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Introduction

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Abstract

It is not a revolutionary observation that South Africa is at a crossroads. On the one hand things look good: Mandela is free, the ANC is unbanned, the pass laws have been officially dropped, and a constitutional conference about the final abolishment of the apartheid state and the institution of a new state based on democratic power-sharing is at an advanced stage of planning. On the other side things are not substantially different. The apartheid state is still there, blacks still do not have the vote, and most important of all, the inequality and the resultant apalling living conditions for both blacks and coloureds are still the same. But the mood is different. It is an explosive mix of political euphoria and unchanged poverty and social inequality. In this situation one thing has changed radically: the poHtical discourse.

Introduction: An Altered Aesthetics?

It is culture to create a new person in a new society with democratic values.1

It is not a revolutionary observation that South Africa is at a crossroads. On the one hand things look good: Mandela is free, the ANC is unbanned, the pass laws have been officially dropped, and a constitutional conference about the final abolishment of the apartheid state and the institution of a new state based on democratic power-sharing is at an advanced stage of planning. On the other side things are not substantially different. The apartheid state is still there, blacks still do not have the vote, and most important of all, the inequality and the resultant apalling living conditions for both blacks and coloureds are still the same. But the mood is different. It is an explosive mix of political euphoria and unchanged poverty and social inequality. In this situation one

thing has changed radically: the political discourse.

Whilst politicians are still battling with the all too real power structure of white South Africa, the opposition between Afrikaaner state and dispossessed masses seems passé in all other fields of discussion. The parameters of educational, national and cultural debates have moved far into the future, leaving the Boers behind like a bad taste. Instead, they concentrate on forming the policies and power relations in the new order. Discourse, in Foucault's use of the word, is 'the name for that language by which dominant groups within society constitute the field of "truth" through the imposition of specific knowledges, disciplines, and values'. Using the word in this precise meaning, this book is about the struggle to appropriate the discourse within the particular field of cultural production. The positions and strategies of this battle for hegemony are not unique to the South African situation; they fall into a post-colonial pattern whereby certain aesthetic values which have been accepted as universal are suddenly questioned by an emergent group. In South Africa the following statement by Steven Watson has been singled out as a particularly virulent statement of the dominant, metropolitan aesthetics.

Overwhelmingly, the black poetry of the last two decades consists of a number of half-assimilated European conventions which are frequently patched together in so confused and piecemeal a fashion.... The more one absorbs this poetry, the more one is reminded of the old truism that declares bad art always to be totally determined by its socio-historical context, good art never.³

Over and above the opinions expressed in the above quotation it is the unflinching appropriation of 'good' and 'bad' which carries the cultural baggage of Western hegemony. The opposition expresses itself in much more cautious terms.

The ANC does not ask you to become political pamphleteers.... While we require propaganda art we do not demand that every graphic artist and sculptor become a prop artist. We would urge our artists to pursue excellence in their respective disciplines – to be excellent artists and to serve the struggle for liberation with excellent art.4

Despite the above declaration's attempt to uphold perceived standards it is likely to lead to the category of 'bad' art, as the demand to serve the struggle will very likely lead to art which 'is totally determined by its social-historical situation'. The various interpretations of the terms 'good', 'bad' and 'excellent' are capable of carrying vast philosophical and ideological assumptions, and the same is true for the nexus which is set up between aesthetic values and certain themes. The struggle to appropriate the cultural discourse is both specific in its actual arguments and larger than life in its scope and intentions.

Michael Chapman's contribution throws the reader into the middle of an ongoing and, at times, quite vicious debate: the question of 'literary excellence' versus 'relevance'. Chapman is obviously beleaguered, both by critics and by his own struggle with a difficult standpoint. He takes his starting point in a speech by Albie Sachs, 'Preparing Ourselves for Freedom', in which Sachs says amongst other things 'let the criterion of good art not be prescriptive, but broadly anti-apartheid.' This obviously pleased the white upholders of standards - and here the poet Stephen Watson is the bête noire - and inspired them into more 'jargon of Eurocentricism' (Chapman's words). Evidently, Chapman finds that Sachs has gone too far in trying to soften up ANC demands for commitment and relevance and that international subjects like the killing of whales cannot yet be considered of equal importance with 'the killing fields of Natal'. Chapman explains his standpoint by outlining the crisis of belief in the efficacy of art which was the result of the political and social devastations of the 1980s, and the logical result of this, which is a demand for 'accountability to progressive forces'. In this light the short story writer Mtutuzeli Matshoba is preferred to Coetzee and Achebe to Conrad, and perhaps the most important 'resistance tools' are those of 'toye-toye dance, singing, murals, stickers, banners, badges and wooden AK 47s'.

