

https://dspace.org/

The white English-speaking South Africans contemporary dilemmas and responses in South African English poetry

Foley, Andrew John

1990
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/24743

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

posture of Peter Horn's poetry. Rather, Sole employs a complex comparison between his wife's pregnancy and an explosive political situation to explore the problems of responding to his milieu. On the one hand, his unborn child is likened in its unpredictability, power and potentiality to "the bomb of the future", a comparison which forces the poet to consider the wider social circumstances of which his personal circumstances are part. On the other hand, his desire for political justice and an end to state oppression - in the form of propaganda, military force or the silencing of protest - is complicated by his desire to keep his wife and unborn child safe from the destructiveness of war. This desire for safety is heightened by the ironic twist in the penultimate stanza where the warm fire turns out to be not a cosy, household hearth, but rather the house itself. In response to this highly problematic disjunction between individual, personal desires on the one hand, and larger, political desires on the other, Sole offers no easy resolutions. Instead, the poem concludes with a compressed, complex and even ambiguous image of words' meanings ticking like bombs in the poet's throat. Whether their articulation will ultimately favour the explosion of the poet's child into the world, or the traumatic birth of a new political dispensation, remains undetermined and is, perhaps, for the time being at least, undeterminable. The poem's unresolved ending ought not to be construed as weakness or as an undermining of the poet's materialist position, but rather as an honest and courageous acknowledgement of one of the highly complex dilemmas confronting all South Africans, including Marxists, living in this country today.

(b)

The critique of the prevailing South African political system, offered by contemporary South African English poets, has been conducted, generally, from two main ideological perspectives. The Marxist critique of the system, as expressed in the work of poets such as Peter Horn, Jeremy Cronin and Kelwyn Sole, represents one such perspective. For the most part, however, whatever the intellectual or theoretical force of the Marxist perspective, it remains an option embraced by only a small proportion of those white English-language poets who have offered a critique of the apartheid system. By far the majority of politically oriented white English-language poets in South Africa have tended to follow a line of political thinking which may be classified broadly as "liberal humanist".[63] This term has been frequently and widely misunderstood, however, especially in the contemporary period, and so it is necessary to provide some definition of the term before suggesting how it may usefully be applied to the mode of political analysis advanced by a number of recent South African English poets in whose work one aspect of the WESSA tradition of dissent is manifested.

As was noted earlier when dealing with the Marxist perspective, in the years following the National Party's 1948 election victory the main line of official white political opposition to the government was a generally liberal one. With the drastic polarisation and radicalisation of political thought and action which took place during the 1960s, such liberal opposition (as it was then understood) seemed to become increasingly ineffective and even redundant. Partly in response to its own apparent inadequacies, and partly

in response to the challenge posed by the emergent Marxist school of thought, liberalism was forced in the late 1960s and early 1970s into an urgent process of reassessment and adaptation of itself to the changing political conditions in South Africa. It is the contention of this study that in the contemporary period the liberal humanistic tradition has adapted and developed successfully and once more represents an effective and powerful mode of opposition to apartheid. To substantiate this, it is useful briefly to explore some of the central criticisms of liberalism in South Africa.

As Butler, Elphick and Welsh note, WESSA liberals have been accused of being both strong and weak:

> "as members of the establishment complicit in maintaining apartheid and as peripheral idealists with no political constituency and a long record of failure in producing reform."[64]

They have, for example, been perceived as supporting exploitative apartheid capitalist practices, of offering empty paternalistic gestures rather than effecting real reform, and of obstructing the path to justice and democracy by insisting on adherence to the law. In addition, they have been condemned for lacking rigour and empirical substantiation in their social and political analysis. Martin Legassick, the Marxist historian, makes the point that liberalism in South Africa has often been

> "a force trying on the one hand to minimize or disguise the conflictual and coercive aspects of the social structure, and on the other to convince

> selected Africans that the grievances they felt could be ameliorated through reforms which liberals could promulgate."[65]

As applied to South African liberalism in the 1950s and 1960s, such criticisms, while not wholly justified, are nevertheless not without some validity. In the contemporary period, however, liberalism in this country has responded to altered circumstances and has adapted and developed to the extent that it now requires an objective reappraisal and redefinition. Such an assessment of the liberal tradition in the contemporary period is provided by Butler, Elphick and Welsh,[66] who maintain that present-day liberalism in South Africa is based on three central concepts: freedom, democracy and humane values. Firstly, freedom, as understood by liberals today, is concerned not solely with individuals in an atomistic view of society, but also with the protection of communities and groups, ethnic and other, that have been the objects of discrimination. (The Rawlsian notion of "affirmative action" therefore forms an important part of liberalism's strategic thinking.) Equally important is the defence of private institutions threatened by the state, including the press, judiciary, universities and business. (Though the emphasis with regard to business falls on free enterprise, there is no place for the unchecked exploitativeness of completely laissez-faire capitalism.) As Butler et al. observe, "only a society with multiple centres of power can withstand the pressures for authoritarianism endemic in South African society".[67] The second basic tenet of contemporary South African liberalism is democracy. Despite disagreement on the most effective strategies for achieving a democratic society, there is little

support in liberalism today for defining democracy as anything less than universal franchise, exercised in free and open elections for the country's rulers. The third crucial aspect of South African liberalism in the contemporary period is its emphasis on humane values that transcend the usual realm of political ideology. These humanistic values include, as Butler et al. note,

> "a reliance on altruism as a force for social renewal ...; an optimism about the regenerative and healing possibilities of history, despite much distressing evidence to the contrary; an emphasis on fair play and ethical behaviour in politics; a reluctance to agree that the end can ever justify the means; and a confidence that education and religion based on liberal values can shape a moral, well-informed, and democratically minded citizenry".[68]

An essential practical extension of this humanistic tradition, is the belief that political change in South Africa can take place through peaceful, evolutionary means, rather than through violent revolution, and that adherence to the rule of law remains an indispensable element in such political change.

It must be stressed that contemporary South African liberalism ought not to be construed as conforming to a rigid ideological pattern, despite the heightened rigour and sophistication of its socio-political analysis . Richard Elphick,[69] in framing a theoretical characterisation of liberal thinking, maintains that it lacks a "paradigm" analogous to the Marxist, that it is, in fact, pluralist by conviction, and that it is committed to no causal model and affirms no

fundamental to South African history. At the same time, however, liberal thought is not to be seen as vague or amorphous or inconsistent. It possesses a unity resting on common political allegiances, on a critical stance towards the white-dominated South African state, and, especially, on a commitment to freedom and justice. Thus, while liberal thought in South Africa today may be characterised by some plurality, flexibility and heterogeneity, it nonetheless possesses a coherence and unity which derives from its foundation upon a binding set of values and principles and attitudes, particularly those of freedom, democracy and social humanitarianism.

From this account, it would seem that liberal humanism, as it has developed and adapted in the contemporary period, continues to represent a powerful and relevant political force and to form an important component of the WESSA tradition of dissent. Given the plural and multiform nature of liberal thought, however, it is clearly not as easy to discern liberal political thinking in the work of South African English poets as it is in the case of Marxism. Without a set theoretical model or paradigm to work with, it becomes difficult to classify a particular poem as a clearly liberal poem or to identify a particular poet simply as a liberal poet. Nevertheless, it is possible to categorise a body of poetry or the work of an individual poet as liberal humanist in its political orientation, as long as the categorisation is limited strictly to poetry whose content and focus is of a directly political nature.[70] This limitation allows cognizance to be taken of the fact that many "liberal" poets do not always and necessarily write political poems, and also that many poems, while including

passing or peripheral reference to political issues, are not necessarily "political" in any specific sense of the word. Poetry may be termed liberal humanist in so far as it expresses, or embodies, or adheres to, or is based upon, a core set of liberal humanist values. These values, as outlined above, are fundamentally those of freedom, democracy and social humanitarianism. Thus, despite fairly wide variations in style, form and temperament, a number of South African English poets may be classified as liberal humanist in that there is evident in their politically focussed poetry an adherence or commitment to fundamental liberal humanist values. Such poets include not only those, such as Lionel Abrahams and Patrick Cullinan, who have openly declared their liberal humanist orientation, but also those, such as Christopher Hope, Mike Nicol, Chris Mann, Robert Greig and others, whose work clearly enbodies liberal humanist values even though the poets themselves may not have directly acknowledged their commitment to such values.

It must be noted that not all literary criticism has regarded contemporary liberal humanist poetry in quite this way. A number of critics, influenced perhaps by the radical shifts in critical practice in the 1960s and 1970s, have tended to define recent liberal poetry rather narrowly as merely a continuation of earlier liberal poetic activity and have hence tended to equate it with the traditional, the conventional, the familiar. The tendency, as a result, is to see liberal poetry generally not as varied and diverse, but rather as uniform, customary, non-innovative. Michael Chapman, for example, in his introduction to A Century of South African Poetry, sees the liberal humanist poetic tradition forming an unbroken line

which begins with Pringle, is taken up by Slater, and culminates in the poets of the war generation: Butler, Currey, Delius, Eglington, Wright.[71] According to Chapman,

> "this is a poetry which, in keeping with those conciliatory ideals traditionally associated with English intellectual life, broadly characterises a humane and reasonable speaking voice which dominates over image-making. The tones are 'familiar', community-inspired; and, while there is a willingness to criticise social authority ..., the poetry's syntax, which is usually logically arranged, implies an underlying confidence in given moral and literary values."[72]

Chapman then goes on to assert that this "literary traditionalism" continues to inform South African English poetic activity today in the work of poets such as Cullinan and Mann.[73] Thus, while he does concede some limited diversity within the 'traditional', liberal poetry of today, Chapman generally seems to view it as largely conventional, unidimensional, unoriginal, particularly in comparison with what he terms "an exciting literary radicalism" (whether of an "anti-poetic" or a "romantic-symbolist" mode) and to which he wishes to give prominence in his criticism.[74] Even more harshly, Stephen Watson, in much of his earlier, materialist-based literary criticism,[75] upbraided liberal-humanist poets for reproducing the banal, sterile, moribund qualities (as he saw them) of the WESSA sub-culture in their poetry. This poetry, he felt, was unimaginative, superficial, prosaic, dull, and was typified by "a curious linguistic deadness" and "a one-dimensional vision."

In these kinds of critical appraisals, it seems that the critics have not taken sufficient note of the developments and adaptations which liberal humanist thought has undergone in the contemporary period, and so they continue to apprehend liberal humanism in outmoded and partial terms. Consequently, they struggle to see the ways in which contemporary liberal humanist values inform recent liberal poetry; in particular, critics such as Chapman and Watson do not seem alive to the real variety and range of contemporary liberal humanist poetry, especially in its critique of the apartheid system in South Africa. The rest of this chapter will therefore examine the various ways in which liberal poets have criticised the South African political order, a criticism which ranges in form from direct, graphic descriptions and condemnations of apartheid practices to more subtle and suggestive poetic strategies, and from candid, self-evaluative reflections on the nature of liberal humanist opposition to apartheid to explorations of possible methods of finding solutions to the problem of apartheid itself. Each of these forms of critique will be treated in turn.

In the first place, a number of recent liberal humanist poets have offered a critique of South Africa's political system in a direct way, effectively utilising a poetry of plain statement to confront the major evils of their society clearly and forthrightly.

In the past, liberal poetry has stood accused of seeming unable or unwilling to face up to social injustice directly.[76] It is suggested that its typically refined discourse, its concern with aesthetics, its concentration on formalistic devices,

all serve to obscure a poem's meaning and to divert attention away from the ostensibly political content of a poem and towards elitist, hegemonic cultural concerns. Likewise, ambiguities in political responses, conveyed typically through linguistic ambiguities and semantic multivalency, are seen not as an honest and sensitive acknowledgement of ambivalence, but rather as at best ignorance and weakness and as at worst a tacit supporting of the status quo. Whatever the validity of such criticisms in the past, they do not seem justified when applied indiscriminately to contemporary South African liberal poetry. Far from seeking refuge in the evasiveness of metaphor or layered ambiguity, several liberal poets have presented unequivocal and direct condemnations of the injustices and brutality of the apartheid system.

Mike Nicol's poem, "A Violent Country" (Among the Souvenirs, 1978), exemplifies the capacity of liberal humanist poetry to address social and political evil directly.

"That is a violent country:
harsh in landscape
and government. People
live, cold and unsmiling,

with the rope's knot
against their necks,
waiting for the trap
to open. Everyone,

those in labour camps
on the edges of cities,
or those in grand houses
on wide avenues is

ruled by the hard law
of death. Hatred and fear
have bought their hearts.
There the State is all:

its geography a matter
of strict borders
electrified against enemies;
its uniforms and laws,

institutions and politics
control the whole life
of the people. Even
on quiet roads after

the breathless tension
at sunset, Authority's
frightening voice
shouts from mountains:

'Regard only the State.
The State is the true
Reality.' Love means
nothing in an iron State,

politicians wear the uniform
of power, justice
is a sudden drop
into a whitewashed room."

Nicol employs a language of plain statement, a language almost entirely stripped of poetic embellishment, in order to assert unequivocally the brutal injustices perpetrated by the South African State. The poetic voice is reduced to a virtually prosaic, bare utterance in which the horrifying facts of the apartheid system are exposed and condemned. Yet the poem is not a mere imitation of the Marxist ideal poetic form as practised, for example, by Peter Horn. Though Nicol's poem denounces apartheid, the terms in which it does so are clearly liberal rather than materialist. In particular, contrary to the Marxist political analysis, this poem identifies the fundamental cause of political injustice not as essentially economic, but rather in humanistic terms: "Hatred" has replaced "Love", true "justice" has been supplanted by the "power" of the State, and individual rights and liberties have been eroded by the arbitrary exercise of "Authority". These

violations of humane values are not occasioned by the class struggle but rather cut across class divisions and affect all members of the society deleteriously:

> "those in labour camps
> on the edges of the cities,
> or those in grand houses
> on wide avenues".

Again unlike much Marxist poetry, Nicol's poem stops short of proposing clear-cut "solutions" to the problems of South Africa and so functions not as an attempt to mobilise and militarise its audience, but rather as a straightforward protest against the infringement of human rights by the Government and against the perpetration of political violence. Whatever solutions are to be found, the underlying implication of the poem is that they too ought to be grounded in the values of freedom and justice and love.

Like Nicol, Chris Mann has also at times made use of simple, unadorned language in laying bare the grim realities of oppression, as in "Shooting Practice" (A World of Their Own, ed. S. Gray, 1976), "Love and Fear" and "The Detainee" (both in First Poems, 1977). In this last-mentioned poem, the continuing psychological trauma wrought by a period of detention without trial, is conveyed all the more powerfully through the plain diction and quiet rhythms, through a poetry shorn of all obtrusive literary effects or hyperbole:

> "Hers was no physical beating:
> with subtlety and great patience
> her captors fingered out her thoughts,
> then battered them with ridicule,
> until all she was and stood for
> seemed cringing, shabby, and wrong.

final line. At another level, however, the word "etcetera" does convey meaning as it suggests that so long as people ignore such violence and simply carry on with the rest of their lives ("etcetera") so will such acts of violence and others ("etcetera") continue to be committed. However inadequate language may seem to be, it is the one tool at the poet's disposal to protest against violence and injustice and to help bring about a more equitable and humane society, even if it means going back to the very roots of language:

"And there is grammar".

