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AN EXAMINATION OF POLITICAL SLOGANEERING AS A  
MODE OF COMMUNICATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO  
THE ORAL TRADITION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
SOUTH AFRICA\*

BY

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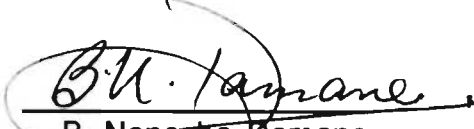
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This work is dedicated to the memory of my brother  
**SAMUEL SIMPHIWE NGALO**  
whose recent departure left a void in our lives.

## DECLARATION

This whole dissertation, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is the candidate's own original work and has not been submitted to any other university for any degree.

  
B. Nonceba Damane  
December 1994

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## **CHAPTER ONE.**

### **1. INTRODUCTION.**

#### **1.1 AIMS OF THE STUDY.**

This study examines political sloganeering as a mode of communication and looks at its relationship to the oral tradition with special reference to South Africa. A major section of the analysis deals with the concept of orality / oral tradition in political sloganeering in the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP) and how these movements employ political slogans in defining and communicating their ideologies. The analysis does not only consider political sloganeering within the context of live oral performance but also looks at the interplay between oral and written political slogans: the use made of orality in posters, banners, graffiti, radio and television. Political sloganeering when studied carefully shows evidence of a re-integration process where the oral and literate elements combine to convey meaning. The study reveals that the ANC and SACP practices are not directly related to the oral tradition, but that there are some similarities between oral tradition/orality and ANC/SACP practices.

The study sees political sloganeering as a communicative device and thus analyses the distinctive elements employed in the performance of the political slogans which usually involves several participants in varying roles and delivery skills.

## 1.2 THEMES.

From the above aims, the following themes can be formulated:

Political sloganeering in South Africa has its roots in the oral tradition of the people in society.

Political sloganeering formed an integral part of the people's struggle for liberation from government oppression in South Africa.

Political sloganeering was a means of continuing the struggle when other avenues were not available.

The performer expresses ideas and presents information that arouse emotions and cause reactions, compelling the audience to further enquiry, thought and evaluation, all of which very often elicit a response. The essential components of political sloganeering in a live context are:

- performer or encoder,
- the slogan or speech constituting the message,
- the audience or decoder and
- the reaction.

### 1.3 BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE DISSERTATION.

The study is divided into six chapters.

Chapter One outlines the aim and main themes, and reviews the relevant literature and methods used.

Chapter Two deals with the modes of communication in political slogans and the oral stylistic techniques employed to compel some kind of response from the audience.

In Chapter Three the funeral service of Chris Hani (Secretary General of the SACP) will be analysed to assess the role of political sloganeering in the context of grief. The chapter also illustrates how slogans differ in relation to context.

Chapter Four looks at the literary and visual elements from an oral perspective as evidenced in posters, banners, graffiti, radio and television.

Chapter Five discusses various themes in SACP and ANC political slogans from a historical perspective.

Chapter Six summarises the main features of political sloganeering as a mode of communication vis-a-vis its relationship to the oral tradition.

## 1.4 REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE.

The study of political sloganeering in relation to the oral tradition has received little attention. This dissertation will use, whenever possible, material gleaned from basic literature on the oral tradition and extrapolate from it in the context of political sloganeering.

The following are the basic works consulted:

Ong (1982) lists a number of characteristics which distinguish orally based thought and expression. For Ong, words are both power and action. I find these characteristics reflected in the studied political sloganeering. The various slogans I cite in the course of this dissertation are invariably aimed at inciting the participants into concerted action for social, political and economic empowerment.

Groenewald (1990) suggests that an oral performance is basically a communicative act, and that it functions as an instrument for the sending / receiving of messages. Political sloganeering achieves its communicative act through public performance of this kind.

Finnegan (1992) sees oral performance as one specific mode of human communication and action. She distinguishes it from normal or everyday activity. Finnegan further examines the link between the Performer - Performance - Audience and she positively values these links as organized, deeply felt and thoughtful

expressions of personal and social identities. In political rallies, marches or mass/political gatherings where people are active in the development and construction of oral style, such social links are observed.

Jousse (1990) identifies concepts in orality which when studied reveal that gesture, facial expression, vocal tone and the spoken word are integral to the expression of meaning in live performance. Some of his concepts are used in this dissertation to support the assumption given for the study of political sloganeering.

Jousse (1990) gives background information on the oral language of gestures as means of expression. He shows that oral language can describe and sketch in minute detail position, movements, distance, shape and contour.

Lord (1986) stresses that oral pieces are not composed in writing but considers them to be extemporized on the occasions of their actual utterance.

Lord (1960) lists the main features of oral action: its composition, its mode of transmission, and its performance. These features are found occurring in political sloganeering, in a live oral environment. Therefore, an analysis of orality and oral tradition in this regard proves that political sloganeering is an oral performance.

Political sloganeering is akin to oral literature since it is perceived to be alive, contextualized, vibrant and energetic.

## **1.5 METHODOLOGY.**

### **1.5.1 COLLECTION OF DATA.**

Four elements form the basis of my study. First is the detailed analysis of a video tape on the funeral ceremony of Chris Hani. Second is the information gained by attending a few political gatherings at the KwaMashu and Curries Fountain stadia. At these gatherings I also interviewed various members of the audience. Third, was to visit the ANC and SACP youth offices to obtain slogans chanted by the two political parties and the background information on these. Some of these will be analysed in the course of my dissertation. Fourthly, I collected information by meeting the older members of these two organisation in Durban. In addition to the meeting with the ANC/SACP elderly members, I phoned the ANC Johannesburg offices. Formal and informal interviews also furnished general information on the topic and on the intensity and spread of sloganeering during the election period at KwaMashu in particular.