Some of the controversy of the 'pursuit of excellence' discussion also hinges on the different meanings given to the term 'excellence', i.e. is whether it is defined as purely aesthetic or as related to the context (social situation). Chapman thinks the latter, and he urges critics to make humility rather than sophistications of irony their touchstone. He sees a change of emphasis in preferred genres as one of the practical effects of this changed perspective: not poem, play or novel, but short story, autobiography or the political testimony. Arguing for the side of relevance Chapman thus touches upon not only burning South African issues, but also the wider issues of post-colonial criticism and its attempts to rid itself of inherited assumptions of the universal good and to install localised and relativised versions of 'good for us, at this point in history'.

Stephen Gray is concerned with the same issues and even uses the same pattern of outlining the general parameters of the discussion and then fitting his own literary production into it. Although at first he seems to be agreeing with Chapman about the general direction of literary and critical endeavours, a significant diversion occurs, cutting across Chapman's battle lines of Eurocentric, elitist supporters of excellence versus relativist, socially conscious cultural worker. So Gray carefully situates himself between the two major spokespersons for the black and the white writers in South Africa, Nadine Gordimer and Njabulo Ndebele, even though he does not believe in in this particular set of 'poles of a Hegelian dialectic'. From their different perspectives they arrive at an agreement about certain important aspects. They both see the writer as a spokesperson for certain political goals, and they both see literature as a valuable means in the battle for social transformation. Gray then explains how his own literary production fits into these objectives, both in terms of ideological orientation and concomitant stylistic innovation. He chooses the 'non-canonical forms' of the thriller, the historical romance and the epistolary novel. This general level of agreement with Chapman's position, however, covers some major disagreements. Gray goes on to quote Coetzee's plea for a divorce between the discourse of history and that of the novel and

for a novel 'prepared to work itself out outside the terms of class conflict, race conflict, gender conflict'. Gray furthermore applauds Coetzee for being 'suspicious of cashable relevance' and 'rightly dismissive of reductive sloganeering'. He obviously sees himself as working for the same goals as Chapman, but using different means: European (British) potions of literature and add and the state of the same goals as Chapman.

(British) notions of literary standards and the autonomy of literature.

Sally Ann Murray approaches the same question from a slightly different angle. Starting from the basic assumption that South Africa has undergone a radical transformation – is in an 'altered state' – she then discusses what kind of stories will be most appropriate for this new situation. In line with Michael Chapman she finds that they are likely to be 'factual rather than imaginative', and on this premise she argues for a reevaluation of an earlier, and somewhat neglected novel, Phyllis Altman's *The Law of the Vultures* (1952). The novel has been criticised precisely for 'lack of art' by the kind of criticism which separates a historical consciousness from an artistic one. Murray sees the strength of *The Law of the Vultures* as lying precisely in its 'refusal to separate its material commitments from the art of fiction'. True to this programme, she sets about establishing the author's political credentials. Altman was a liberal who very early on grew impatient with slow gradualism and eventually became Assistant General Secretary of SACTU. She was banned in 1963 and forced to leave South Africa, but despite living in exile she made a deliberate effort to write primarily for a home readership, to conscientize a white South African audience.

The defence of the novel hinges on the connection between an ideological theme (the opposition between trade unionism and black nationalism) and its fictional guise, and Murray finds that the characters are convincing enough to carry their ideological burdens without becoming flat. Like Gray, she argues for a different form to carry the altered message, but unlike him, she suggests some radical departures from realist expectations; amongst these expectations she includes the privileging of individual experience, the evocation of setting and and a resolution of action and moral theme. Instead she invokes Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia, and so defends the inconclusive ending as truer to the social reality. The Law of the Vultures has suffered by being compared with Paton's Cry, the Beloved Country, and Murray feels that in the present – and possibly future – situation there is more call for social commitment than for Christian idealism.

