985: 81)

(KHWANE: Do you want a name?

ALL OF THEM: Name this nation!

KHWANE (*laughing*): Do you want a name?

ALL OF THEM (jumping around): Name this nation!

KHWANE: What should I name it?

ALL OF THEM: Name this nation!

(Khwane stops a bit. After a minute he shoots):

KHWANE: You are amaGqunukhwebe!

(Oh! What salutations! What excitements! What dancing! Until the setting of the sun)).

It should be noted that the naming of this nation by Khwane is a request by the Griquas and amaXhosa combined. It is an identification label that merges them as the new nation. With this label, they receive the same and unifying identity.

This name has the effect of making these people really part of the same nation since it unifies them. The formation of one nation is also enhanced by the free interaction to take place between the formerly two different dynasties. From this interaction, which involves intermarriage, a pure community of amaGqunukhwebe would result (Mtumane, 1992:61)

It is not clear who Gqunukhwebe was, whom this nation is named after. There are different views as to who this was. These different views are explained by Ngani (1947:8-9) as follows:

Abanye bathi, njengoko esi sizwe sikaKhwane seendiselana namaGqunuqhwa, sasesidunyelwa lelo gama, kwathiwa ngamaGqunuqhwa. Ekuhambeni kwexesha eli gama njengamagama onke, lajikwa kwathiwa ngamaGqunukhwebe. Bambi bathi uGqunukhwebe yinkulu kaKhwane. Imbali iphikisana ngokudanisayo ngeli gama. Ezinye iingwevu zasemaGqunukhwebeni zithi, lithi ibali uGqunukhwebe lo yayiligama lenkabi kaKhwane, njenkokuba ungeva amaNgqika kusithiwa ngamaMbombo, ebizwa ke ngoMbombo, inkabi kaNgqika.

(Some say, as this nation of Khwane intermarried with the Griquas, they liked that name, and were called amaGqunuqhwa (**the Griquas**). With the passing of time this name, like all names, was changed to amaGqunukhwebe. Some say Gqunukhwebe was Khwane's first born. History has much controversy regarding this name. Some elders from the nation of amaGqunukhwebe say, the account reports that this Gqunukhwebe

was the name of Khwane's ox, as you would hear the people of Ngqika referred to as amaMbombo, named after Mbombo, Ngqika's ox.)

(My emphasis)

The above extract reveals how different views are about the origin of the name amaGqunukhwebe, as it is used to refer to the people of Khwane in the text. However, for the sake of this discourse, no more time will be spent on these views as the name is not the subject of the study, but endeavouring to prove if the traditional amaXhosa were / are xenophobic or not.

Various historians do confirm the meeting of the Griquas and Khwane's group of amaXhosa and the resultant formation of the nation of amaGqunukhwebe. Ngani (1947:8-9) gives an account of this amalgamation as follows:

Ngeli xesha isizwe samaXhosa sasisemi phakathi koMthatha noMbashe. Ithi imbali, amaXhosa la ayemelene nesizwe samaLawu ekwakusithiwa ngamaGqunuqhwa, awayehlala kumahlathi angqingqwa, kwindawo ekuthiwa kuseMngaza, apho kumi ngoku isizwe samaMpondo. Kuthiwa esi sizwe samaGqunuqhwa sahlangana naaba bantu bakaKhwane emahlathini apho (kuthiwa kaloku babezinyezwe kuloo mahlathi aseMngaza) kwase kusendiselwana. Sakhula ke esi sizwe sabazimeleyo, saqala salima umhlaba, sahlwayela amazimba emahlathini apho.

(By this time the nation of amaXhosa was situated between the Mthatha and Mbhashe rivers. The account says, amaXhosa were neighbouring a Khoikhoi nation called the Griquas, who lived in dense forests, in a place called Mngaza, where the nation of amaMpondo is situated today. It is reported that the nation of the Griquas encountered Khwane's people in those forests (as the story says Khwane's people were hidden in these Mngaza forersts) and intermarriages took place. This nation of the hidden grew big, they started tilling the land and planting corn in these forests.)