In addition to an examination of those elements of political sloganeering which belong to the domain of the purely "oral", some consideration will also be given to visual and literary elements (flags, banners, uniforms, colours and graffiti), which today constitute essential components of political sloganeering. It would appear that these latter elements are merely incidental to the main theme of my study, but it must be emphasised that, in the context of the times, they are a natural progression of the oral tradition. The society that I am considering is no longer a primarily oral



one; literacy, is asserting itself, albeit to a limited extent, and this, combined with the society's increasing exposure to other western influences, has had a significant impact on traditional orality, as will be seen in the course of the study.

### **1.5.2 TRANSLATION.**

I translated all the Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho political slogans as well as speeches into English with the help of SACP and ANC officers in Durban. I am aware that translation from one language to another is no easy matter. It involves the formidable task of conveying to another socio-linguistic culture the intricacies of the original. All the Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho words that were voiced by various people in Hani's funeral have been written in italics. I have attempted to translate for meaning, sound and action.

The study has been undertaken in part to fill a gap in research on the oral tradition. The process, status, manner and roles of political sloganeering are aspects that have not been duly considered and it is hoped that my study will help fill part of the gap.

My research was hindered by the lack of written material relevant to my theme. As a result the quotations used do not directly relate to political sloganeering but will hopefully illustrate the similarities between the oral tradition and political sloganeering.

## 1.6 ORALITY AND ORAL TRADITION.

Ong (1982) in an orality and oral tradition study commented that orality refers to the experience of words and speech as sound. People in political performance rely very much on utterances and the "living voice" attracting people to a certain ideology. The physical and facial gestures accompanying speech help to reinforce the message conveyed. Witnessing the political sloganeering process (vociferous and at times plaintive protests, chanting accompanied by dancing and physical gestures etc) can be an enthralling experience Ong, commenting on power in words, uttered sayings or oral phrases, says:

**Sound cannot be sounding without the use of power. (1982:32).**

Although Ong does not refer to the sound released by the people when chanting slogans, the uttered words of slogans in performance possess the similar power described by him. People in political environments announce political phrases and compose slogans with great emphasis and energy.

From the above discussion it emerges that sound exists with the use of power in the process of live political sloganeering.

Then what is slogan? The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990:1145) gives a definition of it as:

**Slogan is a short, catchy phrase used in advertising - a party cry; a watchword or motto - a war cry.**

Considering the words that are used in advertisements in front of the audience and in war as a war cry, powerful utterances need to exist in such saying to convince the audience.

Although slogans seem to be a recent development they were chanted in ancient times even in wars. Traditionally, when chiefs, headmen and members of the community held socio-cultural gatherings to discuss values, customs, norms and beliefs of the society, they used slogans. Collectively they would raise important issues that needed to be addressed where some kind of consensus had to be arrived at. While the debate progressed any member of the gathering might call out key words such as:

***USUTHUI***

***USUTHUI***

***USUTHU... ZULUI***

This is a slogan that denotes unity, solidarity and the origin of the people at the meeting. People in the assembly would stand up, raise their hands and sticks and chant the same phrase. This would continue until they felt they had reached some degree of consensus. I believe that orality inherent in slogans inculcates unanimity and oneness of purpose particularly in political gatherings; the added dimension of strength and optimism emerges from the sense of cohesion and esprit de corps of the several members of the group.

Political slogans, then, are aimed at arousing the members of the organisation to concerted action to obtain power. Struggle, liberation, freedom, battle, conflict, bravery, sacrifice and kill are catch words that are frequently used in political slogans. The slogans quoted in subsequent chapters will show that political sloganeering is essentially about power for the masses.

## **CHAPTER TWO.**

### **2. AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL SLOGANEERING WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ORAL TRADITION.**

As this study focuses on political sloganeering as a means of communication within the context of the oral tradition, the distinctive characteristics of political slogans in this context need elucidation. Political slogans are verbal messages spoken or sung by those in participation. The practice is orally based. Spoken words, gestures, signs and symbols are expressions that have their roots in orality, and the combination of these elements in performance enhances the message inherent in political slogans. This kind of performance allows every individual in the meeting to participate in what can be described as a dramatic art. People listen to chants and oral statements and react to them or imitate them in a particular manner. The act of political sloganeering, then, is but a facet of the oral tradition.

#### **2.1 CONSIDERATIONS OF ORAL TRADITIONS IN SOCIETY.**

Traditional views valued by people in an oral society are handed down from one generation to another orally. In societies where writing, radio and television are present, orality is still an important mode of transmitting knowledge from the elders to children. This process helps to preserve and to maintain the continuity of that body of traditional knowledge which is peculiar to each society; notwithstanding the

extraneous influences to which a society is subject, the oral dissemination of traditional wisdom serves to keep the individual in contact with his cultural roots. For a society which has the misfortune of falling under the hegemony of an alien people, the oral transmission of the glories of a bygone era - of the so called heroic age - rekindles the yearning to attain the freedom experienced by their forefathers in former days.

Political slogans, in addition to conveying forthright political expedients, also serve to inform the present generation about the travails experienced by earlier political figures in their attempts to set the country on the high-road to democracy and liberation. It could be said, then, albeit very generally, that an important objective of political sloganeering is to transmit to the present generation the sustained and covert resistance to the Establishment in the then prevailing circumstances; the refusal to submit serves as an inspiration to the present generation and formulates a paradigm of conduct within the present socio-political context.

An example of a slogan that perhaps approximates to the above is as follows:

1. ***ASINAMALI ! MSIZI DUBE !***  
***WE HAVE NO MONEY ! MSIZI DUBE !***
2. ***ASINAMALI !***  
***WE HAVE NO MONEY !***

Msizi Dube was a respected figure in the ANC, and he devoted himself to improving the lot of the poverty stricken masses in the Durban area. The slogan cited above

has its roots in a slogan first composed by Mr Dube; the original consisted merely of the chant "ASINAMALI". According to SACP and ANC members whom I interviewed, the slogan was chanted by the destitute masses, and the use of the first person plural in the slogan is designed to embrace the under-privileged majority. After Mr Dube's death, the slogan was lengthened to include his name, giving rise to the slogan in the form cited above.