David Maughan Brown continues the discussion of critical standards by analysing a group of poems which appeared between January 1987 and June/July 1989 in a 'poetry corner' in the weekly supplement, *Echo*, of the Pietermaritzburg daily paper, the *Natal Witness*. During that period some 1400 people were killed in clashes between UDF and Inkatha. The political background is outlined, and Maughan Brown states his own political background is outlined, and Maughan Brown states his own political background is outlined.

ical opinion by blaming Inkatha for the increase in violence.

The poems, which are submitted by township readers, are first analysed in terms of their intended function and political content. This part of the paper falls into the category of literary sociology, in which literature is only one text among many from which information about the opinions or ideology of a certain group can be gleaned, and the conclusion to this part is overtly political. The poems are seen to be didactic, to call for unity, to lament the situation or to try and boost morale, but Maughan Brown finds in them an almost total absence of any analysis of political process. Instead of political solutions the poets turn to God and see the situation as punishment for sin. Whilst Maughan Brown acknowledges that the religious vocabulary can be a disguise for a political message, he mainly laments this 'displacement of the political onto the religious terrain', and he blames the situation and ultimately the colonizers for this.

The other aspect of the paper is concerned with the problem of evaluation, which these poems raise. Mauhan Brown answers this question in two ways. First he analyses some of the poems in a detailed, New Critical manner, paying close attention to

imagery and finding ambiguities and puns, two highly prized commodities in 'high' literary criticism. After this practical demonstration, he then states his opinion that a refusal to engage with poems of this nature on the ground that they do not constitute 'good' literature must be contradictory to a liberal or radical sympathy for the struggle. Literary criticism needs to find ways to engage seriously with the 'voice of the voice-

less'. This is as far from the Coetzee/Gray attitude as you can get.

Andries Oliphant discusses the contribution of literary journals to the cultural debate, and this discussion turns into a severe indictment of the British orientated, liberal humanist stance. The journals are grouped into interest groups, defined as 'a white liberal English tradition, a non-racial democratic tradition, a black Africanist tradition, a white Afrikaans conservative and racist tradition and a liberal, white and black Afrikaans tendency'. Oliphant puts the existing journals into these categories and reserves most space for an angry polemic against the first of these groups. He rages against its stated 'universal aesthetic principles', its preference for certain themes (these exclude racism), and its aesthetics, 'fiercely hostile to socially oriented literary practices'. His denouncement of Eurocentricism and universalism, parading some 'mystical' European set of literary rules as the standard of good literature, is closely aligned with the general trend in post-colonial criticism, and in this perspective the British liberal tradition becomes a kind of sly oppressor who oppresses, not with the gun, but with intellectual and aesthetic rules which can be more insidious than the physical oppression. The black Africanist group endeavours to liberate itself from this pressure and combines a strong opposition to European cultural traditions with a search for an African aesthetic and artistic roots. Oliphant, who is editor of Staffrider, endorses the radical, non-racialist standpoint.

Mzwakhe represents, together with the *Echo* poets, the subject of the controversy. He is a political poet, working for the cultural workers' groups within the UDF. He composes his own poems and recites them from memory at large political gatherings, and he also performs with a band, where he is the lead singer. His poems, when written down and read in isolation (as in this volume), do not stand up very well to traditional methods of literary criticism, and so the critic is faced with the choice of either branding them as sub-standard (the British, liberal approach) or devising a different set of critical tools and standards, which can take into account the event, the audience, the purpose, the aesthetics of a mass rally rather than of poetic diction, the cliche's capability of

carrying meaning in certain situations etc.

The reality behind these disagreements about the nature and function of literature is, of course, the Apartheid State. The vast inequality in living standards and education between the white and black groups must of necessity be reflected in the kind of literary output which the two groups produce. It is common knowledge that black and coloured literature favours the shorter forms of poetry and the short story and the factual form of the autobiography, whereas the white writers, whilst they also include these forms, have gained their international reputations mainly through their novels. There is one significant South African genre, however, which is shared by all groups of radical writers: the Prison Memoir. The criteria for inclusion in this group is not colour or social status, but political orientation and degree of radicalism. Despite the fact that South African prisons operate an apartheid system, under which black prisoners have a far worse deal than white ones, the general treatment of political prisoners is severe enough for all the writers of prison memoirs to be included in this league of survivors of the unimaginable. J.U. Jacobs' article discusses a number of writers' attempts at rendering the unimaginable manageable for themselves and imaginable for the reader. The experience of detention and imprisonment is a major determinant of literary production in South Africa to day' he states. Jacobs sets out to produce a grammar of the prison diary, drawing not only on a wide body of writing from