Numerous liberal humanist poets have, indeed, presented direct and unequivocal criticisms of the whole panoply of apartheid policies and practices, from detention without trial to the migrant labour system to the Group Areas Act to the Immorality Act. To take a single example, the cruel practice of forced removals has been condemned in the most umambiguous terms by poets such as Mike Nicol, "Urban Renewal: Fourteenth Street" (Among the Souvenirs, 1978), Chris Mann, "On the Disposal of Effluent" (A World of Their Own, ed. S. Gray. 1976), Francis Faller, "Magopa: The Resettlement" (Weather Words, 1986), and Alan James, "After a Demolition Raid on a Squatter Camp" and "Squatters' Homes Demolished: Crossroads and KTC Camps" (both in Producing the Landscape, 1987). In this last-mentioned poem, James is confronted by the "rank festival" of the demolition of homes, an action which James condemns as a crime against humanity and a sin against God. James characteristically employs a style comprising short, abrupt phrases and unusual, even archaic diction, a practice which at times results in some degree of obscurity and difficulty. In this poem, however, the poet's condemnation of the demolition is

couched in a language of astringent clarity and directness and in tones of barely controlled horror and rage:

"Can be no account of it
complete, ruled: the brokenness
and breaking will not balance,
not be said utterly: the
knowing of it too little
and not enough, not ever
enough: wholeness of horror
not possible to know: Cross-
roads, KTC - names as stones
thrown and these but bits, crumbs of
happenings of dark. Beasts in
the heart so there are. Oh this
rank festival. How they scoff
at shelters, mock ground given
over. Stop. Do not prosper
such evil, its men. Will you
not drag them away with hooks?
Use what you like. Tear each one
apart. Unmake them. Take not
your eye from this place: let the
innocent be innocent:
oh how could you give them up?
Their suffering like a stone
hits you in your own very
intestines: a compulsion
of suffering that is an
unknowing obedience
which has become submission.
Shall this be sufficient? Shall
more be required? Is despair
still to come? A frenzy out-
grows prayer and relevance of
prayer. Mercy. Vengeance."

In addition to a poetry of direct political criticism expressed through simple, straightforward language, a number of contemporary liberal humanist poets have also utilised other methods to expose and condemn South Africa's apartheid system. In particular, these poets have offered a critique of the political situation in South Africa through various indirect means. To address political issues in an indirect or oblique way

need not necessarily indicate an evasiveness, or a timidity about confrontation, or a disguised conservatism; it may rather be seen simply as a different, and at times highly effective, set of tactics. The insistence on the continued and exclusive use of direct methods in political poetry seems to lead inevitably to imaginative exhaustion, repetitiveness and cliché - a charge which could be levelled against Marxist poets such as Peter Horn or the Soweto poets of the 1970s, many of whom, like Mongane Serote, found themselves unable to continue writing poetry. Thus, although, as discussed above, liberal poets have not been unwilling to employ the most direct and straightforward strategies in their political poetry, they have also recognised the necessity and the value of exploring other means of expressing their analysis and criticism of the South African political order. The variety of such indirect methods is too wide for this study to be able to provide a comprehensive account; instead, a few reasonably representative examples will be selected which may serve as illustration of the range and diversity of such methods.

One particular device which has been utilised frequently by numerous liberal poets in South Africa is irony. The ironic mode in political poetry has been vilified by some critics who feel that it functions as a self-defence mechanism for poets who find themselves caught in a political no-man's land unable to affirm or commit themselves to any ideological position.[77] Such criticism hardly seems appropriate in the case of liberal humanist poets in South Africa whose political position is one unequivocally opposed to the apartheid

improbity than the obviousness of direct statement. In particular, this has the effect of compelling the readers to fill in the gaps or make the final logical step themselves in order to make sense of the poem. As a result, the readers are forced into an active, participative role in analysing and evaluating the political issues raised in the poem. In Robert Greig's "Watermelon Breakfast" (Talking Bull, 1975), for example, the reader is forced to interpret the eating of a watermelon as symbolic of white political oppression and cupidity. In Geoffrey Haresnape's "Sheep" (Drive of the Tide, 1976), a poem superficially describing the slaughtering of a sheep, the absence of formal closure compels the reader to consider the symbolic implications of the event described:

> "The happening may perhaps be glossed as -
> mutton, holocaust (or revolution)".

Mark Swift's "History Speaks Volumes" (Seconds Out, 1983) invites the reader to see the connections between atrocities committed in the past and present-day South African political practices, as well as between earlier political mistakes and continuing South African foolhardiness. And in Christopher Hope's "Regional News" (Cape Drives, 1974), the reader is made to see that the apparently innocuous regional news items are representative of the underlying stupidity and evil of South Africa's political system.

A poem which examplifies the use of implication and suggestiveness to bring attention to the iniquities of apartheid is Roy Joseph Cotton's "A South African Day" (Ag, Man, 1986):

the gardener serves as a reminder that not all blacks are similarly "friendly", while the pain felt by the speaker as the gardener spades the earth begins to take on such political associations as white pain and dread in the face of an analogously violent political action. The poem's opening line, accordingly, seems suddenly menacing: the word "rattle", with its associations of the chains of imprisonment or death, highlights the politically violent and oppressive role played by the South African Police in maintaining the apartheid system. In the light of the accumulated meaning of the poem's suggestiveness, the final phrase that "Everything is / as it normally is" becomes, in fact, the severest of indictments of the political status quo in South Africa.

Apart from such particularised poetic devices as irony and implication, several liberal poets have developed their own unique indirect strategies for revealing and criticising the South African political order. While it is impossible within the scope of the present study to identify and discuss all of these personalised methods, mention may be made of a few notable examples. Stephen Gray, in "The Beast's History" (It's About Time, 1974), constructs a parodic historical verse sequence to expose with corrosive wit the flagitiousness of white South African politics. Christopher Hope, in his long, fragmentary poem, Englishmen (1985), also adopts an historical perspective to reveal the roots of present-day political injustice and hatred in South Africa. And Chris Mann has used the ballad form, in poems like "The Hunger of Ezra" and "The Ballad of Braamfontein" (both in First Poems, 1977), to point subtle political morals.

Particular attention needs to be given to Peter Wilhelm's "Spring for the Prisoners, November 1975"

And hers is no quick recovery:
bewildered by the sudden freedom,
mistrusting the kindness of friends,
she cannot shed a fright which brings
a gap in every laugh she tries,
and devils crashing through her sleep.

A sunflower in the dusts of May,
its green and yellow summerhead
drooping scorched and sootily,
husks up a thousand times itself
in seed, whose oils and ripeness
are hers and always hers."

The language and tone of the poem alters in the final stanza in which a simple, yet evocative metaphor is utilised. If the first two stanzas state openly and plainly the injustice and inhumanity of such apartheid barbarities as detention without trial and the brutal treatment of detainees, then the final stanza suggests that the basis of resistance to apartheid must be the ideals of justice and humanity. The sense of generosity and productivity evoked by the comparison, and the emphasis in the final line on individual achievement and identity, serve to underline the idea that true justice can only be brought about through a commitment to humane values that transcend the realm of the narrowly political.

Mann is always aware, however, that at times only a language of "numb horror" and "violence" can be used in the attempt to come to terms with such political atrocities as the brutal assassination of an activist friend. In the poem, "In Memory of Jeanette Schoon Killed by a Parcel Bomb in Exile in Angola" (The Paperbook of South African English Poetry, ed. M. Chapman, 1986), Mann finds, when he considers the horrifying details of his friend's death, that language itself becomes "ripped" and smashed and almost breaks down into incoherence:

"Your nervy laugh and small, neat hands Jeanette,
the high, compassionate ideals which you
like a swallow, tossed about in stormclouds
still flew towards, these lines commemorate -
a bunch of winter marigolds, bitter
but affirmatory, gathered to mark
the graveside reverie of a student friend.
But language, its close-knit fabric of words,
which speaks with ease of precious, humdrum things -
the kitchen's bright kettle, those hands cradling
that last blue mug of tea - language is ripped,
the threads dangling, by such a smashing
blast, can only gesture, patchily, at a
room in shambles, the rafters smoking, freak-
mangled chairs, the hairtufts, flesh
-bits, the spatterings ..."

Such language, while not plain or simple, nevertheless confronts political violence plainly and with a shocking directness which is gruesomely appropriate to the nightmarish subject matter of the poem. The rest of the poem functions as a commemoration not simply of the victim herself, but also of her "high, compassionate ideals": ideals of humanity, gentleness and truth utterly opposed to cruelty and human violence. As in "The Detaineee", the final implication of the poem is that true justice and peace can only be achieved through an adherence to such ideals and to such humane values:

"Not grief, Jeanette, some sort of remembrance
is all you'd ask, a woman of privilege
who spoke her mind, who never would accept
in prison or out, how much we humans loathe
to be confronted with our cruelties.
This truth we both misjudged, when as students
our placards raised, we marched the Joburg streets,
your language then a tapestry of dreams
with numb horror, at human violence, torn through,
as mine, in memory of your high ideals,
your gentle hands and voice is now, Jeanette."

(In this regard, consider also Anthony Delius's "Eduardo Mondlane" (Modern South African Poetry, ed. S. Gray, 1984) and Peter Sacks's "For Richard Turner" (The Paperbook of South African English Poetry, ed. M. Chapman, 1986), two other poems commemorating the victims of similar political assassinations, as well as the ideals for which they stood.)

Like Chris Mann, Patrick Cullinan has also confronted directly the terrifying facts of political violence committed by the State, conveying his horror and outrage in a starkly brutal diction in the poem, "Grammar" (Today Is Not Different, 1978):

> "Slowly no sound but the sound of rain,
> The calmness of it falling deep
> Into the night.
>
> Somewhere outside they break a man's face
> Slowly. Now the face has no eyes,
> No country. The tongue
> Is pulled out: I must speak.
> These words are my own,
> The memory.
>
> I am blind deep into the night,
> Remember a country where rain
> Blurs on the window and slowly
> A fire chokes on its ash,
> And there is grammar:
> Sounds that were made before.
>
> Broken.
> Somewhere outside the night goes on,
> Slowly the rain etcetera."

The sheer savagery of such violence utterly destroys the poet's initial peace of mind and compels him to articulate his protest. Like Chris Mann, however, he finds that in the face of such barbarity language proves inadequate, becomes "Broken" and lapses into the helpless non-signification of "etcetera" in the poem's

system and grounded firmly in the fundamental liberal humanist values of freedom, justice and social humanitarianism. In much liberal South African poetry, the effectiveness of irony in exposing the injustices and inhumanity of the apartheid system lies in the fact that such poetry works on two different levels. Firstly, the poem presents a typical, easily recognisable, and apparently "normal" South African scene. Secondly, the supposed normalcy of the scene is ironically undercut and its inherent injustice, immorality and abnormality is caustically exposed. The effect is that the reality of current injustice and the possibility of future justice are simultaneously present in the poem so that the reader is forced into active value judgements and a personal assessment of his or her attitude towards the current political system.

These ironic techniques are evident, for example, in Roy Joseph Cotton's "Indigenous Letters from Hell" (Ag, Man, 1986), where the "heritage" of white South Africans is revealed to be quite unworthy of the pride the speaker of the poem feels in it; in Christopher Hope's "In the Middle of Nowhere" (In the Country of the Black Pig, 1981), where the seemingly reasonable attitudes of the white settlers are exposed as deeply reactionary, ignorant and racist; in Sheila Roberts's "Lou's Life" (Lou's Life and Other Poems, 1977), in which the apparently fair-minded Lou is shown to be no less insensitive and prejudiced than her white friends; and in Francis Faller's "Were the Muse to Come" (Weather Words, 1986), which confronts a conservative, intellectual white readership with the realities of discrimination on their own terms by likening the Muse to an underprivileged domestic servant. The use of irony is particularly well demonstrated in Patrick Cullinan's "We Always Greet You Smiling" (Today Is Not Different, 1978):

"We always greet you smiling,
Raising a hand as you drive past;
And should you wish, we pose before our huts,
Set among dry mealie stalks,
The rolling hills of dusty veld.
Sometimes,
Unasked, the piccanins will sing and dance
(You always like that part), and certainly
a few cents help.
But have you seen
How joyfully we starve our dogs,
How hopelessly we beat our women?
And do you know
That when their hungry bellies swell
We hate our children?

We want to learn from you.
We always greet you smiling."

The poem presents the familiar scene of rural blacks waving and smiling at passing white motorists. The apparent rustic contentment gives way, however, to a shocking revelation of the poverty, deprivation and misery prevalent in the black rural areas. The final irony emerges in the fact that such poverty and unhappiness derives directly from the exploitative and oppressive practices of the affluent, dominant whites of South Africa. In this light, the comment in the poem's penultimate line that the blacks wish to learn from the whites, suggests not a call for paternalistic white altruism or for cultural development, but rather a desire to learn how to exploit and oppress in the way that the privileged whites do now. The poem's ironic charge forces the reader to acknowledge that whites do not represent the forces of civilisation and charity, but instead those of brutal oppression and barbarism.

Apart from the device of irony, a number of poets have also made use of the techniques of implication and suggestiveness which in politically focused poetry is often more effective in revealing injustice and

"The police vans rattle
through our windy cities.
Everything is as it
usually is. The garden
'boy' is friendly and i
feel pain as i watch him
spade the earth. The milk
'boy' is called 'Milkie'
by the woman who works
in the chemist. The delivery
'boy' calls me 'Mister Roy'
and does not mind when i
tell him the wind is a
dangerous thief. The suburbs
are sunny. Everything is
as it normally is."

The poem describes a seemingly tranquil, innocuous, quotidian suburban scene, yet every detail serves to suggest with the utmost subtlety an element of the apartheid system. The reference to the black gardener, milkman and delivery man as "boys" highlights their inferior social status under apartheid, particularly in comparison with the white woman (not "girl") in the chemist and the speaker himself who is addressed respectfully as "Mister Roy". Moreover, the menial nature of their occupations draws attention to the reality of economic disparity between white and black in South Africa. Given these facts of apartheid, several other apparently innocuous phrases begin to assume darker implications. The speaker's comment that "the wind is a / dangerous thief", for example, begins to seem less an expression of unfounded personal paranoia and more an expression of general white fear in the face of an impoverished and frustrated black majority. This sense of the phrase is enhanced by its connection with the earlier phrase, "our windy cities", which implies that the danger of robbery is ever present in the essentially white ("our") cities. In the light of this reading, the noted friendliness of

(White Flowers, 1977), which blends together satire, innuendo, thinly veiled scorn and black humour to formulate an indirect, though pungently effective condemnation of such apartheid realities as censorship, imprisonment for political activity and the torture of prisoners:

"I want to celebrate spring.
Not any spring, maybe memorised from those 19th
century poets we read in school
and so mythologised into the one and only spring
there is,
with April's sweet showers and the March winds blowing.
No: I want to celebrate this southern spring,
so I have to choose my words carefully
to fit in,
to fit into what spring means here.

This spring comes [illegible] winter of my language
because the language doesn't fit,
the language doesn't work any more,
it doesn't work well.
I could celebrate a spring that hammers out happiness
after all that smoke from Soweto
lifted off the M1
And small green birds make trilling love in my lemon tree.
They really do.
And those clouds that come up north
with electricity and rain, late
this spring;
sometimes a cloud so high
the blueness seems infinite and expanding
like the universe someone discovered by accident -
the one that began X-million years ago
when the First Cause liberated exponential energy
for Jesus and Krishna to preside over quasars and
neutron stars,
the dragon in the fire that eats its own tail
and all of us cling to its sides.

But spring is so irrelevant.
Who can celebrate spring?
You can make evil with interrogations and appliances
so real it's like concrete.
It's even more real than spring.

So what does language come down to?
We can talk about love.

I love, you love, we love, put your arm here,
there, anywhere.
Let me record our love making a landscape of flesh,
corrugations and dunes for the reality-asserting peace.
How precisely I can delineate love
with the last fibres of language.
And there are even the possibilities of metaphors
which transcend evil,
provided evil is only a metaphor
and I apply myself to precision.

"Our boys on the border guard the fortresses of love
in this intolerable spring."
That's a metaphor, that's get past the Mind Control
Board,
or I can take it on appeal.

Breyten, have you met Marlene yet?

I do so want to celebrate.
I know Van Riebeeck had good intentions,
and after all Agostinho Neto is a poet -
which is a point to remember when the bloody dawn comes in
Luanda.
And I know things are getting better like in the song,
and we'll have muzak all the way to the hangman
who's a rep for spinal deodorant.

But I don't want this spring anyway O Jesus and Krishna.
The whirling fragments of this universe are more
and more difficult to cling to
and love has no more meaning than a white cloud
in the infinite expanding blue."