The inclusion of the name is obviously aimed at perpetuating the memory of a political hero devoted to the common weal. People chanting this slogan are reminded of the stance of Msizi Dube, and such a remembrance can serve only to further inspire the chanters and perhaps urge them to emulate his ideals. Thus it can be seen that political slogans are often mutable and dynamic; slogans are not bound by tradition but can be revised if deemed expedient.

Political sloganeering is one of the methods used by people of radical persuasions to bring back the memories of freedom enjoyed by the populace in ancient days. People in a freedom-struggle chant and sing slogans that are highly emotive and sometimes controversial and accompanied by many facial and bodily gestures aimed at eliciting the desired response. Such expression occurs in rhythmic form. For example:

1. **HEYTA COMRADE, HEYTA !**  
**GREETING COMRADE, GREETINGS !**
2. **HEYTA COMRADE, HEYTA !**  
**GREETING COMRADE, GREETINGS !**

3. ***BULALA COMRADE, BULALA !***  
**KILL COMRADE, KILL !**
4. ***BULALA ! BULALA ! COMRADE !***  
**KILL ! KILL ! COMRADE !**
5. ***U-BOTHA ! BULAL'U BOTHA !***  
**BOTHA ! KILL BOTHA !**
6. ***U-BOTHA BULAL'U BOTHA !***  
**BOTHA KILL BOTHA !**

This slogan has a rhythmic feature that is common to most oral phrases. A political slogan shares certain features with other oral phrases, such as are found in praise poems (*izibongo*). Rhythm is one of the poetic devices which form the basis of praise poetry. These devices include repetition and linking, alliteration, parallelism and assonance.

Ong (1982:34) notes:

**Protracted orally based thought, even when not in formal verse, tends to be rhythmic, for rhythm aids recall, even physiologically.**

Political slogans, like praise poetry, make use of rhyme and rhythm, creating a musical pattern that evokes an emotional response in the both performer and audience. This pattern reveals itself through rhythm related to the distribution of stressed and unstressed syllables in the slogan. Rhyme and rhythm are pleasurable and please the ear. It is worth noting that while the actual message is all important, it is nevertheless a device like rhyme or rhythm that helps consolidate the inherent



message, which is now couched in a manner that appeals to the innate musical sensibilities of the listeners. Rhyme and rhythm also aid recall and are features of the oral tradition [cf Ong (1982:33-36)].

Parry (1928) and Lord (1960) both support the fact that oral expressions with rhyme and rhythm reinforce memory of the participants. Repetition of sounds or words has the function of expressing urgency and emphasis. These devices help the audience to grasp the intended meaning more easily. There is also the figurative or metaphorical form which is accompanied by words and sound expressing a meaning that is understood only by the people in performance.

Political slogans epitomize the political values of the populace or of a particular political organisation. The ideal of bringing all African people together for the benefit of the country is embodied in the following slogan:

1. **SONQOBA SIMUNYE !**  
**UNITED WE WILL SUCCEED !**
2. **UBUMBWANO MA-AFRIKA !**  
**AFRICANS BE UNITED !**

This is the ANC and SACP ideal; division among the African people is not acceptable to them although experience has shown that party politics has resulted in a failure to realize or even come close to this ideal. The concept of protest and resistance found in political sloganeering springs from deep roots which can be traced far back in the history of mankind. Traditionally, everyone was regarded as

important, in his/her society. The slogan cited above implies that when people are united they can achieve their goals. The success referred to in the slogan is suggested to have once been enjoyed in the past, and the society naturally longs for that bygone era. Political phrases of this type indicate a link and yearning for the lost traditions of unity. Political slogans thus constitute a body of messages directed at a group of people with a particular ideology which is recorded in the minds of people and orally reiterated. Ong (1982:24) in his analysis of traditional elements in orality emphasises the point that in a primary oral culture conceptualized knowledge needs to be repeated aloud so that it does not vanish. Ong points out that oral societies need to repeat over and over again what has been learned over the ages. Although Ong makes these observations in respect of a primary oral cultures it can be seen that ANC and SACP followers keep on reciting and revising their slogans in order to preserve and transmit their ideologies.

Political sloganeering brings to the attention of the listeners the experience and events of the past, as in the following slogan.

1. ***KHULULANI AMAQHAW' ESIZWE !***  
**RELEASE THE HEROES OF THE WORLD !**
2. ***KHULULANI !***  
**RELEASE !**
3. ***KHULALANI uMANDELA !***  
**RELEASE MANDELA !**
4. ***SIYAMFUNA ! SIYAMFUNA !***  
**WE WANT HIM ! WE WANT HIM !**

In the above example the slogan reminds the participants about the imprisonment of Mr Nelson Mandela. Events of a societal or political nature are thus conveyed in chanted slogans. Traditionally in all African societies the control of people's lives was greatly dependent on what was orally said in folk stories, songs and phrases. The oral narratives were told by the elders who were regarded as people who truly understood the customs, values and norms of society. Oral statements were of utmost importance and common to all families and social gathering. eg.

1. ***GWABINI WEMIKHONTO !***  
**RATTLER OF THE SPEARS !**
2. ***ONONJIYELA-HULALA UHLANGOTHI LUBOMVU,***  
**ONE WHO IS UNABLE TO LIE DOWN, ONE SIDE BEING RED WITH**  
**WOUNDS !**
3. ***UMANXEB'ANGAMANXULUMA !***  
**ONE WHOSE WOUNDS ARE AS NUMEROUS AS THE HUTS OF A**  
**LARGE KRAAL !**

The oral statements cited above belong to the *Mbhele* tribe. At my home my grandmother used to narrate stories that included such oral phrases. The statements conveyed a message of bravery. The *Mbhele* people regard themselves as a strong and resilient people.