South Africa but also making comparisons with outside writers, such as Ngugi and Soyinka. This litany of horrors has the effect of highlighting the political reality and the necessity of altering it; in other words, it focusses the attention on political rather than literary problems. Jacobs, however, concentrates on the individual, psychological level, which is the one which is presented in the literature. He uses concepts from psychology, such as the DDD (Debility, Dependency and Dread) symptom and 'post-traumatic stress disorder', and these concepts help explain the behaviour patterns which occur in the prison narratives. There are no stylistic or literary considerations, and the article falls into the category of sociological criticism, in which the literature is read for the information it can disclose. For a genre which is as raw and bleeding as the recently lived prison memoir this seems appropriate, and perhaps by default this article sheds some light on the controversy. Perhaps certain experiences or lifestyles do not lend themselves to literary contemplation or stylistic innovations. The mass funeral, the protest rally or torture in prison might just be such experiences, and with their disappearance (one hopes) the controversy will perhaps lose some of its fire.

There are of course exceptions to all the generalisations stated above; I am only outlining trends, not setting down laws. I will, however, maintain that the prison narrative forces a grounding in reality which can make theorizing seem oddly out of place or even misguided, as Cherry Clayton maintains. She continues the discussion of prison narratives, but narrows it down to women's prison narratives in order to explore two specific aspects: the perceived irrelevance of the struggles organized around nationality, race and gender which is implied by the prefix 'post' (post-apartheid, post-feminism and post-colonial) and, more specifically, the relationship between family and state in the prison narratives by women. On the first point she argues against the post-colonial view that 'comparative methodology and ... hybridized and syncretic views' is the gateway to a new dispensation which has already emerged with the advent of writers and critics of that order. She punctures this rhetoric by pointing to how identity is shaped by the power structures in the real world. The prison narratives are her examples of this, and on this point she reaches the conclusion that only 'the defence of specific rights, and specific freedoms' can liberate the world as she knows it, and this can only be done through the battles centred around nationality, race and gender, both in reality and in literature.

This view again flies in the face of Coetzee's call for a novel which is not based on 'class, race and gender', and along with several of the other contributors Clayton views literature as a tool in the struggle. With regard to the second point, Clayton discusses two black and two white women's prison narratives and comes to the conclusion that the two black writers view the family as a warm, sustaining unit, despite their own double colonization, whilst the white writers either play down family life or develop a family attachment which makes it possible to join the political struggle. In other words, the feminist equation between the patriarchal family and the equally patriarchal state does not hold for the women writers she has chosen to discuss; the political liberation comes before feminist or gender liberation.

This problem is also discussed by the next contributor, Lauretta Ngcobo, who describes impressions and thoughts from a recent visit to South Africa after having been in exile since the 60s. She finds that there have been no material changes in black peoples' lives; the majority of them live in utter poverty despite the political optimism, and she thinks that this unequal power relationship casts doubts on attempts to forge a South African sisterhood across the colour bar. She also believes that the new situation has created new lines of division among black women. Although united by race and gender, they are divided by class. This aspect is discussed in terms of the difficulties of coping with the situation black madam, black maid, and she questions the right of black middle class women to speak for working class or traditional women, just as she has

always been opposed to white women acting as spokespersons for black women. The important lines of division in post-apartheid South Africa are obviously going to be class and gender, not race. Ngcobo outlines important obstacles to gender equality which need to be removed: the legal status of black women, the limited access to bank loans and the unequal representation on the governing bodies of the political parties. Here, Clayton and Ngcobo are in agreement that 'defence of specific rights, and specific freedoms' is the path to liberation, both in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

The only contributor who is not from South Africa is Kirsten Holst Petersen, and it is not a coincidence that her contribution is concerned with a novel by an established writer, Nadine Gordimer. It is this aspect of South African literature which it is possible to follow and study from a European geographical position. Her discussion of A Sport of Nature hinges on two issues which are raised by Gordimer in the novel, and which the two previous contributors have also discussed: the connection between feminism and nationalism and the role of – in this case white women – in a liberated South Africa. Gordimer agrees with Ngcobo that white women should not act as spokespersons for black women, and she outlines a scenario in which her main character tries to avoid this. However, in the course of this Gordimer falls foul of feminists, because her heroine is forced back into a subservient female role of the type which feminists have spent much energy on working their way out of. The article explores this clash and tries to account for it.