The apparently ingenuous nature of the poem's opening, in which the poet claims merely to want to celebrate spring, soon gives way to a much more sombre perspective as the particular details of "this southern spring" are revealed: the need to choose words carefully, not simply for artistic precision, but in order to escape censorship; white "happiness" at the successful suppression of black township unrest; the brewing storm of inevitable political cataclysm. Under the constant threat of censorship and arrest, the poet continues to discuss the harmless topic of a poetic

celebration of spring, while "accidentally" alluding to the chilling facts of political imprisonment and torture:

> "But spring is so irrelevant.
> Who can celebrate spring?
> You can make evil with interrogations and appliances
> so real it's like concrete.
> It's even more real than spring."

Similarly, a seemingly innocent meditation on the poetic articulation of love becomes in actuality an exposure of the almost complete absence of love and humanitarianism in South African politics, whether in the microcosm of individual human rights or in the macrocosm of international relations. The poem ends with a terrifyingly nihilistic vision of the universe, in which religious and metaphysical truth are in reality merely meaningless fragments, and the concept of love, accordingly, has no basis as an absolute value at all:

> "The whirling fragments of this universe are more
> and more difficult to cling to
> and love has no more meaning than a white cloud
> in the infinite expanding blue".

In the light of this radically secular, anti-metaphysical vision, it is clear that the sole possible source of meaning and value in the world lies in human conduct. The profound implication of this notion is that the acts of intense cruelty, hatred and mendacity perpetrated by the South African State are crimes against humanity of the worst possible order imaginable. In the face of this, the poet might well find celebration impossible.

In the contemporary period, liberal humanist poets have employed a variety of methods and techniques in their

critique of the South African political system, ranging from the directness of plain statement to the obliquity of subtle suggestiveness. Taken as a whole, the formal diversity and scope of the poetry has ensured that the critique is reasonably comprehensive, substantial and thorough, and that it has seldom lapsed into repetitiveness and cliché.

However, liberal humanist poets, in focussing upon the political situation in South Africa, have not simply presented a criticism of existing structures, policies and practices, important though this area of their work undoubtedly is. They have also, in their poetry, acknowledged and reflected critically on the complexities and difficulties involved in their own liberal humanist political position, and they have attempted, by so doing, to provide the basis for the development of possible solutions to South Africa's political problems.

Chris Mann, for example, is one poet who has frequently and earnestly subjected his own political perspectives in his poetry to detailed scrutiny, in poems such as "A Prayer for My Work", "Whistling in the Dark" (both in First Poems, 1977) and "Strategies" (New Shades, 1982). It is, however, in the poem, "Between Calm Contemplation and Action" (First Poems, 1977), that Mann provides perhaps the clearest outline of his personal political position and attitude:

> "Well-fed philosophers in universities
> who meditate upon the word "good",
> and chop it into small and smaller senses
> until no sense of it remains at all,
> make dithering seem the rightful conduct
> and hesitance a virtue.

Gutter politicians ignore them,
and greedy for ordinary comforts
and an ordinary self-esteem
lambaste the land's injustices
until all purity turns to rage,
which pulls the temple on their heads.

I've known the disciples of both:
a tall fastidious architect,
who'll emphasize the need for thought
even while they nail his coffin down;
and a blue-jeaned missionary lady,
so intent on the riddance of hunger,
she'd fenced a dozen tropical sties
before she'd grasped how pork was taboo.

Between calm contemplation and action
there's no choice or middle ground.
They are where the talkative shades
start or cease to counsel us,
at the old interface of what's right
and possible, of stony sustenance
and brittle or blossoming thorn."

The opening two stanzas identify and evaluate two characteristic responses to the current political situation in South Africa. In the first place, Mann condemns the over-intellectualised, aloof inactivity of those who seem more interested in theorising about the nature of what is "good" and "right" than in actually working to bring about a good and right political order. In the second place, Mann condemns those at the other extreme of the anti-apartheid spectrum who act rashly and recklessly without giving proper consideration to either the practicability or morality of their actions. The result of the first response is that an unjust <u>status quo</u> remains in place while its philosophising opponents dither and hesitate. The result of the second response is that all notions of justice and purity are lost in violent, self-destructive mindlessness. Each of these responses, in isolation, needs to be rejected. As the final stanza

makes clear, what is required is that the two modes of response are synthesised into a complementary wholeness, so that "calm contemplation" is geared towards practical implementation, and "action" is informed and underpinned by sound, morally justified theory. This synthesis, moreover, is non-negotiable: Mann's political credo is spelled out in an absolutely clear, unequivocal, matter-of-fact formula:

> "Between calm contemplation and action
> there's no choice or middle ground".

Yet Mann is acutely aware that such a synthesis is far easier preached than practised, and that the decisions and compromises and sacrifices that have to be made in balancing "what's right / and possible" are never straightforward or easy. This complexity is signalled and represented in the final lines of the poem by a cluster of dense, polyvalent symbols. The syntactical arrangement of the lines suggests that the idea of "right" is represented by "stony sustenance", while the idea of the "possible" is represented by "brittle or blossoming thorn". Firstly, this implies that commitment to rightness ought to be of the *same* resilient, tough, solid quality as stone, and that such a commitment, rather than resulting in rigid sterility, will in effect provide support and vitality. Secondly, the suggestion is that to take the practical and the realistic into account may involve a degree of painful, even bitter compromise (likened to the harshness of "brittle thorn"), but that ultimately such practicality may bear fruit even in the most unpropitious of circumstances (as implied by the hardy productivity of "blossoming thorn"). The crucial word in this regard is, clearly, "and", which serves not

only as a reminder of the necessity for synthesising the right and the possible, but also that it is the very combination of the two notions that will produce both endurance and revitalisation. The set of symbols functions on a deeper referential level also, through their Christian associations. The image of stone suggests not only Christ's crucifixion and burial in a tomb sealed by stone, but also the subsequent rolling away of the stone and Christ's resurrection; similarly, the image of thorn implies not only Christ's suffering and his crown of thorns, but also his subsequent triumph over death and his crown of glory. The effect of these associations is not simply to offer a symbolic analogy to verify Mann's political credo, but, more importantly, to reinforce the ideological morality of Mann's liberal humanism by linking it with the ethical foundations of active Christian humanism. In fact, at the very core of Mann's political thinking lies the simplest and most profound of Christian injunctions, articulated by Mann in "Rorke's Drift a Century after the Battle" (New Shades, 1982).[78] In this poem, the speaker is led, on the occasion of a visit to the memorial of the famous battle at Rorke's Drift between the British and the Zulus, to consider the possible ways of achieving peace and harmony between white and black in South Africa. The answer is provided by the motto on the memorial, in an appropriate amalgamation of Zulu and Christian ethical imperatives:

"THANDANANI. 'Love One Another'!"

The morality underlying Christopher Hope's political thinking is never expressed as plainly in his poetry as in Chris Mann's. Neither is Hope's political morality

as closely linked with orthodox Christian belief as is Mann's. Nevertheless, in their understanding of the fundamental values needed in the development of political solutions in South Africa, the two poets share a very similar vision. Like Mann, Hope is as opposed to proponents of reckless, violent political action as he is to those who passively allow an unjust political system to remain in place. Though Hope's views are evident throughout his work, from poems such as "The Old Men are Coming from the Durban Club" (Cape Drives, 1974), to "In the Country of the Black Pig" (In the Country of the Black Pig, 1981), they are expressed with particular force in his long poem, Englishmen (1985), which explores the historical roots of political hatred in South Africa. Hope's central theme in the poem, conveyed with his usual vitriolic wit, is his unwavering opposition to all forms of oppression and the abuse of power, whatever the source. The terrible futility of the drive for power, apart from its inevitable violation of human rights, is that it ultimately destroys not only the oppressed but also the oppressor:

> "Power is in love with reservations,
> reserving the right to have been there
> reserving the right to move along again
> reserving the right to hold the ground still.
> The place of power is not its own
> but the spaces it makes others fill;
> its instruments are tetherings, sniffings out
> of witches,
> expeditions of the screwed-up will."
> (XI).

The alternative to such power-lust is the recognition of the essential similarity and equality of all South Africans, whether "Englishman", "Boer" or "Zulu". The common humanity which lies at the basis of such

egalitarian values is conveyed in the poem through a startling yet forceful vision of the ultimate fact of shared mortality:

> "These
> graves here
> unmarked for Christian slaves and coloured servants.
> Across the way you see headstones of the citizenry,
> broad as culverts, tall as outhouses.
> They keep their distances even underground
> but mix in the bone, as the mole knows,
> crossing the line
> and is pitied for his blindness."
> (XII).

Like Mann, Hope is only too aware, however, of the possibility that such liberal humanist values will be neither acknowledged nor put into practice in South African politics, and the poem ends on an inconclusive and deeply ambiguous note in its vision of the political future of this country:

> "Look, there is pink in the sky.
> Dawn or Armageddon?"
> (XIII).

As is the case with Christopher Hope, Patrick Cullinan's political thinking tends to emerge organically from his poetry rather than to be concisely formulated, and he too has turned to South African history in an attempt to understand the present and to provide a vision for the future. Probably his most meticulous examination of the nature of the liberal humanist position, and the possibility of a liberal humanist solution to the contemporary South African predicament, occurs in a poem describing the adventures of a French naturalist which took place some years before the arrival of the English in the Cape. In his lengthy poem, "1818. M. Francois le Vaillant Recalls

His Travels to the Interior Parts of Africa 1780-1785" (Today Is Not Different, 1978), Cullinan explores an alternative, liberal response to the encounter between white and black, just as in his earlier poem, "The Steadying Effect" (The Horizon Forty Miles Away, 1973), he described how so much conflict and bitterness between English-speaking and Afrikaans South Africans could have been avoided.

"1818. M. Francois le Vaillant ..." opens with the explorer and ornithologist of the title seated before a fire in his home in "the damp hills of Champagne", recalling his "long journey" through southern Africa some thirty or more years previously. Although he "chose to tell" the story of his travels he "had no choice" about its contents, for he is uncompromisingly committed, as a scientist, to the empirical truth:

> "I found
> A normal country, rather like paradise
> In places, a garden
> Camouflaged by scandal,
> Darkened by a kind of history."

If Cullinan's le Vaillant is a scientist, he is also a product of the contemporaneous liberal sentiment in France; and so he not only debunks fanciful myths about Africa, but also reveals a genuinely egalitarian attitude towards the inhabitants of Africa, judging men according to their worth and not according to their class, or colour:

> "My friends became the fearful tribes,
> Unwanted half-breeds, and, by letters
> From the wilderness
> A lonely savant at the Cape. Only
> The Colonists were not to be endured:
> Vicious at times or just plain boring, sly;

Certainly not schooled enough
To leave the wild unploughed,
Brandy-sots who could not comprehend
Rare Sensibility, true Pride."

As the poem progresses, le Vaillant consistently reveals himself to be an honest and reliable interpreter of his own experiences, insisting on the hard facts of his discoveries:

"I said and say again:
The Fabulous was quite destroyed
And in its place I set the truth.
I made a country real, a normal place.
Romantic, I agree, and odd but
Savage the right way at last. I showed
There were no Giants, club-footed or one-eyed.
Who now denies that Pigmies are small men?
Monomotapa, Vigite Magna have disappeared
From the maps; and where I travelled
That continent it is not dark."

And it is perhaps because of this honesty and reliability that he confirms the notion that all men are essentially alike, differing only in externals:

"I have shown
That men in skins move in a certain
Landscape, are men like us, have names:
Confused, they love and hate."

In spite of this, however, le Vaillant in the poem remains troubled and unsure of himself. To his credit, he is candid enough to acknowledge that what he has presented has been his truth; it is not necessarily the only truth or the whole truth. He recalls, indeed, that there was one night when, in the moonlight, somehow

"the normal landscape
Seemed to shift, to alter ... what I saw
Remained authentic yet I knew
It was not real"

and so he is forced to admit the limitations of empirical perception:

"The world is what it seems
Always, but it can flow beneath the moon
And change, alter the staid
Sequences of vision".

Compelled to recognise that his consciousness is conditioned and restricted by the determinants of his place and time, and by his own intrinsic disposition, he concludes on a note of confused despondency:

"Half blind amid
The humdrum panic of the herd
Or camouflage of predator and prey
I saw only what I was made to see,
Could comprehend.
Do all
Travellers into darkness know,
Their eyes half closed,
Exploring they betray themselves,
Betray what they have found?"

The fundamental point that Cullinan is making[79] is that although le Vaillant is a celebrated and successful scientist, he is unable to comprehend a truth beyond mere sense experience. He is perceptive enough to glimpse it that one moonlit night, but he cannot quite grasp it, and so, in a way, he betrays himself in not being able to see the whole truth, and he betrays what he has found in not fully understanding it. Precisely what that something beyond the realm of the empirical is, remains, of necessity, undisclosed in le Vaillant's narrative, but Cullinan has provided enough clues in

the course of the poem for the reader to identify the nature of le Vaillant's inability. The principal verbal clues lie in the linked words "alter" and "vision", or "change" and "see", for what le Vaillant essentially lacks is the imaginative and creative ability to see things not just as they are, but as they could be. Le Vaillant has the scientific perception to see that all men, even in Africa, are essentially alike, but he lacks the imaginative vision to see how this principle could be applied in bringing about an altered world in which all people are viewed without racial or other prejudice, and treated fairly and equally. Cullinan's main concern is not, however, to condemn le Vaillant. It is, rather, to demonstrate the need for contemporary South Africans, firstly, to recognise, as le Vaillant did, the equality of all their countrymen, and secondly, to see, as le Vaillant could not, how this recognition may be used to create an imaginative vision of a future society. To use the words of the text, what is needed is the "vision" to "alter" South Africa from a society based on apartheid to one grounded in the liberal humanist values which the poem fundamentally affirms.

Of all those poets who have made the question of the liberal humanist political perspective a central concern in their poetry, none have done so as assiduously and as passionately as Lior Abrahams. On a number of occasions, Abrahams has forthrightly asserted his desire "to serve the ends of liberal humanism".[80] Such service, however, is not to be undertaken blindly, and Abrahams has, throughout his poetry, sought to explore honestly and earnestly the tensions, ironies and dilemmas involved in remaining faithful to liberal values within the contemporary

South African milieu. In poems such as "The Whiteman Blues" (Thresholds of Tolerance, 1975) and "How I Take It" (Journal of a New Man, 1984), for example, he examines with scrupulous candour the limits and limitations of white sympathy for black South Africans under apartheid. More particularly, the poem, "Thresholds of Identity" (Journal of New Man, 1984), ruthlessly strips away the stereotyped, expected gestures and postures of white political progressiveness to delineate the real extent of mutual understanding and shared experience between black and white in South Africa:

> "Visitors, indignant, didactic, pronounce
> their solutions or dooms.
> A home poet comments: 'They speak and go back.
> In this place it is you and me.'
> I apprehend the challenge in his thought:
> inhabitants, we are alone
> and the difference that still lies between us
> may shatter the land.
> Yet he and I agree enough
> to discount the old divides
> of pigmentation, culture, class;
> nor would he or I endorse
> the use of blood spilt on the street
> or silence of the blackened cell.
> In this we are joined. So far have we come.
> But as I calmly sorrow
> over acts of years that grind
> his feeling small and his thought narrow
> or sputter anger over days
> that smash him into terror, grief and rage -
> so he would deplore, merely deplore
> the ferocity that in its turn
> could make the children of my race bleed."

The poem begins by dismissing the superficial, polemical pronouncements of foreign political commentators, and focusses instead on the positions and perspectives of local South Africans. In this poem, Abrahams is particularly concerned with the connections and disconnections between himself as a white South

African poet and an unnamed black South African poet. They find, in fact, that they are able to surmount many of the usual barriers in South Africa, such as colour, culture and class, and they learn that they are in agreement on a number of political and ethical principles. Such mutuality is circumscribed, however, and in the final eight lines of the poem Abrahams is forced to acknowledge "the difference that still lies between us" at a fundamental, experiential level. The choice of diction is crucial, as it emphasises linguistically the essential differences between the two poets' instinctive, vital responses to political circumstances and events in this country. Whereas Abrahams may merely "calmly sorrow" or "sputter anger" over years of racial oppression or specific acts of brutal repressiveness, his black counterpart finds that the same circumstances "grind / his feeling small and his thought narrow" and "smash him into terror, grief and rage". The far more painful and violent response of the black poet is signalled also in the very auditory patterns of the lines, with the soft, sibillant "s" sounds of "sorrow" and "sputter" in the case of the white poet heightening and intensifying into the harsh, grating "g" and "r" sounds of "grind", "grief" and "rage" in the case of the black man. As the temporal perspective in the poem shifts to the future, however, and the possibility of a black insurrection, the tables are turned, and Abrahams realises that in the event of revolution, his own response to "the ferocity" that could make white children "bleed" would be far more intense than that of his black counterpart, who would "merely deplore" such violence. Again, the muted, labial "m" and "p" sounds of "merely deplore" reinforces the comparatively subdued nature of the black man's response. Yet the

20. As Denis Worrall rightly points out, refuting the view of Dr Edgar Brookes, to whom the quoted phrase belongs. See Worrall, "English South Africa and the Political System" in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.205.