Changes and developments have occurred in the society resulting in changes in the life style of the people; tradition had to be revised in order for it to be retained in a changing society. People kept on reciting, singing and chanting oral phrases reflecting the circumstances of the past, for example:

## **1. *IMBUMBA YAMANYAMA MA-AFRIKA !***

### **AFRICANS BE UNITED !**

The essential idea in the above oral phrase is to convey the message of togetherness to every person in Africa. An oral phrase of this nature is commonly chanted as a political slogan in political gatherings. In a political context, it is recited/chanted to bind people to the same political ideology. On the question of stimulating and grounding people's thought and preserved knowledge, Ong (1982:34) says:

**The only answer is: Think memorable thoughts.**

Although Ong goes on to explain that one has to bring his/her thought in mnemonic patterns which are shaped for ready oral recitation, the point I want to emphasise in the discussion is that in slogans, phrases and proverbs, knowledge is constantly in circulation in the form of set expressions uttered by people in performance.

In the survey undertaken by me when I attended the student's political gathering at KwaMashu township the most pronounced aspects I observed were the serious thought that was reflected in the slogans chanted, and the skilful expressions used. Ong (1982:35) says that this occurs, in the total absence of 'book and pen'. Ong refers to sustained thought in an oral culture as being tied to oral communication. In addition to Ong's observation, Vansina (1965:264), too, points out that:

**Remembrances once stored are never lost.**

This study reveals that even today the traditional use of thought, memory and skilful oral communication is a common practice in political gatherings though the society is now not totally an oral one. Neither is it a significantly literate one; traditional knowledge, therefore, has to be recited continually to be retained and transmitted to posterity. Slogans embody the beliefs, values and aims of people in a particular society. Political slogans focus on issues that hinder a society's social existence. Indeed political sloganeering dynamically represents the radical changes and developments in society. The discussion that follows is an analysis of social dynamics observed in political sloganeering.

## **2.2 SOCIAL DYNAMICS THAT ACCOUNT FOR POLITICAL SLOGANS CHANTED BY ANC, SACP AND PAC IN THEIR POLITICAL GATHERINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

The Nationalist Party coined the word apartheid as an electoral slogan in 1948. The word apartheid means "apart-ness" or "separate-ness" in Afrikaans. Since 1948 until the mid - 1980's apartheid was the official ideology of Afrikaner nationalism. Apartheid practices grew into both an elaborate sign system and a sophisticated socio-political machinery concerned with the belief in racial and cultural segregation as well as with the material, that is, economic interests of a few individuals.

On the basis of the 1948 apartheid system the government's desire for separating groups of people in South Africa was fully realized. The system did not only divide people but perhaps, worst of all, deprived them of a fundamental right, the right to

a decent education. Despite being well on the way to the realization of full democracy, the country is still reeling in the wake of educational deprivation, and it is a situation that is likely to linger for generations to come. A slogan referring to this issue is as follows:

1. ***PHANTSI NGEMFUNDO EBOLILE !***  
**DOWN WITH GUTTER EDUCATION !**
2. ***PHANTSI !***  
**DOWN !**

Furthermore the government created public service jobs for a few individuals. These practices caused tremendous spiritual, mental and physical suffering amongst the majority of the South Africans. It is a natural concomitant that the majority of Africans viewed the government with deep rooted odium. People started to chant and sing political slogans protesting against the effects of Apartheid. For example:

1. ***PHANSI NGOMBUSO WEDLANZANA !***  
**DOWN WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MINORITY !**
2. ***PHANSI !***  
**DOWN**
3. ***PHEZULU NGOMBUSO WENINGI !***  
**UP WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MAJORITY !**
4. ***PHEZULU NGOMBUSO WABANTU !***  
**UP WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE !**
5. ***PHEZULU !***  
**UP !**

The United Democratic Front (UDF) and ANC organisation focused its objectives on fighting the practice of 'separatism'. The United Democratic Front stressed the ideology of non-racialism. The slogan given below affirms this ideology:

1. ***SITHI PHANTSI NGEYANTLUKWANO !***

**WE SAY : NO TO APARTHEID !**

2. ***HLANGANANI MA - AFRIKA !***

**AFRICANS BE UNITED !**

The African National Congress and the South African Communist Party chant the same catchy phrase to convey the message of unity and oneness. The slogan is extended:

1. ***OMNYAMA NOMHLOPHE AKABEMUNYE !***

**BLACK AND WHITE MUST BE ONE !**

2. ***UBUNYE UKOMELELA !***

**UNITY IS STRENGTH !**

**South Africans, black and white, people from many traditions, speakers of different languages, we who have different pasts but one future, who have this country, reject the racism that tears it apart.**

1. ***SITHI !***

**WE SAY !**

2. ***HLANGANANI !***

**UNITE !**

Throughout this wide land, from the Limpopo up north to Cape Town in the South, east across to the west, in towns, compounds, cities, out in the countryside, let the whole world hear.

People locked into bantustans pushed off the land. We who are starving in resettlement camps, unemployed rural people, contract labourers, old and young, left behind.

1. ***I-SOUTH AFRIKA I LIZWE ELINYE !***  
**SOUTH AFRICA IS ONE COUNTRY !**
2. ***FUTHI YEYETHU !***  
**IT BELONGS TO US ALL !**

While the slogans cited above are not strictly oral they are presumably meant to be chanted. Listening to the above slogans chanted one would know clearly that the slogans belong to an organization that seeks not only the unity of all South Africans but also one that fights the group areas act. Thus a political slogan often provides a political movement with an identity, a sort of brand mark, as evidenced in the above examples.

The ANC and SACP followers chant a slogan that runs:

1. ***I - IFP UKLOVA !***  
**IFP IS BANANA !**
2. ***UKLOVA I - IFP !***  
**BANANA IS IFP !**

(Inkatha Freedom Party = IFP)



*U-Klova* is the most widely used term of insult to provoke *Inkatha* members. Kentridge (1990:21) analyses this word as having a violent combination of sounds. The shape of lips in sounding the word suggests contempt or distaste. The ANC and SACP members mean that Inkatha members are fools, people who do not know better. The ANC comrades imply that Inkatha members are like children and have not grown into maturity.