Choosing the poetry and short stories for this volume could be a test of where the editors stand in the battle which goes on in the greater part of the volume, but we have opted out of the controversy and included both people's poems and more literary ones to illustrate both sides of the debate. The poems cover the ground from radical protest to post-protest. The pivotal point is the moment of change, not necessarily the actual political change, but the ontological change which precedes the political take-over. Sipho Sepamla describes this in terms of personal feelings. Andries Oliphant outlines aspects of the battle which led to this point, in a hallucinatory mixture of grievances and goals, and he mourns the dead who will not participate in the moment of change. Stephen Gray prays for the moment to come soon, desperation creeping into his voice, and in his concern he moves beyond it to a discussion of the returnees, an obvious subject for much soul-searching and writing in the future. Kelwyn Sole joins him in the future orientation of his poetry and provides what Maughan Brown missed in the Echo poems: political analysis to support a didactic purpose. Peter Clarke, informed by the mood of the impending change, sees hope in seemingly hopeless situations. These are all established poets, and they all deal with themes which are directly related to the political situation. But to endorse Niabulo Ndebele's view that 'if it is the entire society that has to be recreated, then no aspect of society can be deemed irrelevant to the progress of liberation' (p. 214), we have included two relatively unknown poets, writing about subjects which are not directly related to the political culture. Deela Khan describes the world of mental breakdowns in private, psychedelic imagery, reminiscent of hippy poetry, and N.M. Nyezwa records private moments, evoking a different (spiritual) dimension from the political awareness of the rest of the poetry.

The stories show the same variety. Two of them engage with the struggle in its past and present aspect, and one describes an aspect of apartheid laws, using humour and self-irony. 'Long after the Night Watch' is a Jim-comes-to-Joburg story, an old and tried genre. In this case it is Vukile comes to Cape Town, but the significant departure from the pattern of the story lies in the fact that it is not city corruption and crime which assail the innocent and naive Vukile, but the controversy between migrant hostel workers and township dwellers, or in political terms, between the UDF and Inkatha. Vukile becomes involved, but does not understand what is going on, and the story is

constructed in such a way as to mirror his confusion.

The Boy with an Extraordinary Mind' is also a traditional story with a twist. The traditional pattern is that of a black person being humiliated by a white, but in this case the author does not rely on the power of the moral position to carry the message; on the contrary, he explicitly rejects the humility of the destroyed generation, here represented by the grandfather, and makes his main character act positively to liberate himself from that particular form of bondage. Both stories are low keyed, and thus avoid rhetoric and political slogans and concentrate instead on showing how the political situation affects intelligent but naive or defenceless people. In this way they form a direct contrast to Mzwakhe's political rhetoric, reflecting as they do insecurity, confusion and small personal victories, but their aim is the same: to strengthen the popular will to resist both apartheid and and township violence.

It is interesting that the same genre (Jim-comes-to-Joburg) can be, and already is being, used to deal with situations which lie beyond the apartheid state. By this I am not denying that the apartheid state has created the township violence, but I am saying that the solution to it lies beyond the parameters of the apartheid state. The last story, 'The Finishing Touch', is set in 1959, and although this is a period of severe repression and also the period of protest literature, with the seriousness and powerlessness which characterised it, this story is very funny. It concerns an Indian trader, Muthusamy Coopoosamy, who wants to change his name to Michael Cooper in order to fool the authorities into thinking that he is a white man and giving him a trading license. The focus of the story is the Indian community, which through the story laughs at its own shortcomings and celebrates its own resilience. Art can be subversive in many ways,

and humour is an important one.