21. The only lengthy examination of South African English poetry prior to 1970 was G.M. Miller and Howard Sergeant's A Critical Survey of South African Poetry in English (Cape Town: Balkema, 1957).

22. As this study will demonstrate, even those few poets, such as Guy Butler and Anthony Delius, who were concerned at this time with social issues, nevertheless produced poetry of a different order from that of the contemporary period.

23. These papers are collected in English Studies in Africa, 13.1 (March 1970).

24. For example, as Guy Butler suggests in "The Purpose of the Conference", ibid., p.16, a number of conferees felt that South African English literature ought to have no place in the syllabi of South African University English Departments.

25. A selection of papers is collected in Poetry South Africa, eds Peter Wilhelm and James A. Polley (Johannesburg: Donker, 1976).

26. Papers from this conference are collected in English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976), a seminal source of material on white English-speaking South Africans.

poem is not wholly pessimistic. It is to be noted that the central lines of the poem are couched in conditional and provisional terms:

> "and the difference that still lies between us
> may shatter the land" (my underlining).

The implication is that, however slight, the possibility exists that the remaining inter-racial barriers can be overcome and the country need not, necessarily, be devastated.

Abrahams's own suggested strategy for overcoming such barriers and for obviating such devastation would lie in the widespread acceptance and application of liberal humanist values throughout South African society. Though Abrahams is sensitively aware of the obstacles and difficulties confronting liberal thinkers in the contemporary South African situation, he remains passionately and unequivocally committed to the principles and ideal of liberalism, and confident that such values will prove capable of providing a practical and enduring solution to the socio-political problems of this country. As Patrick Cullinan has pointed out in a review of Abrahams's poetry,

> "the image of the liberal as some kind of gently equivocating humbug gets its comeuppance here. At the centre of Lionel Abrahams's work is an ardent political conscience. It is no less ardent for believing in reason, for believing that the issues are complex, and for believing that if there are answers they will be complex too. In this politics are no different from life. This should be self-evident but it is certainly not so to the 'terrible simplifiers' of the Left and Right."[81]

Lionel Abrahams himself has, in fact, frequently responded to criticisms of liberalism from both right-wing and left-wing sources. His counter-criticism of both conservative and radical political over-simplifications, and his tough-minded defence of liberal values, have helped clarify and fortify the liberal humanist position in the contemporary South African political context. For example, in his acceptance speech for the Thomas Pringle Award for Poetry in 1988, Abrahams reacted against the prevailing mood of "revolutionary perfectionism" among many political thinkers in South Africa; he argued that

> "we need to resist this dangerous naivety, this revolutionary transcendentalism that finds the given world evil and postpones every good to some new world that it hopes to bring into being. We need to take hold of the vulgarly visible, imperfect, present good - the kind of thing we can test and taste for our individual selves. Only through this ... can we be purged of the vicious old idealisms, like the one that turned race into a moral value, and stand a chance of making our given world ... more liveable, more human and more sane."[82]

This cogent and fervent liberal perspective informs all of Abrahams's politically focussed work, and is especially evident in poems such as "The Issue", "Our Way of Life" (both in Journal of a New Man, 1984), "Not Asking for Trouble" and "A Week of Debussy While Revolution Simmers" (both in The Writer in Sand, 1988). But the poem which provides perhaps the clearest articulation of Abrahams's liberal humanist position is "Three Lies" (Journal of a New Man, 1984):

"One said: 'We are locked in separate worlds.
We can do nothing together.'
One said: 'Because I have worked with them
in their name, have thought and spoken
for their cause until it is my cause,
they will not know how
to kill me when the time comes -
therefore it is right that I leave our country
lest my presence confuse the issue.'
One said: 'What though some of the masterminded class
subdue their arrogance to act or play or work
as men with men? They have a purpose
and are not changed at heart. Violence alone
can change their hearts or make their hearts
irrelevant.'
Now, these are lies.
The first, as he spoke, counted the days
for the fruit of work that he and I
had jointly done. The next betrays
the cause of all his work for everyman
in making way so that simplicity and innocence
can appertain to murder.
The third, denying the good that's done
is good, because it is not absolute,
would have destroyed all hope -
since war, which may break wills, must leave hate whole.
But we know this:
that men who act aright against their hearts
are the one who can breed through a slow
generation of dying
(like those Israelites astray between two lands)
the succession of the transmuted heart."

The first half of the poem functions as an exposition of what Abrahams regards as three kinds of political fallacy; the second half of the poem, in taking the form of an angry chastisement of the advocates of these fallacies, serves to define and elucidate the liberal perspective. The first "lie" is that propagated by those who feel politically paralysed by continuing enforced racial segregation, and who would thus negate all the useful, joint work that has been and can be accomplish . The second "lie" is advanced by those who feel compelled to emigrate in order to avoid hampering a black revolution, and who would thus be content to allow a just political struggle to be

transformed potentially into mass murder. And the third "lie" is promulgated by those who claim that only through violent revolution can the oppressors' attitudes be altered or made immaterial, and who would thus deny any good except absolute good, forgetting in the process that violence may bring superficial change but can never eradicate deep-seated hatred. In refuting these misapprehensions, Abrahams's own positive political beliefs are implicitly clear: that despite segregation, the possibility for meaningful, racially co-operative work exists; that whites have an important, creative role to play not only in changing society but also in the changed society itself; and that violence as a means to political ends is always ultimately futile, so that other, peaceful, evolutionary methods must be sought to solve South Africa's problems.

In its final six lines, the poem undergoes an alteration in tone and mood. In the body of the poem, Abrahams's angry, tough-minded assertiveness is expressed in blunt, straightforward, unequivocal language which communicates his ideas with precision and clarity. It is the language of a straight-talking political debater confident in the cogency and quality of his argument. In the final six lines, however, this sinewy, almost prosaic speech becomes softened and elevated as the poem offers a strikingly evocative vision of the capacity for liberal values to effect political change. The poetic elevation of diction and register transfers the poem from the realm of ideological fallacy and mendacity to the arena of humanistic truth; for example, the poetically

heightened phrasing of the need for men to "act aright against their hearts" signals the superior nature and quality of such conduct. The political change which will be brought about by this right action may occur gradually and even painfully, but it will ultimately prove enduring and productive: the superficially negative connotations of the phrase, "a slow / generation of dying", are relieved and transformed by the alternative, positive associations of the central word, "generation", which imply productivity and creativity. This sense of fruitfulness and creativity is reinforced by two other crucial words which bracket the phrase: "breed" and "succession". The image which emerges is of an utterly changed society in which hatred and destructiveness have been supplanted by compassion and vitality. The final phrase of the poem, "the transmuted heart", encapsulates this vision as it suggests not only a heart which has been radically altered in form and nature, but more specifically one in which hardness and violent hatred have been "muted" into sympathy and love. Like Chris Mann in "Between Calm Contemplation and Action" (discussed earlier), Abrahams also utilises a religious analogy to suggest the underlying ethical basis of the liberal position, as well as to concretise the vision presented in the poem. In this case, Abrahams's allusion to the wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness is particularly apt. It suggests that South Africans are moving from a society of oppression and exploitation to one of freedom and justice. It suggests that the period of transition may well be lengthy and a cause for uncertainty. But most importantly, it suggests that the attainment of a South African political "promised land" is indeed within our capabilities.

4.

As this chapter has demonstrated, South African English poets, both in their critique of their fellow WESSAs and in their critique of the current South African political system (from whatever perspective), form an important part of the contemporary WESSA tradition of dissent. The existence of this sometimes unrecognised but vital tradition may be regarded as a source of hope both for South Africa in general and for WESSAs in particular. It confirms that there are a number of people within the WESSA group (as there are within the other ethnic groups in this country) who are not prepared to allow injustice and oppression to continue, and who are determined to bring about a more equitable, free and fair social and political order in South Africa. As such, this tradition of dissent ought to be viewed by other, more conservative WESSAs not as a threat but as a source of potential benefit to the WESSA group as a whole. In a free and just South Africa, many of the central dilemmas currently confronting the group would be largely resolved. WESSAs would be able to discover a cogent and meaningful identity as equal members of a democratic, non-racial South Africa. They would be able to experience a genuine sense of place in an undivided and undividing home country. They would be able to purge themselves of their profound, debilitating dread in an open and ordered society. And they would be able without guilt and without fear to shape a meaningful existence for themselves in a country where there would be no need, perhaps, for a tradition of dissent.

NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Anthony Delius, The Last Division, Canto Two, XXXIII (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1959), p.45.

2. David Welsh, "Why Can't the English ...?", Living (June 1988), p.24.

3. André de Villiers, "Introduction", English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976), p.v.

4. This is not to say that English-speaking sociologists and literary critics have been inactive, but rather that they have taken little or no interest in the concerns of their own ethnic group.

5. The phrase was coined by Guy Butler. See, for example, "The Purpose of the Conference", English Studies in Africa, 13.1 (March 1970), p.11.

6. This phrase derives from Christopher Hope, "Introduction" to Mike Nicol's Among the Souvenirs (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1978), p.iii.

7. The term which will be used to cover this area of investigation is "poetry of dread", a term which seems to have been first employed by Chris Mann, interviewed in English in Africa, 6.1 (March 1979), p.6.

8. This phrase is taken from Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.37.

9. Gareth Cornwall, "Beauty with Cruelty" (review of Stephen Watson's In This City), New Coin, 22.2 (December 1986), p.44.

10. Lionel Abrahams, acceptance speech for the Olive Schreiner Prize for Poetry, 1986, delivered at a ceremony held at the University of the Witwatersrand in November 1986, and reproduced in English Academy Review 4 (1987), p.152.

11. While noting the cogency of certain structuralist and post-structuralist critical arguments - for example, Roland Barthes' critique of realism in Writing Degree Zero, trans. A. Lavers and C. Smith (London: Cape, 1967) and Jacques Derrida's analysis of textual meaning in Writing and Difference, trans. A. Bass (1967; Chicago: Chicago U.P., 1978) - this study would still claim, fundamentally, that a literary text can have authentic reference to the social world beyond the text itself and that it can reflect meaningfully the experiences of individuals and groups in society.

12. This term forms the sub-title of Stephen Clingman's book, The Novels of Nadine Gordimer (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1986).

13. Ibid., p.1.

14. This study has examined the work of more than 60 contemporary poets, contained in over 90 individual volumes and at least six anthologies.

15. Stephen Clingman, The Novels of Nadine Gordimer, p.2, pp.13-18.

16. Some prominent examples of materialist criticism of South African English poetry are Tim Couzens; "Criticism of South African Literature", Work in Progress (November 1977), pp.44-52; Kelwyn Sole, "The Abortion of the Intellect", Work in Progress (August 1979) pp.13-18; and Jeremy Cronin, "South African English Language Poetry Written by Africans in the 1970s", English Academy Review 3 (1985), pp.25-49. While there naturally are differences in emphasis and focus between these critics, the discussion offered here of the approach to be adopted by this study may serve as an indication of the discrepancies between this study and materialist criticism in general.

17. In Clingman's critical thinking, three levels of limitation are identified: the historical, the social and the ideological. Each of these levels may be associated with the theorists to whom Clingman is most indebted: the historical with Georg Lukács, for example, The Historical Novel, trans. H. and S. Mitchell (1962; Harmondsworth:

Penguin, 1969); the social with Lucien Goldmann, for example, Towards a Sociology of the Novel, trans. A Sheridan (London: Travistock, 1975); and the ideological with Pierre Macherey, for example, A Theory of Literary Production, trans. G. Wall (1966; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). Clingman does not, however, consider the notion of "limitation" as applied to his own critical writing, or to materialist critical writing in general.

18. As Michael Chapman pointed out in his introduction to The Paperbook of South African English Poetry (Johannesburg: Donker, 1986), p.25, the function of the literary critic "should be to open up the possibilities of debate rather than to hurry to a premature and preferred moral or ideological closure". Such an approach seems pragmatically desirable, especially in a situation of problematic and unresolved aesthetic and ideological debate, such as exists at present in South Africa.

19. Michael Chapman, "Introduction", The Paperbook of South African English Poetry, p.24. It is to be noted that Chapman has recently altered his critical stance (unfortunately in the view of the present study) to that of a materialist orientation. See his article, "The Liberated Zone: The Possibilities of Imaginative Expression in a State of Emergency", English Academy Review 5 (1988) pp.23-53.

27. See P.P. Louw, "The Sestigers: A Post-Mortem", Bolt, No. 9 (October 1973), pp.19-35.

28. For a collection of articles on the subject, see Soweto Poetry, ed. M. Chapman (Johannesburg: McGraw Hill, 1982).

29. Stephen Gray, Southern African Literature: An Introduction (Cape Town: David Philip, 1979), p.13.

30. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective (Johannesburg: Donker, 1984), p.14.

31. Lionel Abrahams, quoted by Christopher Hope in "A Conversation with Guy Butler", Bolt, No. 7 (March 1973), p.51.

32. Cherry Clayton (Wilhelm), "South African Writing in English: 1976", Standpunte 133, 31.1 (February 1978), p.50.

33. Christopher Hope, "The Elephants are Taking Driving Lessons", Bolt, No. 10 (May 1974), p.42.

34. André Brink, "Introduction", A World of Their Own: Southern African Poets of the Seventies, ed. S. Gray (Johannesburg: Donker, 1976), p.9.

35. See Stephen Gray's introduction to Modern South African Poetry, ed. S. Gray (Johannesburg: Donker, 1984), p.11, the revised and expanded edition of A World of Their Own.

36. In order to keep the range of poetry within manageable limits it has been decided to consider only those poems which have been published in anthologies or in individual volumes. Moreover, only those volumes and anthologies published in or before 1988 have been taken into account.

37. This study will also take note of the position and responses of those poets who remain on the periphery of the white English group, and who are not easily classifiable: Wopko Jensma is an obvious example.

38. Guy Butler, "The Nature and Purpose of the Conference", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.8.

39. The only comparable group is the so-called "Coloured" people of South Africa, although their difficulty is associated more with enforced racial classification than socio-cultural factors. See, for example, Henry Lever, South African Society (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1978), p.34.

40. I.D. MacCrone, "Opening Address", English Studies in Africa, 13.1 (March 1970), p.2.

41. Arthur Ravenscroft, "South African English Literature", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.327.

42. Guy Butler, "English and the English in the New South Africa", English Academy Review 3 (1985), pp.163-176, for example.

CHAPTER 2: A CRISIS OF IDENTITY

1. Anthony Delius, The Last Division, Canto Two, XXXIII, p.45.

2. Guy Butler, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, ed. G. Butler (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. xvii-xviii.

3. For a more comprehensive discussion of these circumstances, see the introductory chapter of this study.

4. Guy Butler, interviewed by Christopher Hope, "A Conversation with Guy Butler", Bolt, No. 7 (March 1973), p.46.

5. André de Villiers, "Introduction", English-speaking South Africa Today, p.V. See also the series of articles on English-speakers in New Nation, ranging from Catherine Taylor's "My View of English-speakers", New Nation (September 1967), pp.10-11, to Denis Worrall's "English-speaking South Africa over Twenty-five Years", New Nation (July/August 1973), pp.5-9.

6. David Welsh, "Why Can't the English ...?", Living (June 1988), p.24.

7. Guy Butler, "Is the ESSA a Dodo?", Sunday Star (3 April 1988), p.14, col. 3.

8. The phrase was coined by Guy Butler. See, for example, "The Purpose of the Conference", English Studies in Africa, 13.1 (March 1970), p.11.

9. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.91-135.

10. Schlemmer refers to Benjamin Akzin, State and Nation (London, 1964); Clifford Geertz, "Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States", in C. Geertz, ed. Old Societies and New States (London, 1963); and Hugh Trevor-Roper, Jewish and Other Nationalism (London, 1962). In this regard, see also E. Aronson, The Social Animal (San Francisco: Freeman, 1976), and D. J. Bem, Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs (Belmont: Brooks-Cole, 1970).

11. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.97.

12. Brunhilde Helm, "A Sociological Commentary on English-speaking South Africa", quoted by Denis Worrall, "English South Africa and the Political System", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.194.

13. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.98 ff.

14. H.L. Watts, "A Social and Demographic Portrait of English-speaking White South Africans", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.51 ff.

15. Henry Lever, South African Society, pp.14 ff.

16. The 1970 census gives the white English-speaking population in South Africa as 1 404 470 out of a total white population of 3 773 282 (Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Service, Report Number 02/01/09). The 1980 census gives the figure as 1 610 205 out of 4 551 068 (Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Service, Report Number 028010). The 1989 estimation is derived by extrapolation from the curve fitted to 1936-1980 census data. See also H.L. Watts, Table 2, "Estimates of the Number of English-speaking Whites in South Africa", in "A Social and Demographic Portrait of English-speaking White South Africans", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.43.

17. See H.L. Watts, Table 14, "Country of Origin", in ibid., p.76.

18. A recent study puts the figure at approximately 118 000. See Dr Gideon Shimoni, "Foreword", The Jews of South Africa: What Future?, eds. Tzippi Hoffman and Alan Fischer (Johannesburg: Southern, 1988), n.p.

19. A useful article in this regard is Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.17-39.

20. As Garson points out, the term "English-speaking South Africa", applied to the pre-Union period, is an anachronism, but may be used provided the anachronism is recognised: ibid., p.17.

21. See, for example, John Stone, Colonist or Uitlander? A Study of the British Immigrant in South Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp.215-219.

22. H.L. Watts, "A Social and Demographic Portrait of English-speaking White South Africans", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.44. Some of the main reasons for emigration, such as the avoidance of military conscription, have also served to disunite the WESSA community in recent years.

23. For detailed statistics in these areas, see H.L. Watts, ibid., pp.49-79.

24. Denis Worrall, "English-South Africa and the Political System", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.212.

25. John Stone, Colonist or Uitlander?, p.215.

26. For example, John Stone, ibid., p.26, Henry Lever, South African Society, pp.15-18, and Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.98-116.

27. W.H. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, revised edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

28. Guy Butler, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, p.xvii.

29. See, for example, Mike Kirkwood, "The Colonizer: A Critique of the English South African Culture Theory", in Poetry South Africa, especially pp.106-108.

30. Christopher Hope, "A South African Abroad", Fair Lady (24 June 1987), p.102.

31. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.94-95.

32. Henry Lever, South African Society, pp.18-19.

33. D. Archibald, "The Afrikaners as an Emergent Minority", British Journal of Sociology, 20.4 (December 1969), p.424.

34. E.A. Tiryakian, "Sociological Realism: Partition for South Africa", Social Forces, No. 46 (1967), p.211. This is not to deny the divisions within the black African group in South Africa, for example, the tensions between Inkatha (the Zulu ethnic movement) and the African National Congress, but simply to stress how opposition to apartheid has served to forge the black resistance movements' national character.

35. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, p.214. Thus, although the so-called "Coloured" and Indian groups may be viewed also as occupying a middle position in South African society, they are more properly to be associated with, and subsumed into, the "black" resistance movements within the context of apartheid.

36. Christopher Hope, "A Conversation with Guy Butler", Bolt, No. 7 (March 1973), p.51.

37. This chapter considers more than thirty poems by sixteen different poets.

38. Guy Butler, "The Nature and Purpose of the Conference", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.11.

39. In contrast, thus, with a poem such as Francis Carey Slater's "Drought", in Collected Poems (Edinburgh: Blackwoods, 1957).

40. Unlike countries such as Belgium and Canada, as noted by R. Landes, "Bilingualism, the Individual and Society", unpublished paper, 1970, quoted by Henry Lever, South African Society, p.14.

41. See, for example, John Stone, Colonist or Uitlander?, p.26, and Henry Lever, South African Society, pp.15-18.

42. See, for example, Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.133.

43. See Henry Lever, "Ethnic Preferences of White Residents in Johannesburg", in Contemporary South Africa: Social Psychological Perspectives, eds. S.J. Morse and C. Orpen (Cape Town: Juta, 1975), p.56.

44. This discrimination is discussed in Henry Lever, South African Society, pp.17-18.

45. See N.C.J. Charton and H.W. van der Merwe, "Whither White South Africa?" in H.W. van der Merwe, M.J. Ashley, N.C.J. Charton and B.J. Huber, White South African Elites (Cape Town: Juta, 1974), pp.170-178, who claim that English-speakers differ from Afrikaners on almost all important political issues, particularly those associated with race.

46. Christopher Hope, "Poetry and Society", in Poetry South Africa, p.137.

47. Christopher Hope, author's note on inside cover of Cape Drives (London: London Magazine, 1974).

48. Mike Kirkwood, "The Colonizer: A Critique of the English South African Culture Theory", in Poetry South Africa, pp.102-133.

49. Ibid., pp.102-118.

50. Ibid., p.112.

51. This is in spite of Kirkwood's disavowal of his own poetry "as an equally fertile source of the colonizer stereotypes" as Butler's work, ibid., p.105.

52. These poems will be discussed in detail in the final chapter of this study.

53. Jeremy Cronin, interviewed by Susan Gardner, Four South African Poets (Grahamstown: NELM, 1986), p.17.

54. André Brink, "Introduction", A World of Their Own, p.11.

55. Peter Randall, The South African "English" and Race Relations (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, Topical Talk No. 4, 1967), p.4.

56. The details of this Marxist ideology as it informs the work of Cronin and other poets will be dealt with specifically in the final chapter of this study. Similarly, a discussion of the literary and critical debate between Marxist and liberal positions which has characterised South African English poetry over the past twenty or so years will be treated in the final chapter.

57. Once more, it must be recognised that the term, WESSA, is an anachronism when applied to the pre-Union period. In addition, many of the subjects of this investigation were not strictly South African at all, but British. Nevertheless, it is the sense of a continuous English-speaking tradition in South Africa which enables the connection to be made between previous times and the contemporary period.

58. The synthesis is of immense importance to Chris Zithulele Mann, who is a committed Christian who has also adopted the Zulu culture and been accepted, as a white man, into Zulu society. Like

the late Peter Becker, the anthropologist, and Johnny Clegg, the pop singer, he is a rare example of someone who has transcended ethnic and cultural categories, and, as such, he offers a glimpse of what a future unified South Africa might be like. See also the discussion of Mann's poem, "A Prayer for My Work", in this chapter.

59. T.S. Eliot, "Portrait of a Lady", in Collected Poems 1909-1962 (London: Faber and Faber, 1963).

60. Mike Kirkwood, "The Colonizer", in Poetry South Africa, p.112.

61. René de Villiers, ed., Better than They Knew, 2 vols (Cape Town: Purnell, 1972-1974).

62. Guy Butler, "Is the ESSA a Dodo?", Sunday Star (3 April 1988), p.14, cols 6-7.

CHAPTER 3: A DAMAGED SENSE OF PLACE

1. Christopher Hope, "Introduction" to Mike Nicol's Among the Souvenirs, p.iii.

2. See, for example, Guy Butler, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, pp.xvii-xli; Guy Butler, "On Being Present Where You Are: Some Observations on South African English Poetry 1930-1960", in Poetry South Africa, pp.82-101; and C.J.D. Harvey, "Local Colour in South African Poetry", Theoria, No. 7 (1955), pp.93-100.

3. Stephen Gray, Southern African Literature: An Introduction, p.158.

4. Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.17-22. For an account of the countries of origin and the composition of the WESSA group, see section 2 of the previous chapter of this study, and, in particular, H.L. Watts, "A Social and Demographic Portrait of English-speaking White South Africans", Table 14, "Country of Origin", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.76.

5. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, pp.23 ff.

6. Guy Butler refers to William Plomer as "the poet of African disenchantment", "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, p.xxix.

7. See, for example, Guy Butler, "On Being Present Where You Are: Some Observations on South African English Poetry 1930-1960", in Poetry South Africa, pp.90-92; and the opening chapter of John Bond's They Were South Africans (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1956).

8. Guy Butler, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, pp.xxxii-xxxiii.

9. Ibid., p.xxxv.

10. Anthony Delius, The Last Division, Canto Two, xxxiii, p.45.

11. David Welsh uses the phrase in a slightly different sense in "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.221.

12. The phrase derives from R.N. Currey's 1947 dramatic poem for radio, Between Two Worlds.

13. Michael Chapman, "Biographical Sketches and Notes", The Paperbook of South African English Poetry, p.302.

14. This alienation has been exacerbated by the cultural boycott.

15. This marginalisation is discussed in detail in the previous chapter of this study.

16. Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.20, p.33.

17. T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, third edition (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1987), p.400.

18. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, esp. pp.100-122.

19. Ibid., Table I, "Percentage Distribution of English- and Afrikaans-speaking White Respondents Selecting Different Descriptions of Themselves as Groups", p.100.

20. Ibid., Table IX, "Proportion of English-speaking Respondents who See their Culture and Outlook as Specifically South African", p.111, and see the accompanying discussion, pp.110-112.

21. Ibid., Table XIII, "Percentage Distribution of Respondents Indicating Intentions to Remain in or Leave South Africa as a Consequence of Changing Circumstances", pp.118-119. The percentage given in this study represents an average derived from more than one set of responses.

22. Ibid., Table XIV, "Percentages in Different Social Categories Revealing Strong Emotional Ties with South Africa", p.119.

23. Christopher Hope, "Poetry and Society", in Poetry South Africa, p.137.

24. Stephen Gray, "A Sense of Place in New Literatures, Particularly South African English", English Academy Review 1 (1983), p.35.

25. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, pp.24-26.

26. The poem is, in fact, dated 1962, and refers in the first stanza to "tennis on the equator", but it can, nonetheless, be regarded as a preliminary expression of WESSAs' growing unease.

27. Christopher Hope, author's note on inside cover of Cape Drives.

28. Geoffrey Haresnape, "Whites Under Stress" (review of Christopher Hope's Cape Drives), Contrast 36, 9.4 (March 1975), p.92.

29. For example, Stephen Watson, "Recent White English South African Poetry and the Language of Liberalism", Standpunte 164, 36.2 (April 1983), pp.13-23.

30. Susan Gardner, interview with Robert Berold, Four South African Poets, p.8.

31. Malvern van Wyk Smith, "Introduction", Shades of Adamastor, ed. M. van Wyk Smith (Grahamstown: NELM, 1988), p.32.

32. Official statistics for emigration are of little help since they do not record the emigrants' reasons for leaving, or their attitudes towards leaving.

33. An important factor in this regard, since the mid 1970s, has been the issue of conscription in the South African Defence Force.

34. Pierre L. van den Berghe, The Liberal Dilemma in South Africa (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p.16.

35. Christopher Hope, "A South African Abroad", Fair Lady (24 June 1987), pp.102-104.

36. Christopher Hope, "Introduction" to Mike Nicol's Among the Souvenirs, p.i.

37. Ibid., p.iii.

38. Or at least in Watson's case, since his personae do tend to be little more than literary embodiments of his own states of mind: see Kelwyn Sole, "Great Longings, Bleak Lusts" (review of Stephen Watson's In This City), English Academy Review 4 (1987), p.261.

39. Lina Spies, Digby Vergenoeg (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1971).

40. Antjie Krog, Mannin (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1975).

41. M.M. Walters, Heimdall (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1974).

42. Johan de Jager, Haggadah vir 'n Wit Afrikaan (Johannesburg: Perskor, 1974).

43. Ingoapele Madingoane, Afrika My Beginning (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1979).

44. M. Chapman and A. Dangor, eds, Voices from Within (Johannesburg: Donker, 1982).

45. T. Couzens and E. Patel, eds, The Return of the Amasi Bird (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1982).

46. Ibid.

47. See, for example, Guy Butler, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, p.xxxviii.

48. Guy Butler, "A Conversation with Guy Butler", Bolt, No. 7 (March 1973), p.51.

49. Whereas Livingstone's response to Africa must surely be regarded as atypical of contemporary WESSAs, "Under Capricorn" seems to embody a characteristic WESSA response towards indigenous African culture (and people). See Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, p.96.

50. Jensma is, in fact, of Afrikaner parentage, writes much of his poetry in Afrikaans, and has tended to be categorised with the African poets of the 1970s.

51. For a discussion of Mann's synthesis and its implications, see my discussion of his poem, "Rorke's Drift a Century after the Battle", in the previous chapter of this study.

52. The poet stated that the incident described in the poem is autobiographical, in a reading at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1986.

53. See, for example, W.D. Hammond-Tooke, "World View 1: A System of Beliefs", in The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa, ed. W.D. Hammond-Tooke (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp.318-343. See also Ninian Smart, The Religious Experience of Mankind (New York: Fount, 1969), pp.57-58.

54. H.L. Watts, "A Social and Demographic Portrait of English-speaking White South Africans", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.87.

55. Ibid., p.52; and see Figure 3: "The Percentage of English-speaking Whites in Urban Areas", p.55.

56. Henry Lever, South African Society, pp.19-20.

57. B.J. Huber, N.C.J. Charton and H.W. van der Merwe, "A Profile of White South African Elites", in White South African Elites, pp.24-26.

58. For example, folk music, art, theatre, even slogans or hypocorisms.

59. See, for example, Lawrence Schlemmer's assessment of the nature and strength of English-speakers' emotional ties with South Africa in "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.118-122.

60. They have been termed uitlanders, rooinekke, soutties by Afrikaners, and likened to migrating swallows by Zulus, for example.

61. Guy Butler, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, pp.xxii-xxx.

62. Ibid., xxv.

63. Ibid., xxxviii.

64. Ibid., xxviii.

65. Ibid., xxxvi. In this regard, see Michael Chapman's critical discussion in South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, pp.26 ff.

66. See also Isobel Hofmeyr, "The Mining Novel in South African Literature", English in Africa, 5.2 (September 1978), pp.1-15.

67. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, pp.57-58.

68. Ibid., p.52.

69. David Adey, Ridley Beeton, Michael Chapman and Ernest Pereira, Companion to South African English Literature (Johannesburg: Donker, 1986), pp.80-81.

70. Lionel Abrahams, interviewed by Michael Chapman, English Academy Review 4 (1987), p.144.

71. Patrick Cullinan, review of Journal of a New Man, UpStream, 3.2 (Autumn 1985), p.27.

72. Lionel Abrahams, acceptance speech for the Thomas Pringle Award for Poetry, 1987, reproduced in The Star TONIGHT (22 April 1988), p.6, cols 2-3.

73. Patrick Cullinan, "Introduction", Lionel Abrahams: A Reader, ed. Patrick Cullinan (Johannesburg: Donker, 1988), pp.10-11.

74. Marcia Leveson, "Self-confession and Craft" (review of Lionel Abrahams's Journal of a New Man), Contrast 60, 15.4 (December 1985), p.94.

75. As Cecily Lockett points out in "Poems of Our Climate" (review of Francis Faller's Weather Words), New Coin, 23.1 (June 1987), p.46.

76. Robert Berold, "Alone, Alone" (review of Stephen Watsons's Poems 1977-1982), New Coin, 20.1 (June 1984), p.47.

77. See my note 22.

78. Stephen Watson, interviewed by Susan Gardner, Four South African Poets, p.52.

79. Ibid., p.66. It is to be noted that although he speaks of working in an old tradition of city poetry, his enterprise is, in fact, a novel one in South African English poetry.

80. Ibid., p.52.

81. Apropos the epigraph of In This City, a quotation from Albert Camus.

82. Gareth Cornwell, "Beauty with Cruelty" (review of Stephen Watson's In This City), New Coin, 22.2 (December 1986), p.44.

83. See Berold's interview with Susan Gardner, Four South African Poets, pp.3-11.

84. Douglas Reid Skinner, "Self as Protagonist" (review of Don Maclennan's Reckonings), Contrast 57, 15.1 (July 1984), p.88.