This slogan contains an element of sarcasm or mockery and is an example of the many vitriolic and scathing attacks on rival political movements or politicians. Why then should the ANC and the SACP followers chant a slogan of this type ? One has to understand that some political slogans are composed to communicate with the masses in different ways, to eliminate whatever obstructs their ideology and to tease, expose, criticise and humiliate other political movements. It is apparent, therefore, that in political slogans these varying forms of satire are of the particular kind that has its core in a type of teasing or sarcastic wit.

### **2.3 THE FORMAL AND TECHNICAL COMPONENTS OF POLITICAL SLOGANEERING.**

A distinctive characteristic of political sloganeering is the emphasis placed on the performance to convey the verbal message. The various components of the performance constitute powerful images which enhance the political message and help sway the audience. They shape and complement the theme of the message throughout the performance, eliciting a response from even a massive audience.

### 2.3.1 CRIES, SOUND, WHISTLING, WORDS.

Cries, sounds, whistling and words are different aspects of the political sloganeering process. Political sloganeering cannot do without cries, sounds and whistling when political words are chanted. It is then necessary to note that political messages are conveyed by these four devices. At funerals of politicians, cries that are different from the common ones are heard, eg

1. ***Mh -m !***
2. ***Qha ! Qha ! Qha - w !***

Although they are in a sombre tone expressing loss, they are also understood by the participants, conveying a message of strength for those who are still alive. They are usually accompanied by a slogan like:

1. ***AWU - M - E !***  
**STAND FIRM !**
2. ***UMKHANKASO WETHU MAWUQHUBE !***  
**OUR SEARCH MUST GO ON !**
3. ***UMPHEFUMLO WEMPILO UNATHI !***  
**THE GOOD SPIRIT IS WITH US !**
4. ***AWUME ! AWUME !***  
**STAND FIRM ! STAND FIRM !**
5. ***AWUME UMKHANKASO WETHU !***  
**OUR SEARCH MUST GO ON !**

The spirit is the soul of the dead person. It is traditionally believed that the spirit of the dead will make them strong, brave and courageous to go on with the struggle.

In political mass rallies powerful cries are commonly uttered. Words accompanied by whistling carry the message to mobilize people and to unite and strengthen the people in participation. A person outside the performance would not grasp the importance of these sounds, cries and whistles; yet they mean a lot to the people engaged in performance, carrying a complete and meaningful message. Certainly, these cries, sounds, shouts, swaying and phrases persistently repeated in the same monotonous rhythm are essentially saying something to the masses and demand a response. Examples are to be found in the ANC, SACP and PAC slogans:

**(a) ARR ! ARR !**

**AR -- R !**

**ARUMB RUMBA !**

**(b) WOSH SH ! WOSH SH !**

**WOSHI !**

**COMRADE !**

**(c) ASITHU - A !**

**ASI - !**

**ASITHA ! ASITHA !**

These may seem to be meaningless sounds, yet they unleash the spiritual strength of the one who makes them and invite the listener to participate in performances. (I heard these slogans at an ANC youth gathering at Kwa Mashu).

When the politicians taunt certain individuals they make trilling sounds. At intervals they tend to howl and whistle at the rival. They show anger and threaten violence

in order to get a rapid response. Sometimes the hissing sound, like that of a snake, helps to give the impression that they are actually attacking their political rivals. A slogan of this nature is chanted.

***SH - SH - NX !***

***SH - SH !***

***NX !***

Sounds of this nature do not belong to all languages. Xhosa language has a lot of click sounds; eg *Nc, nx, xh, qh* etc. Even traditionally this style of sloganeering was used by Zulus in battle when they were facing their enemy. Zulus used to lower their shields and spears to a position just below the knees and form a semi-circle as they moved closer to their enemy. They would then utter war cries in the form of chants, which served to instil fear in the enemy, and to inspire their fellow warriors to concerted action.

Sounds and cries chanted by people in political performance are rhythmic in nature. This is usually heard when the youth welcome their political leader to a political meeting. Some kind of gesture accompanied by sounds signifying respect means a lot to them and to their leader.

Cries were used in the old days wherever Africans gathered for a social event, a wedding, a birthday party, a circumcision rite etc. When things go well, the women release rhythmic, harmonious cries to express their happy emotions. One could explain such cries as a way of inviting other members of the community who are not

at the gathering. When people hear these cries, they would be attracted and immediately join the gathering. Cries are also released by both men and women when they feel that the discussion is not progressing well. A man would shake his head and utter a sound directing it to no-one in particular, but this has its desired effect since people around the man would stop conversing and after a while start from the beginning to discuss the topic. It might be noted that 'cries' referred to here are oral phrases that constitute the beliefs and customs of Africans:

eg *HEY - HEY - TA !*

**GREETING !** (Greeting messages that are for ANC *amaqabane* - comrades).

They are cries to communicate messages of all kinds, but in political gatherings they are released when phrases chanted chime in with their political ideology. They are a kind of response. One can observe this in the cries released by SACP followers gathered in their political camps. They accompany words chanted in this slogan which I observed at a gathering of the SACP:

1. ***MK MOVE UNDERGROUND !***

2. ***SH - IMU !***

3. ***AWUZW !***

**IS THAT CLEAR !**

4. ***AWUZW ! AWUZU !***

**IS THAT CLEAR ! IS THAT CLEAR !**

5. ***GA ! GA ! GA ! GA !***

(a participant imitating an automatic rifle)

Again these sounds and cries seem to have little meaning yet they carry a clear message for those involved in the performance. Cries and sounds uttered by ANC and SACP people in their performance were frequently accompanied by hand-clapping.

### **2.3.2 CLAPPING OF HANDS.**

Universally, in cultural and socio-political gatherings people share ideas. Participants acknowledge words of wisdom by clapping of hands and in this way bestow honour on the speakers who uttered such words. Hand-clapping is also used to restrain people who deliver too long speeches. In all instances, the hand clapping is done in a rhythmic manner. The same practice is found in political sloganeering. Clapping of hands often accompany political slogans and add rhythm and emphasis. Hand clapping is another commonly observed element as a chanting and musical device in ANC and SACP gatherings.