It goes without saying that the editors find the poetry and stories which we have included interesting and valid, and this may look like sitting on the fence in a controversy which is heated and at times bitter. There is, however, another possible interpretation. The examples of writing from both 'camps' represented in this volume belong very clearly to their different 'camps', and it does not seem difficult to devise different aesthetic norms for them and to keep them separate without arranging them in a hierarchy. Perhaps the disputed area is the middle ground? Here, there is a danger. Just as at a mass meeting it is possible that there is a personality, voice, text and delivery which is not successful, so it is obviously also possible that there is a poem, story or novel, which is also not successful. It is this potentially bad poem, story or novel, which causes the controversy. There is a danger that accepting the different genres makes it impossible to judge any piece of writing to be bad. Bad writing disappears, so to speak, by definition. This happens, I suggest, when the criteria of the genres become mixed in the critic's mind. A carelessly written story does not become good, because it contains the correct message. This is what the liberal critics have been saying in various unkind ways. Neither is it automatically bad because it is committed. But a poem or play which has moved, entertained and provoked large audiences cannot be judged to be bad, just because it does not fit liberal criteria of literary criticism. I am aware that a genre division has crept in, dividing literature into the genres which can be performed and those which can only - or mainly - be read, and perhaps this is relevant. Perhaps the controversy is caused by applying the criteria for one kind of cultural production to another whose aims and aesthetics are quite different.

The art work is intended to be an integral part of the volume, and apart from being enjoyable it partakes in all the controversies which have been outlined in the other fields of cultural production: 'high' versus 'low' art, community based group art versus the visions of individual artists, politically committed versus 'aesthetic' art. Official white South African art is seen to escape commitment through modernism (enlightened Afrikaanerdom, vividly charicatured by Gordimer in *Burger's Daughter* in the character of Brandt Vermeulen and his art collection which includes a 'life-size plastic female

torso, divided down the middle into a blue and red side, with its vaginal labia placed horizontally across the outside of its pubis, like the lips of a mouth. The tip of a clitoris poked a tongue. The nipples were perspex...',4 and it is also seen to be relying on state funding, which ensures its apolitical nature. A much quoted example of this is the group of three lifesized bronze giraffes in a street in Pretoria. The alternatives to this art are, broadly speaking, committed to an engagement with the political landscape of South Africa, but here the uniformity ends. Community based art, like the people's parks or peace parks with their 'found object sculptures', is even less suited to representation in book form than performance poetry, so the art work represented here is by individual artists, several of whom, however, are members of community arts projects. The choice of media is obviously, like the choice of literary genres, determined by a desire to have an immediate impact on the struggle, and here photography, lithographs, collage and various forms of poster art dominate; but funding, or lack of same, also plays a part in this choice. The photo montage is the traditional vehicle of social protest, and Santu Mofokeng's series Like Shifting Sands, from which this book takes its title, is a fine example of this. However, this connection between photography and social protest is not inevitable, as the Scenes from Some South African Weddings by Gillian Cargill show. These pictures capture unofficial moments during weddings, 'the side-line action outside the the formality', and they celebrate people's ability to continue living amidst great difficulties. Because they are somewhat whimsical, they also make a statement about the individual artist's right to choose an angle of vision which does not mesh directly with the demands of the struggle. As a compliment to this Garth Erasmus' collages, The Emergency Series offer stark and direct images from the struggle, and in between these two extremes Tyrone Appollis' linocuts The Train Series show both the congestion and terrible conditions of commuter trains and platforms and the energy and spontaneity generated by the people using them.

It is wonderful to find artists who break categories and rules and upsets patterns, but this does not deny the existence of the patterns and rules, it merely points to possibilities beyond them. This book operates in a space beyond apartheid politics, where new lines of opposition are formed and debated. Although the debate is angry, it has moved into a world where ideas and controversies are concerned with ways of seeing, not ways of suppressing. The solutions lie, I suspect, in compromise, or in restating the problem in a different way or working towards altering the social circumstances.

KIRSTEN HOLST PETERSEN

NOTES

 Message from COSATU and the UDF in Willem Campschreur and Joost Divendal, eds., Culture in Another South Africa (London: Zed Books, 1989), p. 258.

2. Stephen Slemon, 'Monuments of Empire: Allegory/Counter-Discourse/Post-Colonial

Writing' in Kunapipi, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1987, p. 6.

3. Stephen Watson, 'Shock of the Old: What's Become of Black Poetry?', Upstream, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1987, p. 23.

 Pallo Jordan, 'Keynote Address on Behalf of the National Executive committee of the ANC' to CASA Conference, in Culture in Another South Africa, p. 265.

5. Nadine Gordimer, Burger's Daughter (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1980) p. 182.