CHAPTER 4: A POETRY OF DREAD

1. See, for example, A.M. Lewin Robinson, None Daring to Make Us Afraid: A Study of English Periodical Literature in the Cape from its Beginnings in 1824-1835 (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1962).

2. Especially sections xxx-xxxv.

3. See the various selections in Guy Butler, ed., When Boys Were Men (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1969).

4. For example, M.B. Hudson, A Feature of South African Frontier Life. A Complete Record of the Kafir War (mimeo: 1852).

5. The idea of "dread" in the sense that the present study means, does not appear, for example, in Malvern van Wyk Smith's Drummer Hodge: The Poetry of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), and seems not to have been an important feature of Boer War poetry in general.

6. Guy Butler, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, p.xxxi.

7. See Peter Alexander, Roy Campbell: A Critical Biography (Cape Town: David Philip, 1982), pp.152 ff.

8. For a discussion of white English-speaking attitudes in the early years of the twentieth century, see David Welsh, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-

speaking South Africa Today, pp.217-231, or David Welsh, The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910 (Cape Town: O.U.P., 1971), especially pp.30-35.

9. Guy Butler, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, p.xxix.

10. Stephen Gray, Southern African Literature: An Introduction, p.37. See also Malvern van Wyk Smith, "Introduction", Shades of Adamastor, pp.1-37, esp. pp.26-27.

11. H.L. Watts, "A Social and Demographic Portrait of English-speaking White South Africans", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.60, p.63, p.87. For detailed statistics, see Table 8, "Occupational Categories of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking Whites, Living in Urban Areas", p.59; Table 9, "The Percentage Which English-speaking Whites Form of the Total Number of White Workers in Each Occupational Category", p.61; Table 10, "Respondent's Social Status, for a Sample of Whites Living in Cities, Towns and Villages", p.62; and Table 11, "Father's Highest Occupation, for an Urban Sample of Whites", p.65 (titles of tables slightly abridged).

12. Bettina J. Huber, "Images of the Future", in White South African Elites, pp.151-169, from her unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Images of the Future Among the White South African Elite (Yale University, 1973).

13. That is, the "Self-Anchoring Striving Scale" developed by Hadley Cantrill and Lloyd Free in Hadley Cantrill, The Pattern of Human Concerns (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univesity Press, 1965).

14. Bettina J. Huber, "Images of the Future", in White South African Elites, p.154.

15. Ibid., Table 27, "General Nature of Hopes and Fears by Home Language", p.156.

16. See chapter 1, section 2 of the present study.

17. Bettina J. Huber, "Images of the Future", in White South African Elites, p.165: the source is in Hadley Cantrill, The Pattern of Human Concerns, pp.180-187.

18. Ibid., Table 30, "Per Cent of National Samples Expressing Various Fears", p.167.

19. Ibid., Table 31, "Ladder Ratings by Country: Means and Shifts", p.169.

20. William Hudson, Gideon Francois Jacobs and Simon Biesheuvel, Anatomy of South Africa: A Scientific Study of Present Day Attitudes (Cape Town: Purnell, 1966), especially pp.33-38 and pp.97-104.

21. Michael Chapman, "Introduction", A Century of South African Poetry (Johannesburg: Donker, 1981), p.24.

22. Chris Mann, interviewed in English in Africa, 6.1 (March 1979), pp.10-11.

23. Ibid., p.6.

24. Christopher Hope, "Introduction" to Mike Nicol's Among the Souvenirs, p.ii.

25. See note 11 of the present chapter.

26. Hope's later version of this poem, "Coming Round" (In the Country of the Black Pig) seems rather less successful, at least as far as the themes of the present study are concerned.

27. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, p.269.

28. Christopher Hope, "Poetry and Society", in Poetry South Africa, p.138.

29. Robert Berold, "Alone, Alone" (review of Stephen Watson's Poems 1977-1982), New Coin, 20.1 (June 1984), p.49.

30. Stephen Watson, "Recent White English South African Poetry and the Language of Liberalism", Standpunte 164, 36.2 (April 1983), pp.13-23. Watson has, more recently, abandoned the materialist critical perspective which he displays in this article (see, for example, his later article, "Poetry and Politicization", Contrast 61, 16.1 (July 1986), pp.15-28). Nevertheless, he remains antagonistic towards the poetry discussed in the former article, which, indeed, is fairly representative of a good deal of materialist criticism of recent white English-language poetry in this country. For these reasons, the article necessitates response.

31. Ibid., pp.19-20.

32. Ibid., p.13.

33. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, p.264.

34. Ibid., p.264.

35. Michael Chapman, "Introduction", A Century of South African Poetry, p.28.

36. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, p.266.

37. J.M. Coetzee, Waiting for the Barbarians (Harmondsworth: King Penguin, 1980).

38. C.P. Cavafy, "Waiting for the Barbarians", translated by E. Keeley and P. Sherrard, in Four Greek Poets (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p.11.

39. Christopher Hope, "Introduction" to Mike Nicol's Among the Souvenirs, p.iv.

40. The term gained special currency through Michael Chapman's book, Soweto Poetry. The poetry is also termed "Township Poetry" and "New Black Poetry".

41. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, p.14.

42. Frederick Johnstone, "White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa Today", African Affairs, LXIX.274 (1970), pp.124-140; and "'Most Painful to Our Hearts': South African History Through the Eyes of the New School", Canadian Journal of African Studies 16 (1982), pp.5-26.

43. Martin Legassick, "The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism: Its Assumptions and Social Base", Institute of Commonwealth Studies, (mimeo; 1972) n.p.; and "Legislation, Ideology and Economy in Post-1948 South Africa", Journal of Southern African Studies I (1974), pp.5-35.

44. Stanley Trapido, "South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization", Journal of Development Studies 7 (1971), pp.309-320.

45. Patrick Cullinan, interviewed by Alan James, UpStream, 2.4 (Spring 1984), p.2.

46. Christopher Hope, personal communication, Johannesburg, 1 August 1987.

47. W.B. Yeats, "The Valley of the Black Pig", in Collected Poems (London: Macmillan, 1950), p.73.

48. W.B. Yeats, "Notes", Collected Poems, pp.526-527.

49. Gus Ferguson, "Introduction" to Roy Joseph Cotton's Ag, Man (Cape Town: UpStream, 1986), p.8. See also Dorian Haarhof, "The Blight that Man Was Born For" (review of Roy Joseph Cotton's Ag, Man), New Coin, 22.2 (December 1986), p.33.

50. Stephen Gray, Southern African Literature: An Introduction, esp. pp.24-28.

CHAPTER 5: A TRADITION OF DISSENT

1. Michael Chapman, "Introduction" to The Paperbook of South African English Poetry, p.27.

2. Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.35.

3. A. de Villiers, "Introduction" to English-speaking South Africa Today, p.v.

4. Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.37.

5. Henry Lever, South African Society, p.161.

6. Bettina J. Huber and H.W. van der Merwe, "The Relative Impact of Ethnic and Structural Factors on Attitudes Towards Segregation and Dissent", in White South Arican Elites, p.61.

7. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.97.

8. David Welsh, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.236. See, for example, N.C.J. Charton and H.W. van der Merwe, "Some Political Attitudes of the Elites", in White South African Elites, pp.149-150; Henry Lever, "Ethnic Preferences of White Residents in Johannesburg", in Contemporary

South Africa: Social Psychological Perspectives, pp.62-63; J.W. Mann, "Attitudes Towards Ethnic Groups", in South African Sociological Perspectives, ed. H. Adam (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp.50-72.

9. David Welsh, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.236.

10. Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.36.

11. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.133.

12. David Welsh, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.231.

13. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.124.

14. Ibid., pp.122-124.

15. Ibid., p.128.

16. Denis Worrall, "English South Africa and the Political System", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.202.

Saunders, The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988).

44. This incident has also been treated by Mike Nicol in "Under the Stone" (Among the Souvenirs, 1978) and by Sheila Fugard in "Platform 5" (Thresholds, 1975).

45. Jeremy Cronin, interviewed by Susan Gardner, Four South African Poets, p.17.

46. Douglas Livingstone, "'Africa Within Us' ...?", in Poetry South Africa, p.142.

47. The inverted commas are used to suggest the fairly tentative nature of these terms as applied to poetry. For the purposes of this study, these terms, which are for the most part interchangeable, may be regarded as identifying a particular body of poetry within the definition provided in this chapter, and so the use of inverted commas will not be continued.

48. The demise of the Liberal Party in 1968 following the Government's ban on multiracial political parties is an obvious example. For an extended account of the tensions experienced by liberalism in the wake of the National Party's rise to power, see Janet Robertson, Liberalism in South Africa: 1948-1963 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971).

49. See Harrison M. Wright, The Burden of the Present and Christopher Saunders, The Making of the South African Past for extended versions of this critique of liberalism. T.R.H. Davenport provides

17. David Welsh, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.229.

18. Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.35.

19. Christopher Hope, "Poetry and Society", in Poetry South Africa, p.137.

20. Noel Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.28.

21. Ibid., p.37.

22. David Welsh, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-speaking South Africa Today, pp.236-237.

23. Colin Gardner, "The English-speaking Whites", in South Africa's Minorities, ed. P. Randall (Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1971), p.42.

24. Guy Butler, "The Nature and Purpose of the Conference", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.13.

25. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today p.122-123.

26. Ibid., p.127.

27. Ibid., p.123.

28. Ibid., p.127.

29. Bettina J. Huber and H.W. van der Merwe, "The Relative Impact of Ethnic and Structural Factors on Attitudes Towards Segregation and Dissent", in White South African Elites, p.76. See Table 9, "Index of Legal Segregation by Home Language", p.64; Table 13, "Proportion of Respondents Favouring Limited or No Legal Segregation by Home Language", p.70; and Table 15, "Relationship of Legal Segregation and Dissent", p.75.

30. J.W. Mann, "Attitudes Towards Ethnic Groups", in South African Sociological Perspectives, pp.50-72.

31. G.C. Kinloch, "Racial Prejudice in Highly and Less Racist Societies", Sociology and Social Research, No. 59 (1974), pp.1-13.

32. Henry Lever, "Ethnic Preferences of White Residents in Johannesburg", in Contemporary South Africa: Social Psychological Perspectives, pp.53-63.

33. David Welsh, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.236.

34. Colin Gardner, "The English-speaking Whites", in South Africa's Minorities, p.42.

35. Guy Butler, "Is the ESSA a Dodo?", The Sunday Star, 3 April 1988, p.14, cols. 5-6.

36. Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick, David Welsh, "Introduction" to Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, p.11.

37. See the introductory chapter of this present study.

38. The terminology here is adapted from Noel Garson's definition of the WESSA tradition of dissent. See my note 20.

39. The terminology here is taken from Lawrence Schlemmer's classification of WESSA political attitudes. See my notes 11 and 28.

40. Lawrence Schlemmer, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, p.123.

41. The fact that Mann's poem dates from the mid 1970s and Sole's from the mid 1980s suggests that the fundamental attitudes of the majority of WESSAs, as identified in the two poems, have not altered markedly in the contemporary period.

42. The nature and implications of the Nkomati Accord are discussed in T.R.H. Davenport's South Africa: A Modern History, p.504.

43. Two full-length historical accounts of the debate between liberal and Marxist thought are Harrison M. Wright, The Burden of the Present: The Liberal-Radical Controversy over South African History (Cape Town: David Philip, 1977) and Christopher

INDIVIDUAL VOLUMES OF SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH POETRY

Abrahams, Lionel, Thresholds of Tolerance. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1975.

----------, Journal of a New Man. Johannesburg: Donker, 1984.

----------, The Writer In Sand. Johannesburg: Donker, 1988.

Adams, Perseus, Grass for the Unicorn. Cape Town: Juta, 1975.

Barter, Charles, Memories of Natal and Zululand. Pietermaritzburg: Munro Brothers, 1897.

Beeton, Ridley, The Landscape of Requirement. Johannesburg: Donker, 1981.

----------, Tattoos. Johannesburg: Donker, 1983.

Berold, Robert. The Door to the River. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1984.

Brodrick, Albert, Fifty Fugitive Fancies in Verse. Pretoria: Celliers and Rousseau, 1875.

----------, A Wanderer's Rhymes. London: The Record Press, 1893.

Bryer, Sally, Sometimes, Suddenly. Cape Town: David Philip, 1973.

Butler, Guy, Selected Poems. Johannesburg: Donker, 1975.

----------, Songs and Ballads. Cape Town: David Philip, 1978.

Campbell, Roy, Adamastor. London: Faber, 1930.

----------, Selected Poems. Johannesburg: Donker, 1981.

Clouts, Sydney, Collected Poems. Cape Town: David Philip, 1984.

Constandaras, Nik, Dark Room. Johannesburg: Kabelkar-nimfe Books, 1983.

Cope, Jack, Recorded In Sun. Cape Town: David Philip, 1979.

Cotton, Roy Joseph, Comforts Frighten Me. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1981.

----------, Ag, Man, Cape Town: UpStream Publications, 1986.

Couzyn, Jeni, Monkey's Wedding. London: Cape, 1972.

----------, Christmas in Africa. London: Heinemann, 1975.

Cripps, Arthur Shearly, African Verses. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.

Cronin, Jeremy, Inside. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983.

Cullinan, Patrick, The Horizon Forty Miles Away. Machadodorp: privately published, 1973.

----------, Today Is Not Different. Cape Town: David Philip, 1978.

57. Mongane Serote is an obvious example. See Stephen Watson, "Shock of the Old: What's Become of Black Poets?", UpStream, 5.2 (Autumn 1987), pp.22-26. Kelwyn Sole's rejoinder, "The Shock of the Old? More Likely Nostalgia for the Past", UpStream, 5.4 (Spring 1987), pp.26-29, is not convincing, as Lionel Abrahams demonstrates in a letter to the editor, UpStream, 6.1 (Summer 1988), p.40.

58. Much of this poetry was given prominence in Horn's magazine, Ophir.

59. Jeremy Cronin, interviewed by Susan Gardner, Four South African Poets, p.14, p.18.

60. Quoted by Keith Gottschalk in a review of Inside in UpStream, 2.3 (Winter 1984), p.19.

61. Jeremy Cronin, interviewed by Susan Gardner, Four South African Poets, p.17.

62. The recent poetry (and literary criticism) of writers such as Mike Kirkwood, Mafika Gwala and Andries Oliphant continues to express a hard-line Marxist perspective.

63. Except where stated otherwise, the terms, "liberal", "liberal humanist" and "liberal democratic" will be regarded as equivalent within the definition provided in this study.

64. Jeffrey Butler et al., "Introduction" to Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, p.11.

71. Michael Chapman, "Introduction" to A Century of South African Poetry, p.16.

72. Ibid., p.16.

73. Ibid., p.18.

74. Ibid., p.18. The criticism by Chapman referred to here is, essentially, that embodied in his book, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective.

75. Stephen Watson, "Recent White English South African Poetry and the Language of Liberalism", Standpunte 164, 36.2 (April 1983), pp.13-23.

76. See, for example, Peter Horn, "The Psychological Pauperization of Man in Our Society: Reflections on the Poetry of Wopko Jensma", in Quarry '77, eds. Lionel Abrahams and Walter Saunders (Johannesburg: Donker, 1977), pp.111-121, and Isabel Hofmeyr, "The State of South African Literary Criticism", in English in Africa, 6.2 (September 1979), pp.39-50.

77. For example, Stephen Watson, "Recent White English South African Poetry and the Language of Liberalism", Standpunte 164, 36.2 (April 1983), pp.21-22.

78. The poem is discussed fully earlier in this study, in the chapter entitled, "A Crisis of Identity".

79. Cullinan's point is rather more complex than Michael Chapman suggests in his interpretation that "so often we find that which we wish to find" (South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, p.271).

a compressed account in South Africa: A Modern History, pp.571-578. For a Marxist account of the demise of old-style liberalism in South Africa, see Paul Rich, White Power and the Liberal Conscience (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

50. For publication details of these Marxist writers, see notes 42, 43 and 44 of the previous chapter of this study.

51. For an account of the Marxist approach to literary criticism in South Africa, see the introductory chapter of this study.