### **2.3.3 FORM IN POLITICAL SLOGANEERING.**

While words are voiced and hands clapped during the process of political sloganeering, slogans consists of what Lord calls "formula". Lord in examining the basic structural patterns at the root of the composition of the oral epic, defines the "formula" as:

**a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea (Lord 1960:30)**

A political slogan is couched in a particular form; Ntuli (1984:188) says:

**When the word 'form' is mentioned, we usually imagine some kind of external shape or structure in which the material we are viewing has been organized.**

It will be found that the "formulaic" and "formal" elements referred to above, while not being as patently manifest in political sloganeering as in oral epic, can certainly be discerned to be important constructs of political sloganeering.

### **(i) REPETITION**

It is clear that there is a great amount of repetition in oral political slogans and that seems to be the most important characteristic of the form of political sloganeering.

There is repetition of words and/or lines that convey a meaningful message.

1. **SIYAYA E-PITOLI !**  
**WE ARE GOING TO PRETORIA !**
2. **SIYAYA !**  
**WE ARE GOING !**
3. **SIYAYA E-PITOLI !**  
**WE ARE GOING TO PRETORIA !**
4. **SIYAYA !**  
**WE ARE GOING !**

When this slogan is chanted everyone engaged in performance moves forward implying that he/she is rushing to Pretoria to topple the Government. The repetition forcefully focuses on key themes and conveys a sense of urgency. Repetition



ensures that the audiences not only grasps the message but also responds. This is a typical oral tradition practice. The constant repetition also helps to keep the key themes in memory, Finnegan (1970:401) affirms:

**The wording of Bantu proverbs seems to be relatively fixed in outline so that these general patterns are maintained, or recalled in their various citations.**

While the above quotation refers to proverbs, the same feature is to be found in political slogans since proverbs and political slogans are not entirely disparate; they are related in so far as the one preserves and transmits traditional wisdom, while the other does the same with political ideologies. Lord (1960:30-33) explains that through repeated words meaning is consolidated.

**DESTROY NATIONAL PARTY, DESTROY !**

**DESTROY IT !**

**DESTROY CONSERVATIVE PARTY, DESTROY !**

**DESTROY SOFASONKE, DESTROY !**

**DESTROY !**

*SOFASONKE* is used to designate an organisation that poses a potential threat to the nation. Through the repeated word in this slogan the wish embodied in the slogan is emphasised. Lord further indicates that themes were a characteristic of traditional oral composition. The oral poet would use the self same blocks of lines to express the same ideas or events should they recur in the course of his narrative, obviously to facilitate the process of compensation.



A parallel could perhaps be found in the field of political sloganeering where a well-composed slogan becomes part of the repertoire of the tradition, and could be drawn upon in subsequent generations of politicians when they wish to convey a similar message.

**(ii) PARALLELISM AS A FEATURE OF ORAL TRADITION TO BE FOUND IN POLITICAL SLOGANEERING.**

Parallelism can be defined as natural and impulsive gestural accompaniments to the spoken word. While the mouth utters repetitive words, the body performs actions in consonance. An illustration of this feature could be observed and experienced in the performance of this slogan:

1. **GANDA I-AWB !**  
**STRIKE AWB !**
2. **GANDA !**  
**STRIKE !**
3. **GANDA I-AWB !**  
**STRIKE AWB !**
4. **GANDA !**  
**STRIKE !**

While the people chant the word '*Ganda*' they stamp the ground with their feet to show that they aim to destroy the AWB. The body moves to and fro. This is no idle action but one that is full of meaning and aimed at inspiring the performers to achieve the desired goal.

There is also parallelism of grammatical structure shown through the repetition of sentences which is also the feature that is commonly employed by traditional 'izimbongi' - praise poets . Political slogans seem to possess it too.

1. **WATHINT'ABAFAZI !**  
**IF YOU PROVOKE WOMEN !**
2. **WATHINTIMBOKODO !**  
**YOU ACTIVATE A STRONG MASS OF PEOPLE !**
3. **IMBOKODO !**  
**A STRONG MASS !**
4. **BHASOBHA !**  
**WATCH OUT !**

The composers and reciters of political slogans employ certain techniques used by praise poets in the recitation and praising processes eg linking words. This is one of the features of the oral tradition observed in praise poems. In oral tradition, messages were conveyed skilfully using words that could appeal to the listener. Certain words were repeated to serve as links in the course of recitation. For the slogan analysed above one could see the linking element in the following two lines:

1. **WATHINT'ABAFAZI !**  
**YOU TOUCH WOMEN !**
2. **WATHINT'IMBOKODO !**  
**YOU TOUCH THE ROCK !**

(iii) **RHYTHMIC STYLE - A FEATURE OF ORAL TRADITION IN POLITICAL SLOGANEERING.**

Jousse (1990:136) reminds us that

**... the laws were sung [were rhythmically recited] in order not to be forgotten, as they are still sung today among the Agathyrses.**

Rhythm is the pattern and movement of words uttered. In political slogans, rhythm, as has been stated, is a basic element. Jousse describes these as rhythmic schemas. When the slogan written below is chanted, the hands move high up and down with clenched fist, foot tapping, marching and dancing; all these balance and complement what is released verbally. Each of the following constitutes a rhythmic schema.

Example:

1. ***INTANDO YENINGI AYIME !***  
**THE MAJORITY'S IDEA SHOULD BE UP !**
2. ***AYIME EYENINGI !***  
**SHOULD BE UP !**
3. ***UMBUSO WENINGI AWUME !***  
**THE MAJORITY RULE SHOULD BE UP !**
4. ***AWUME !***  
**SHOULD BE UP !**

Admittedly, as the slogan appears here, there is little evidence of rhythm. However, in performance, the words are chanted in such a way to the accompaniment of

gestures that the whole acquires a rhythmic dimension that is forceful and striking, enhancing the apparently simplistic message conveyed verbally.