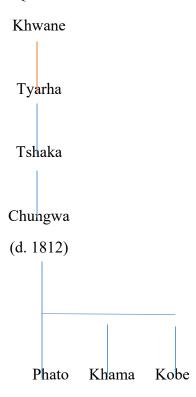
Giving a commentary on Tshiwo's kingdom being invaded by the Ngqosini clan, Peires (1981:25-26) records the following about Khwane:

Tshiwo was saved only by the intervention of a councillor named Khwane. A wide-spread oral tradition relates that Khwane had been the councillor entrusted with witchcraft executions, but that instead of doing his duty, he had hidden the condemned people in a forest where they had intermarried with the local Khoi. At the critical moment when Tshiwo was on the brink of defeat, Khwane led his secret army into battle and saved the day. Tshiwo rewarded him by appointing him a chief equal in rank to the amaTshawe. His people became known as the Gqunukhwebe, probably because of the large number of Gona Khoi in their ranks.

It is interesting that Ngani (1985: 84 - 89) does dramatise the war between Tshiwo and Ngqosini, and how Khwane rescued Tshiwo and was recognised as a chief by Tshiwo.

The "local Khoi" mentioned in this extract are the Griqua people who came across Khwane and his subjects. Peires (1981:48 – 50), as part of giving information about amaRharhabe, further records: "The other important chiefs in the west of Phalo's kingdom were the amaGqunukhwebe (the followers of Kwhane, whom Tshiwo had appointed a chief) ...". On page 56 he provides a genealogy of the chiefs of amaGqunukhwebe as follows:

The amaGQUNUKHWEBE



A comment on amaGqunukhwebe is made in http://members.iinet.net.au/-royalty/states/southafrica/amagqunukhwebe.html : 1) : 'amaGqunukhwebe (Xhosa tribe)' (accessed on 2015/05/05) as follows:

The tribe was founded by Khwane kaLungane, a son of Lungane Depe (*sic*), a trusted counsellor and a great warrior of King Tshiwo, as an offshoot of the amaXhosa together with a conglomerate of defeated tribes, mainly Khoi chiefdoms. The territory of the amaGqunukhwebe was west of the Buffalo River in the Eastern Cape.

. . .

Maylan (1986:37) confirms the fact that amaGqunukhwebe are "a mixed Xhosa – Khoi chiefdom" in his tabulation of the chiefdoms of amaXhosa in the Eastern Cape Province.

The equality of the Khoi and amaXhosa, when the former joined the latter, is highlighted by Peires (1981:40), where he avers that the Khoi were never associated with inferior status or loss of personal freedom.

It is observed that although the above historians simply summarise the encounter between the Griquas and amaXhosa under Khwane, they do provide the salient points of how amaGqunukhwebe were established into a nation. These points, although in an abridged form, do confirm what Ngani (1985) expresses in dramatised details in his text as the earlier discussion in this article reveals.

While the foregoing historians do not provide the details of how the Griquas met amaXhosa under Khwane, their confirmation of the confluence supports what Ngani dramatizes in his text. Up to this day, amaGqunukhwebe are a nation that is a sub-group of amaXhosa, with their chiefdom headquarters based in Middledrift, in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa.

Conclusion

Summary

This article has examined the attitude of the traditional amaXhosa under Khwane towards amaGqunuqhwa as strangers that came to their territory. It has done so by considering Ngani's historical drama entitled *Umkhonto kaTshiwo*, as in this text the playwright illustrates the coming of the Griquas to amaXhosa under Khwane, how these newcomers were received and the resultant formation of the new and current nation of amaGqunukhwebe from the combination of these formerly separate groups. Historical evidence has been sought to support what this dramatist is demonstrating in the body of his play. This evidence is found to be confirming this coming together of these initially separate nations, which led to the establishment of amaGqunukhwebe as a nation.

Findings

This research has established the kind nature of amaXhosa towards amaGqunuqhwa who came to their midst. These guests were received with kindness and hospitality. They were provided with all the essentials they needed and humanely assimilated into the nation of amaXhosa.