52. Marxism was but one of a number of intermingled influences on the Soweto poets of the 1970s. For a more detailed account of these influences, see Michael Chapman's chapter on "Soweto Poetry" in his book, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, pp.181-242.

53. Michael Chapman, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective, p.252.

54. Jeffrey Butler et al., "Introduction" to Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, p.9.

55. Ibid., pp.9-10; David Welsh, "Democratic Liberalism and Theories of Racial Stratification", in ibid., pp.185-202.

56. David Yudelman, "State and Capital in Contemporary South Africa", in ibid., pp.250-268.

65. Martin Legassick, "The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism: Its Assumptions and Social Base", in Institute of Commonwealth Studies, (mimeo; 1972), n.p.

66. Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick and David Welsh, as co-editors of Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect, a collection of papers delivered at the conference of the same title held at Houw Hoek, near Cape Town, from 29 June to 3 July 1986, provide a seminal assessment of liberalism in the contemporary period. The account of modern day liberalism offered in the next pages is heavily indebted to their valuable introduction in which the central conclusions of the conference are summarised. See also Charles Simkins, Reconstructing South African Liberalism (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1986).

67. Jeffrey Butler et al., "Introduction" to Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, p.5.

68. Ibid., p.6.

69. Richard Elphick, "Historiography and the Future of Liberal Values in South Africa", in Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, pp.166-181.

70. The term, liberal humanist, refers here primarily to the content of the poetry as an expression of a political perspective, rather than to the form or style or aesthetic qualities of the poetry as part of a literary tradition.

80. For example, in his acceptance speech for the Olive Schreiner Prize for Poetry, 1986, reproduced in English Academy Review 4 (1987), p.150. See also "'Down With English'", in Lionel Abrahams: A Reader, p.328.

81. Patrick Cullinan, review of Journal of a New Man, in UpStream, 3.2 (Autumn 1985), p.26.

82. Lionel Abrahams, acceptance speech for the Thomas Pringle Award for Poetry, 1987, reproduced in The Star TONIGHT (22 April 1988), p.6, col. 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANTHOLOGIES OF SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH POETRY

Butler, Guy, ed., A Book of South African Verse. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Butler, Guy and Chris Mann, eds, A New Book of South African Verse in English. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Chapman, Michael, ed., A Century of South African Poetry. Johannesburg: Donker, 1981.

Chapman, Michael and Achmat Dangor, eds, Voices from Within: Black Poetry from Southern Africa. Johannesburg: Donker, 1982.

Chapman, Michael, ed., The Paperbook of South African English Poetry. Johannesburg: Donker, 1986.

Cope, Jack and Uys Krige, eds, The Penguin Book of South African Verse. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.

Couzens, Tim and Essop Patel, eds, The Return of the Amasi Bird: Black South African Poetry 1891-1981. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1982.

Gray, Stephen, ed., A World of Their Own: Southern African Poets of the Seventies. Johannesburg: Donker, 1976.

----------, Modern South African Poetry. Johannesburg: Donker, 1984.

Macnab, Roy, ed., Poets in South Africa. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1958.

Macnab, Roy and Charles Gulston, eds, South African Poetry: A New Anthology. London: Collins, 1948.

Matthews, James, ed., Black Voices Shout! An Anthology of Poetry. Athlone: Blac, 1974.

Pieterse, Cosmo, ed., Seven South African Poets. London: Heinemann Educational, 1970.

Purves, John, ed., The South African Book of English Verse. London: Longmans, 1915.

Royston, Robert, ed., To Whom It May Concern: Black Poetry from South Africa. Johannesburg: Donker, 1973; 1981.

Slater, F.C., ed., The Centenary Book of South African Verse, 1820-1925. London: Longmans, 1925.

----------, The New Centenary Book of South African Verse. London: Longmans, 1945.

Stapleton, R.J., ed., Poetry of the Cape of Good Hope, Selected from the Periodical Journals of the Colony. Cape Town: Greig, 1828.

Veldsinger's Verse: A Compilation of the Works of Members of the Veldsingers Club. London: Dent, 1910.

Wilmot, Alexander, ed., The Poetry of South Africa. London: Sampson Low, 1887.

----------, The White Hail in the Orchard and Other Poems, Cape Town: David Philip, 1984.

Currey, Ralph, The Africa We Knew. Cape Town: David Philip, 1973.

Davids, Jennifer, Searching for Words. Cape Town: David Philip, 1974.

Dederick, Robert, Bi-focal. Cape Town: David Philip, 1974.

Delius, Anthony. The Last Division. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1959.

----------, Black South Easter. Grahamstown: New Coin, 1966.

Driver, C.J., Occasional Light. Cape Town: David Philip, 1979.

Dugmore, H.H., Verse. London: Birbeck, 1920.

Eglington, Charles, Under the Horizon. Cape Town: Purnell, 1977.

Fairbridge, Kingsley, Veld Verse. London: Oxford University Press, 1909.

Faller, Francis, Weather Words. Johannesburg: Donker, 1986.

Farrell, David, The Charlie Manson False Bay Talking Rock Blues and Other Poems. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1974.

Fugard, Sheila, Thresholds. Johannesburg: Donker, 1975.

----------, Mythic Things. Johannesburg: Donker, 1981.

Gray, Stephen, It's About Time. Cape Town: David Philip, 1974.

----------, Hottentot Venus and Other Poems. Cape Town: David Philip, 1979.

----------, Love Poems, Hate Poems. Cape Town: David Philip, 1982.

Greig, Robert, Talking Bull. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1975.

Gwala, Mafika, Jol'iinkomo. Johannesburg: Donker, 1977.

----------, No More Lullabies. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1982.

Haresnape, Geoffrey, Drive of the Tide. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1976.

Hewett, Bruce, The Man from Bridegroom. Cape Town: Children of Atlantis, 1974.

Hope, Christopher, Cape Drives. London: London Magazine, 1974.

----------, In the Country of the Black Pig. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1981.

----------, Englishmen. London: Heinemann, 1985.

Horn, Peter, Walking through Our Sleep. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1974.

----------, Silence in Jail. Johannesburg: Scribe, 1979.

James, Alan, At a Rail Halt. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1981.

----------, Producing the Landscape. Cape Town: UpStream Publications, 1987.

Jensma, Wopko, Sing for Our Execution. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1973.

----------, Where White Is the Colour, Where Black Is the Number. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1974.

----------, I Must Show You My Clippings. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1977.

Keech, Ruth, Regarding. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1981.

King, Michael, The Fool. Cape Town: The Poetry Press, 1987.

Kirkwood, Mike, Between Islands. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1975.

Levinson, Bernard, From Breakfast to Madness. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1974.

Lipkin, Jean, Among Stones. Cape Town: David Philip, 1975.

----------, With Fences Down. London: Grosvenor Press, 1986.

Livingstone, Douglas, Sjambok and Other Poems from Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

----------, Eyes Closed against the Sun. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

----------, A Rosary of Bone. Cape Town: David Philip, 1975; 1983.

----------, The Anvil's Undertone. Johannesburg: Donker, 1978.

----------, Selected Poems. Johannesburg: Donker, 1984.

Maclennan, Don, Life Songs. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1977.

----------, Reckonings. Cape Town: David Philip, 1983.

Macnab, Roy, Winged Quagga. Cape Town: David Philip, 1981.

Macnamara, Michael, The Falls Run Back. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1976.

----------, Joggo and Jezz. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1981.

Madingoane, Ingoapele, Afrika My Beginning. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1979.

Mann, Chris. First Poems. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1977.

----------, New Shades. Cape Town: David Philip, 1982.

Miller, Ruth, Floating Island. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1965.

----------, Selected Poems. London: Chatto and Windus, 1968.

Mtshali, Oswald, Sound of a Cowhide Drum. Johannesburg: Renoster Books, 1971.

----------, Fireflames. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1980.

Nicol, Mike, Among the Souvenirs. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1978.

Paton, Alan, Knocking on the Door. Cape Town: David Philip, 1975.

Plomer, William, Collected Poems. London: Jonathan Cape, 1960, 1973.

Pringle, Thomas, Poems Illustrative of South Africa; African Sketches. Cape Town: Struik, 1970.

Roberts, Sheila, Lou's Life and Other Poems. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1977.

----------, Dialogues and Divertimenti. Johannesburg: Donker, 1985.

Sacks, Peter, In these Mountains. New York: Macmillan, 1986.

Saunders, Walter, Faces, Masks, Animae. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1975.

Sepamla, Sipho, Hurry Up to It!. Johannesburg: Donker, 1975.

----------, The Blues Is You in Me. Johannesburg: Donker, 1976.

----------, The Soweto I Love. London: Collings, 1977.

----------, Children of the Earth. Johannesburg: Donker, 1983.

Serote, Mongane, Yakhal'inkomo. Johannesburg: Renoster Books, 1972.

----------, Tsetlo. Johannesburg: Donker, 1974.

----------, No Baby Must Weep. Johannesburg: Donker, 1975.

----------, Behold Mama, Flowers. Johannesburg: Donker, 1978.

----------, Selected Poems. Johannesburg: Donker, 1982.

Skinner, Douglas Reid, Reassembling World. Cape Town: David Philip, 1981.

----------, The House in Pella District. Cape Town: David Philip, 1985.

Slater, Francis Carey, Collected Poems (includes Dark Folk). Edinburgh: Blackwoods, 1957.

Sole, Kelwyn, The Blood of Our Silence. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987.

Strauss, Peter, Photographs of Bushmen. Johannesburg: Bateleur, 1974.

----------, Bishop Berrward's Door and Other Poems. Cape Town: David Philip, 1983.

Style, Colin, Baobab Street. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1977.

Swift, Mark, Treading Water. Cape Town: David Philip, 1974.

----------, Seconds Out. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1983.

Van Wyk, Christopher, It Is Time to Go Home. Johannesburg: Donker, 1979.

Watson, Stephen, Poems 1977-1982. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1982.

----------, In this City. Cape Town: David Philip, 1986.

Welsh, Anne, Set in Brightness. Cape Town: Purnell, 1968.

Wilhelm, Peter, White Flowers. Johannesburg: Bateleur Press, 1977.

Wright, David, A South African Album. Cape Town: David Philip, 1976.

----------, Selected Poems. Johannesburg: Donker, 1980.

WORKS OF CRITICISM ON SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH POETRY

Books

Adey, David, Ridley Beeton, Michael Chapman and Ernest Pereira, Companion to South African English Literature. Johannesburg: Donker, 1986.

Alexander, Peter, Roy Campbell: A Critical Biography. Cape Town: David Philip, 1982.

Alvarez-Pereyre, Jacques, The Poetry of Commitment in South Africa, tr. C. Wake. London: Heinemann, 1979, tr. 1984.

Beeton, D.R. and W.D. Maxwell-Mahon, eds, South African Poetry: A Critical Anthology. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1966.

Chapman, Michael, Douglas Livingstone: A Critical Study of his Poetry. Johannesburg: Donker, 1981.

----------, ed., Soweto Poetry. Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill, 1982.

----------, South African English Poetry: A Modern Perspective. Johannesburg: Donker, 1984.

Cullinan, Patrick, ed., Lionel Abrahams: A Reader. Johannesburg: Donker, 1988.

Daymond, M.J., J.U. Jacobs and M. Lenta, eds, Momentum: On Recent South African Writing. Pietermaritzburg: Natal University Press, 1984.

Doyle, John R., William Plomer. Boston: Twayne, 1969.

----------, Francis Cary Slater. Boston: Twayne, 1971.

----------, Thomas Pringle. Boston: Twayne, 1972.

February, V.A., Mind Your Colour: The 'Coloured' Stereotype in South African Literature. London: Kegan Paul, 1981.

Gardner, Susan, ed., Four South African Poets: Interviews with Robert Berold, Jeremy Cronin, Douglas Reid Skinner and Stephen Watson. Grahamstown: NELM, 1986.

Gordimer, Nadine, The Black Interpreters. Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1973.

Gray, Stephen, Southern African Literature: An Introduction. Cape Town: David Philip, 1979.

Heywood, Christopher, ed., Aspects of South African Literature. London: Heineman Educational, 1976.

Lennox-Short, Alan, ed., English and South Africa. Cape Town: Nasou, n.d.

Miller, G.M. and H. Sergeant, A Critical Survey of South African Poetry in English. Cape Town: Balkema, 1957.

Povey, John, Roy Campbell. Boston: Twayne, 1977.

Robinson, A.M. Lewin, None Daring to Make Us Afraid: A Study of English Periodical Literature in the Cape from its Beginnings in 1824 to 1835. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1962.

Smith, Rowland, Lyric and Polemic: The Literary Personality of Roy Campbell. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1973.

South African Writing in English and its Place in School and University: Proceedings of the English Academy of Southern Africa Conference held at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 7-11 July 1969, English Studies in Africa, 13.1 (March 1970).

Van Wyk Smith, Malvern, Drummer Hodge: The Poetry of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978.

Van Wyk Smith, Malvern and Don Maclennan, eds, Olive Schreiner and After: Essays on South African Literature in Honour of Guy Butler. Cape Town: David Philip, 1983.

Wilhelm, Peter and James A. Polley, eds, Poetry South Africa: Selected Papers from Poetry '74. Johannesburg: Donker, 1976.

White, Landeg and Tim Couzens, eds, Literature and Society in South Africa. London: Longmans, 1984.

Articles Cited

Abrahams, Lionel, acceptance speech for the Olive Schreiner Prize for Poetry, 1986, delivered at a ceremony held at the University of the Witwatersrand in November 1986, and reproduced in English Academy Review 4 (1987), pp.150-152.

----------, interviewed by Michael Chapman, English Academy Review 4 (1987), pp.143-149.

----------, acceptance speech for the Thomas Pringle Award for Poetry, 1987, reproduced in The Star TONIGHT (22 April 1988), p.6, cols 1-7.

----------, letter to the editor, Upstream, 6.1 (Summer 1988), p.40.

----------, "Down with English", in Lionel Abrahams: A Reader, ed. Patrick Cullinan. Johannesburg: Donker, 1988, pp.327-331.

Berold, Robert, "Alone, Alone" (review of Stephen Watson's Poems 1977-1982), in New Coin, 20.1 (June 1984), pp.46-49.

Brink, André, "Introduction", A World of Their Own: Southern African Poets of the Seventies, ed. Stephen Gray. Johannesburg: Donker, 1976, pp.9-12.

Butler, Guy, "Introduction", A Book of South African Verse, ed. Guy Butler. London: Oxford University Press, 1959, pp.xvii-xli.

----------, "On Being Present Where You Are: Some Observations on South African English Poetry 1930-1960", in Poetry South Africa, eds Peter Wilhelm and James Polley. Johannesburg: Donker, 1976, pp.82-101.

---------- and Chris Mann, "Guy Butler and Chris Mann on A New Book of South African Verse in English", English in Africa, 6.1 (March 1979), pp.1-11.

Chapman, Michael, "Introduction", A Century of South African Poetry. Johannesburg: Donker, 1981, pp.13-31.

----------, "Introduction" and "Notes", The Paperbook of South African English Poetry. Johannesburg: Donker, 1986, pp.15-32; pp.300-314.

----------, "The Liberated Zone: The Possibilities of Imaginative Expression in a State of Emergency", English Academy Review 5 (1988), pp.23-53.

Clayton, Cherry, "South African Writing in English: 1976", Standpunte 133, 31.1 (February 1978), pp.44-59.

Cornwell, Gareth, "Beauty with Cruelty" (review of Stephen Watson's In This City), New Coin, 22.2 (December 1986), pp.36-44.

Couzens, Tim, "Criticism of South African Literature", Work in Progress (November 1977), pp.44-52.

Cronin, Jeremy, "South African English Language Poetry Written by Africans in the 1970s", English Academy Review 3 (1985), pp.25-49.

Cullinan, Patrick, interviewed by Alan James, UpStream, 2.4 (Spring 1984), pp.1-3.

----------, review of Lionel Abrahams's Journal of a New Man, UpStream, 3.2 (Autumn 1985), pp.25-28.

----------, "Introduction", Lionel Abrahams: A Reader, ed. Patrick Cullinan. Johannesburg: Donker, 1988, pp.7-14.