Jousse (1990:127) is well aware of the gestures used by the people in oral performance, the concept of balancing and rhythmic schema. He claims:

**The earliest [rhythmic schema] was, then, not [an expression] of feeling, but above all, [a mnemonic expression] of thought.**

According to Jousse rhythm expresses what is in the mind and adds meaning to what is voiced.

#### **2.3.4 DANCE AS ORAL TRADITION PRACTICE IN POLITICAL SLOGANS.**

There is a obvious relationship between rhythm and dance. It would appear that people participating in political sloganeering often use slogans that are rhythmical so that they are suitable for *toyi-toying* dancing. African dancers often performed to the accompaniment of clapping which enhances the basic rhythm supplied by the singer and African drum. Both Xhosa and Sotho cultural dances have a tradition of expressive arm and hand movements. This type of dance is called the *toyi-toyi* dance. *Toyi-toying* found in political sloganeering can be traced to African cultural dances.

Honoré [1988:29] say that dance is part of life; therefore, it cannot be an isolated entity. Dance in political sloganeering is a traditional act. Nevertheless a full analyses of *toyi-toying* dance in political gatherings will be discussed in Chapter Three.

After examining the different aspects of the sloganeering process, I take a brief look at the dress codes of political organisations; these dress codes form a backdrop against which the sloganeering elements acquire an enhanced import.

### **2.3.5 THE UNIFORM / ATTIRE OF A POLITICAL ORGANISATION.**

New avenues of expression for political organisation have allowed for traditional symbols to be incorporated into a modern culture. The style in which the politicians dress themselves expresses a specific culture, value and norm which arouses the interests, steps up the emotions and influences the attitudes of the massive audience. The uniform of each political organisation has specific colours that convey a clear message to the members of the organisation and even to everyone who sees it. Such an attire therefore plays a great role since it constitutes a language on its own. One could describe it as a non-verbal language, since, like a language, it "speaks" to the audience and demands a response. The attire, the colours and the beaded necklaces and bracelets are politically suggestive to those who are steeped in the traditions of the organization or society.

Jolles (1991 : 265) explains the exploitation of visual and graphic elements as a creative innovation of putting the new wine of values into the old bottles of tribal custom without bursting the bottles or spilling the wine.

Colours in political attire and in political flags, while a modern development, serve as a form of oral communication. There is a very strong tradition of orality developed

in colours and in beadwork. Jolles (1991 : 265) says that Zulus had used three non-referential colours, that is black, white and red. In Zulu language black is '*-mnyama*', white is '*-mhlophe*' and red is '*-bomvu*'. These were basic colours. Black is traditionally associated with their skin complexion, white with purity (that is linked with ancestral guidance) and red symbolises a yearning for freedom. Other colours that are used are derived from birds, animals, plants and familiar objects. One notices that the colours used by different political movements have similar connotations.

The ANC movement uses three colours in its flag and attire; black, yellow and green. Black, as has been explained, represents disadvantaged people, yellow (*'iphuzi'* in Zulu) is associated with wealth and green is associated with the earth.

The SACP uses red, black and yellow. The black and yellow have already been explained; red is associated with the "bleeding heart", the yearning for freedom.

The PAC movement uses black, green and yellow, and these colours have the same symbolism as explained above. It is noticeable that the three political organisations mentioned have some common colours. It may be that the colours used by these organisations are similar since they are all concerned with the liberation of the oppressed and underprivileged people. (I found the information by interviewing ANC and SACP officials - Durban branches) They were against the idea of black associated with death and evil (cf Ngubane 1977:114ff).

Members of the African National Congress often wear a bead necklace with the green, black and yellow colours. Beadwork has long been used by Africans for conveying specific messages. Beadwork was used in oral societies to preserve elements of culture. Jolles (1991:257-265) explains that useful words and important events were recorded in beadwork.

## **2.4 CONCLUSION.**

This chapter has shown how political sloganeering tries to incite people into action by referring to the freedom of the past, the heroes who initiated the freedom struggle, and the conditions of the present which make the effort for emancipation necessary. Further, the formal and technical elements which enhance the message inherent in sloganeering have been analysed.

## CHAPTER THREE.

### 3. THE FUNERAL CEREMONY OF CHRIS HANI.

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION.

The objective of this chapter is to discuss political slogans in the context of a live performance and assess the extent to which various factors in that context combine to enhance the import of the message inherent in these slogans. My discussion will focus on Chris Hani's funeral; my source material will be a recorded version of the live coverage of the event by the SABC.

The advantages of using an audio-visual recording need little justification. The perpetuation of a live performance through the medium of an audio-visual tape gives the investigator the opportunity to conduct his examination in detail, with ready access to all the nuances and finer points which could easily be glossed over in a single witnessing of the performance.

An examination of oral performance in context of grief, as in the funeral of Chris Hani, focuses on the performer's delivery techniques, language used, the intonations of voice, toyi-toying, gestures and movements. The whole oral performance seen in Hani's funeral has a powerful emotional dimension, and affords ample scope for an analysis of political sloganeering in the oral tradition. A further examination of posters, banners and attire will be conducted in Chapter 4. First, however, it is



necessary to relate what happened in the early hours of the morning preceding the funeral ceremony.

### 3.2 THE EARLY HOURS ON THE FUNERAL DAY.

The 19 April 1993 was declared a public holiday to enable people to attend the ceremony. Trains, buses and cars were made available by the South African government to transport people to the First National Bank Stadium where the funeral ceremony was to be conducted.