Although amaXhosa during the times of King Khwane might not have had the knowledge of the concepts of global and / or cosmopolitan citizenship, they seem to have practised some of the principles promoted by the adherents of these terms. In terms of these concepts, "citizenship goes beyond borders of the nation states", human beings are viewed as citizens of

the world and are transnational communities (Gerard, 2000:52, 56, 67;). This idea is further affirmed by Derek (2002:9), who advances that the "worth of all human beings as world citizens" be "honoured". The concept of "post national citizenship" pushes for citizenship that transcends national boundaries (Seyla, 2006:131).

The acceptance of the foreigners referred to above and giving them citizenship, irrespective of their national origin, reveals the adherence of amaXhosa to the principles just explained above. This action reflects that with the traditional amaXhosa the idea of citizenship is not limited to one's original national state. One can attain citizenship in a country away from one's roots. In line with the circumstance of "a citizen pilgrim", amaXhosa demonstrated their understanding that someone may be on a journey to a country to be established in the future in accordance with more idealistic and normatively rich conceptions of political community" (Derek, 2002:13). All this reflects how liberal these people are with regard to citizenship and association.

Also, the hospitable reception of amaGqunuqhwa by amaXhosa indicates how the latter adhere to the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*. Apart from being "the term for humanness" (Bell and Metz, 2011:79), this expression also refers to generous dealings with other human beings. It is for this reason that Gathogo (2008:42) uses it interchangeably with "African hospitality" and defines it as "that extension of generosity, giving freely without strings attached … unconditional readiness to share". Gathogo (2008:43) further quotes Bishop Desmond Tutu who explains *Ubuntu* as:

It speaks about humaneness, gentleness, and hospitality, putting yourself on behalf of others, being vulnerable. It embraces compassion and toughness. It recognizes that my humanity is bound up in yours, for we can only be human together.

The above explanation reflects what can be deduced from the acts of the traditional amaXhosa in welcoming the foreign nation of amaGqunuqhwa as discussed in this article. From embracing this community, can be inferred their "hospitality, generosity, unconditional readiness to share, humaneness, gentleness, compassion" and willingness to "be human together" with other people.

In his historical novel *Ityala lamawele*, Mqhayi (1981) also illustrates how the same kind treatment demonstrated to amaGqunuqhwa, as confirmed in this discourse, was extended to amaMfengu and the Europeans during the time of King Hintsa as well. There is historical evidence to this effect. However, due to lack of time and space, this will be a subject of another research endeavour. Nevertheless, the habit of amaXhosa to deal generously with strangers is confirmation that this nation is not xenophobic by nature. Xenophobia is a new and illegitimate phenomenon among them.

Recommendations

In a bid to end the problem of xenophobia among amaXhosa in particular, and in South Africa in general, members of society need to be encouraged to read books that reflect the kind attitude of amaXhosa towards strangers in their midst. Knowledgeable elderly people also need to be consulted to share stories of this nature and to warn the younger generations against hatred towards strangers who come to their midst. All this will assist the current breed to learn from the ways of their forefathers. The new age group may then wish to carry on with the legacy of hospitality (their forebears left them) towards foreigners and humanity in general.

As different parts of the world are becoming more global than local, it is vital that the people of South Africa are educated on global and cosmopolitan citizenship, for them to understand that people have the right to move freely to any part of the world. The reemphasis of the African philosophy of *Ubuntu* can be another solution for the problem of xenophobia. These recommendations do not, however, exempt the government from addressing the economic, high unemployment and poverty levels and housing challenges the country is faced with. The government needs to establish good infrastructure for its citizens so that the latter are not threatened by the arrival of people from other countries. Also, the country needs to have a strict immigration policy. Only legal immigrants and those who come for genuine reasons should be allowed to access the land. Genuine reasons could include running away from wars, genocides, oppression, and famine in the countries of the immigrants' origin. Political refugees could also be accommodated. Of most importance is states assisting each other's economies and political situations, where that is possible. This would foster stability in the continent so that there will be minimal push factors forcing people to leave their homes for other states. Those who do will do so voluntarily. It is very highly likely that, had the people of South Africa not living in poverty, they would probably have no qualms with people from other countries coming to this land.

At an academic level, it is of essence that scholars write more books reflecting the kind nature of the locals towards strangers. Further, it is of import for researchers to conduct more analyses of texts that reveal this not xenophobic nature of amaXhosa in particular, and the black South African society in general.

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