Ferguson, Gus, "Introduction" to Roy Joseph Cotton's Ag, Man. Cape Town: UpStream, 1986, pp.8-9.

Gottschalk, Keith, review of Jeremy Cronin's Inside, UpStream, 2.3 (Winter 1984), pp.16-21.

Gray, Stephen, "A Sense of Place in New Literatures, Particularly South African English", English Academy Review 1 (1983), pp.29-37.

----------, "Introduction", Modern South African Poetry, ed. Stephen Gray. Johannesburg: Donker, 1984, pp.11-15.

Haarhoff, Dorian, "The Blight that Man Was Born For" (review of Roy Joseph Cotton's Ag, Man), New Coin, 22.2 (December 1968), pp.33-35.

Haresnape, Geoffrey, "Whites Under Stress" (Review of Christopher Hope's Cape Drives), Contrast 36, 9.4 (March 1975), pp.91-93.

Harvey, C.J.D., "Local Colour in South African Poetry", Theoria, No. 7 (1955), pp.93-100.

Hofmeyr, Isabel, "The Mining Novel in South African Literature", English in Africa, 5.2 (September 1978), pp.1-15.

----------, "The State of South African Literary Criticism", English in Africa, 6.2 (September 1979), pp.139-150.

Hope, Christopher, "The Elephants are Taking Driving Lessons", Bolt, No.10 (May 1974), pp.49-52.

----------, author's note on inside cover of Cape Drives. London: London Magazine, 1974, n.p.

----------, "Poetry and Society", in Poetry South Africa, eds Peter Wilhelm and James Polley. Johannesburg: Donker, 1976, pp.134-141.

----------, "Introduction" to Mike Nicol's Among the Souvenirs. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1978, pp i-iv.

----------, "A South African Abroad", Fair Lady (14 June 1987), pp.102-104.

Horn, Peter, "The Psychological Pauperization of Man in Our Society: Reflections on the Poetry of Wopko Jensma", in Quarry '77, eds Lionel Abrahams and Walter Saunders. Johannesburg: Donker, 1977, pp.111-121.

Kirkwood, Mike, "The Colonizer: A Critique of the English South African Culture Theory", in Poetry South Africa, eds Peter Wilhelm and James Polley. Johannesburg: Donker, 1976, pp.102-133.

Leveson, Marcia. "Self-Confession and Craft" (review of Lionel Abrahams's Journal of a New Man), Contrast 60, 15.4 (December 1985), pp.91-95.

Livingstone, Douglas, "'Africa Within Us' ...?", in Poetry South Africa, eds Peter Wilhelm and James Polley. Johannesburg: Donker, 1976, pp.142-144.

Lockett, Cecily, "Poems of Our Climate", (review of Francis Faller's Weather Words), New Coin, 23.1 (June 1987), pp.42-46.

Louw, P.P., "The Sestigers: A Post-Mortem", Bolt, No. 9 (October 1973), pp.19-35.

Ravenscroft, Arthur, "South African English Literature" in English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.316-329.

Skinner, Douglas Reid, "Self as Protagonist", review of Don Maclennan's Reckonings), Contrast 57, 15.1 (July 1984), pp.87-92.

Sole, Kelwyn, The Abortion of the Intellect", Work in Progress (August 1979), pp.13-28.

----------, "Great Longings, Bleak Lusts", (review of Stephen Watson's In This City), English Academy Review 4 (January 1987), pp.254-265.

----------, "The Shock of the Old? More Likely Nostalgia for the Past", UpStream, 5.4 (Spring 1987), pp.26-29.

Van Wyk Smith, Malvern, "Introduction", Shades of Adamastor, ed. Malvern van Wyk Smith. Grahamstown: NELM, 1988, pp.1-37.

Watson, Stephen, "Recent White English South African Poetry and the Language of Liberalism", Standpunte 164, 36.2 (April 1983), pp.13-23.

----------, "Poetry and Politicization", Contrast 61, 16.1 (July 1986), pp.15-28.

----------, "Shock of the Old: What's Become of Black Poets?", UpStream, 5.2 (Autumn 1987), pp.22-26.

GENERAL

Books

Adam, Heribert, ed., South African Sociological Perspectives. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Bond, John, They Were South Africans. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Butler, Guy, ed., When Boys Were Men. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1969.

----------, ed., The 1820 Settlers: An Illustrated Commentary. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1974.

Butler, Jeffrey, Richard Elphick and David Welsh, eds, Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect. Cape Town: David Philip, 1987.

Davenport, T.R.H., South Africa: A Modern History, third edition. Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1987.

De Villiers, André, ed., English-speaking South Africa Today: Proceedings of the National Conference, July 1974. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976.

De Villiers, René, ed., Better Than They Knew, two volumes. Cape Town: Purnell, 1972-1974.

Hammond-Tooke, W.D., ed., The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.

Hoffman, Tzippi and Alan Fischer, eds, The Jews of South Africa: What Future? Johannesburg: Southern, 1988.

Hudson, W., G.F. Jacobs and S. Biesheuvel, Anatomy of South Africa: A Scientific Study of Present Day Attitudes. Cape Town: Purnell, 1966.

Lever, Henry, South African Society. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1978.

----------, ed., Readings in South African Society. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1978.

Macmillan, W.H., Bantu, Boer and Briton, revised edition. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.

Morse, S.J. and C. Orpen, eds, Contemporary South Africa: Social Psychological Perspectives. Cape Town: Juta, 1975.

Randall, Peter, The South African "English" and Race Relations. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, Topical Talk No. 4, 1967.

----------, ed., South Africa's Minorities. Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1971.

----------, The Taste of Power. Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1973.

Rich, Paul, White Power and the Liberal Conscience. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

Robertson, Janet, Liberalism in South Africa: 1948-1963. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.

Saunders, Christopher, The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class. Cape Town: David Philip, 1988.

Schlemmer, Lawrence, Privilege, Prejudice and Parties. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1973.

----------, and Eddie Webster, eds, Change, Reform and Economic Growth in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1978.

Simkins, Charles, Reconstructing South African Liberalism. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1986.

South Africa's Political Alternatives: Report of the Political Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1973.

Stone, John, Colonist or Uitlander? A Study of the British Immigrant in South Africa. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.

Thompson, Leonard M., The Political Mythology of Apartheid. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Van den Berghe, Pierre L., ed., The Liberal Dilemma in South Africa. London: Croom Helm, 1979.

Van der Merwe, H.W., M.J. Ashley, N.C.J. Charton and B.J. Huber, White South African Elites. Cape Town: Juta, 1974.

Welsh, David, The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Wilson, M. and L.M. Thompson, eds, The Oxford History of South Africa, two volumes. London: Oxford University Press, 1969-1971.

Wright, Harrison M., The Burden of the Present: The Liberal-Radical Controversy over South African History. Cape Town: David Philip, 1977.

Yudelman, David, The Emergence of Modern South Africa. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983.

Articles Cited

Archibald, D., "The Afrikaners as an Emergent Minority", British Journal of Sociology, 20.4 (December 1969), pp.416-426.

Butler, Guy, "The Purpose of the Conference", English Studies in Africa, 13.1 (March 1970), pp.11-20.

----------, "A Conversation with Guy Butler" (interviewed by Christopher Hope), Bolt, No. 7 (March 1973), pp.46-55.

----------, "The Nature and Purpose of the Conference", in English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.7-16.

----------, "English and the English in the New South Africa", English Academy Review 3 (1985), pp.163-176.

----------, "Is the ESSA a Dodo?", Sunday Star (3 April 1988), p.14, cols 1-7.

Butler, Jeffrey, Richard Elphick and David Welsh, "Introduction" to Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, eds Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick and David Welsh. Cape Town: David Philip, 1987, pp.3-17.

Charton, N.C.J. and H.W. van der Merwe, "Whither White South Africa?", in H.W. van der Merwe, M.J Ashley, N.C.J. Charton and B.J. Huber, White South African Elites. Cape Town: Juta, 1974, pp.170-178.

----------, "Some Political Attitudes of the Elites", in H.W. van der Merwe, M.J. Ashley, N.C.J. Charton and B.J. Huber, White South African Elites. Cape Town: Juta, 1974, pp.136-150.

De Villiers, A., "Introduction", English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.v-vi.

Elphick, Richard, "Historiography and the Future of Liberal Values in South Africa", in Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, eds Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick and David Welsh. Cape Town: David Philip, 1987, pp.166-181.

Gardner, Colin, "The English-speaking Whites", in South Africa's Minorities, ed. P. Randall. Johannesburg: Spro-Cas, 1971, pp.39-45.

Garson, Noel, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford Univesity Press, 1976, pp.17-40.

Hammond-Tooke, W.D., "World View 1: A System of Beliefs", in The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa, ed. W.D. Hammond-Tooke. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, pp.318-343.

Hope, Christopher, "A South African Abroad", Fair Lady (24 June 1987), pp.102-104.

Huber, B.J., N.C.J. Charton and H.W. van der Merwe, "A Profile of White South African Elites", in H.W. van der Merwe, N.C.J. Charton, M.J. Ashley and B.J. Huber, White South African Elites. Cape Town: Juta, 1974, pp.19-38.

Huber, B.J. and H.W. van der Merwe, "The Relative Impact of Ethnic and Structural Factors on Attitudes Towards Segregation and Dissent", in H.W. van der Merwe, N.C.J. Charton, M.J. Ashley and B.J. Huber, White South African Elites. Cape Town: Juta, 1974, pp.61-78.

Huber, B.J., "Images of the Future", in H.W. van der Merwe, N.C.J. Charton, M.J. Ashley and B.J. Huber, White South African Elites. Cape Town: Juta, 1974, pp.151-169.

Johnstone, Frederick, "White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa Today", African Affairs, LXIX.274 (1970), pp.124-140.

----------, "'Most Painful to Our Hearts': South African History Through the Eyes of the New School", Canadian Journal of African Studies 16 (1982), pp.5-26.

Kinloch, G.C. "Racial Prejudice in Highly and Less Racist Societies", Sociology and Social Research, No. 59 (1974), pp.1-13.

Legassick, Martin, "The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism: Its Assumptions and Social Base", Institute of Commonwealth Studies, (mimeo; 1972), n.p.

----------, "Legislation, Ideology and Economy in Post-1948 South Africa", Journal of Southern African Studies I (1974), pp.5-35.

Lever, Henry, "Ethnic Preferences of White Residents in Johannesburg", in Contemporary South Africa: Social Psychological Perspectives, eds S.J. Morse and C. Orpen. Cape Town: Juta, 1975, pp.53-63.

MacCrone, I.D., "Opening Address", English Studies in Africa, 13.1 (March 1970), pp.1-9.

Mann, J.W., "Attitudes Towards Ethnic Groups", in South African Sociological Perspectives, ed. H. Adam. London: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp.50-72.

Schlemmer, Lawrence, "English-speaking South Africans Today: Identity and Integration into the Broader National Community", in English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.91-135.

Shimoni, Gideon, "Foreword", The Jews of South Africa: What Future?, eds Tzippi Hoffman and Alan Fischer. Johannesburg: Southern, 1988, n.p.

Taylor, Catherine, "My View of English-speakers", New Nation (September 1967), pp.10-11.

Tiryakian, E.A., "Sociological Realism: Partition for South Africa", Social Forces, No. 46 (1967), pp.208-221.

Trapido, Stanley, "South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization", Journal of Development Studies 7 (1971), pp.309-320.

Watts, H.L., "A Social and Demographic Portrait of English-speaking White South Africans", in English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.41-89.

Welsh, David, "English-speaking Whites and the Racial Problem", in English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.217-239.

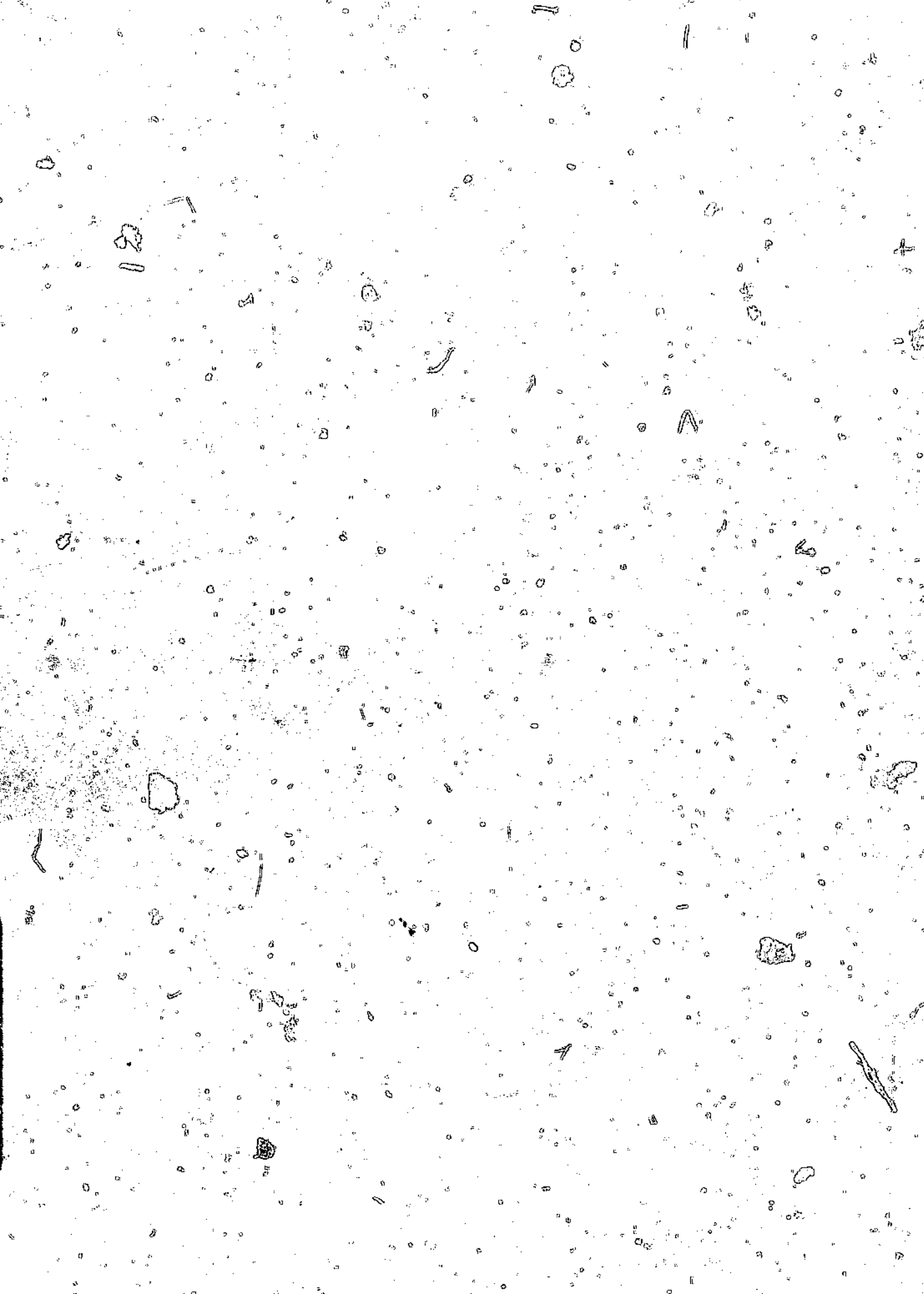
----------, "Democratic Liberalism and Theories of Racial Stratification", in Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, eds Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick and David Welsh. Cape Town: David Philip, 1987, pp.185-202.

----------, "Why Can't the English ...?", Living (June 1988), p.24.

Worrall, Denis, "English-speaking South Africa over Twenty-five Years", New Nation (July/August 1973), pp.5-9.

----------, "English South Africa and the Political System", in English-speaking South Africa Today, ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.193-215.

Yudelman, David, "State and Capital in Contemporary South Africa", in Democratic Liberalism in South Africa, eds Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick and David Welsh. Cape Town: David Philip, 1987, pp.250-268.



Author: Foley Andrew John.
Name of thesis: The white English-speaking South Africans- contemporary dilemmas and responses in South African poetry.

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
©2015

LEGALNOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Library website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be distributed, transmitted, displayed or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page)for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the Library website.