From the early hours of the morning the cameras focused on the well dressed and orderly crowd (some in ANC and SACP uniform) streaming into the stadium to take their seats. Some came singing political songs, holding flags of their political movements, shouting and stamping their feet while others walked serenely with great dignity. The informed observer would immediately interpret the actions in the context of the oral performance tradition, and as G.R.Capp and G.R.Capp, Jr. (1976:239) points out :

**One of the basic factors of nonverbal communication is physical or bodily action. Listeners accept your idea in part by what you say and in part by what your physical actions indicate. When your language and your physical action appear congruous the audience usually believes what you say.**

What the actions of the crowd conveyed will be pointed out in the course of my discussion.

As people passed the stage, the announcer formally introduced the 'very important persons' (VIPs) by their names and titles, to the applause of the audience. Announcements of this kind are important to the audience as they would often stimulate responses, in most cases a positive one indicative of recognition and reverence. The element of response in all these announcements is part of a long-standing concept of the relationship between a speaker, narrator, or performer and the audience, and stems from a sense of group participation. The considered evocation of response is the means by which the performer can keep in touch with his audience.

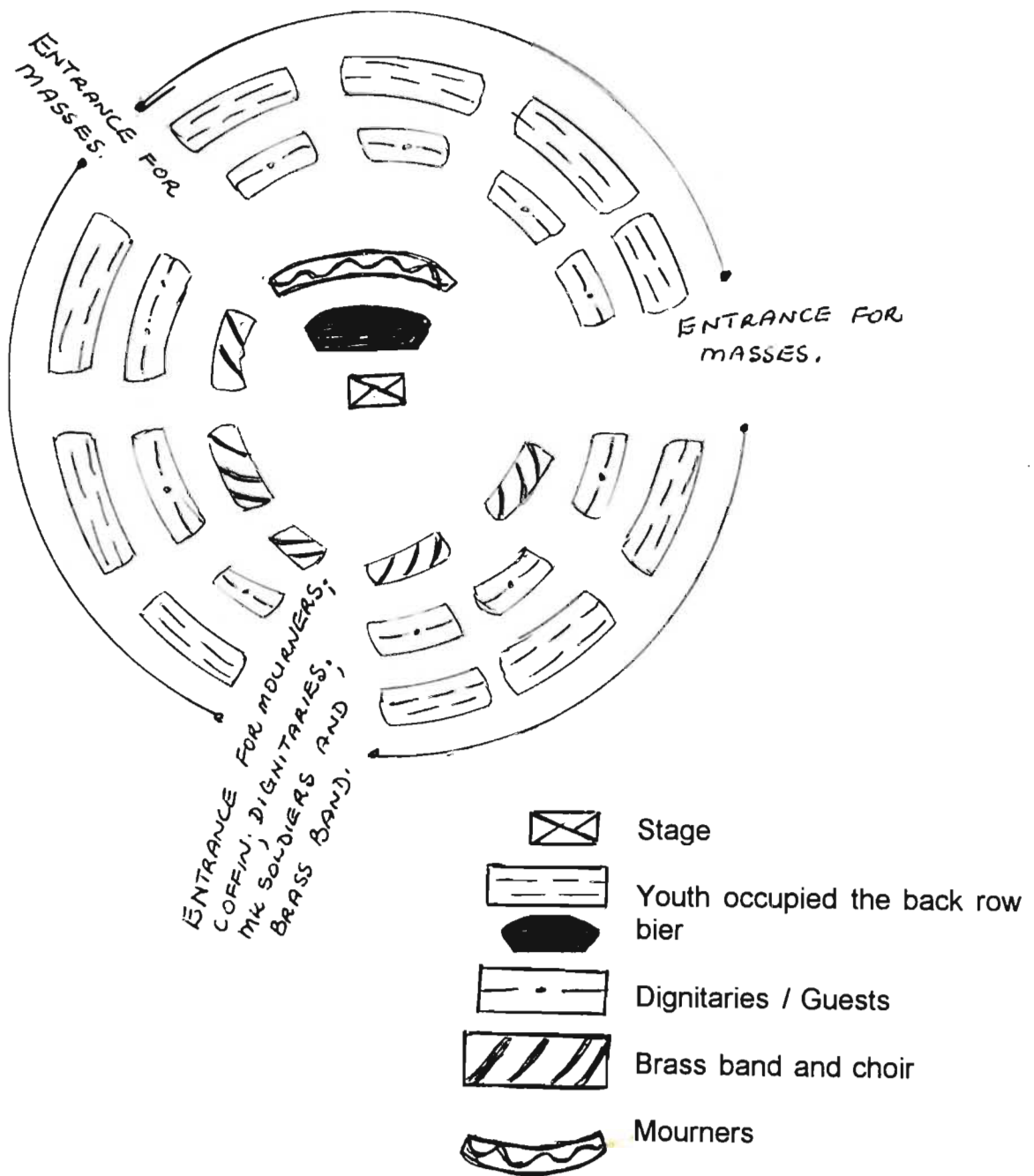
People selectively occupied seats and waited eagerly for the funeral service to begin. There was tension in the air, and a feeling of suppressed excitement, in spite of the fact that the ceremony was basically the funeral service of the a hero who had died in tragic circumstances.

It is necessary now to discuss traditional seating arrangements at a funeral service and see to what extent the funeral being examined conformed.

The traditional seating arrangement in funeral services is in a circular fashion, with the actual ceremony taking place in the centre and the congregation enclosing the whole. The manner in which the congregation sits in the ceremony provides the context for the dynamics of any oral performance. The circular seating arrangement thus provides for direct face - to - face communication.

The following is a rough sketch of the arrangement at the First National Bank Stadium. (Incidentally it must be pointed out that the choice of the Stadium was opportune, not only in terms of its capacity but also because its structure was not disruptive to the desired and traditional seating arrangements).

**Figure 1. Seating arrangement at First National Bank Stadium**



People seated in the upper rows of the grand - stand could clearly see the decorated tent (where Hani's coffin was to be placed) beside the *Umkhonto WeSizwe* (MK) brass band. Others chose to stand on the grass verges because they wished to be closer to the stage. Everybody was eager to see, and participate in, the different stages of the ceremony. The stadium was filled to capacity in a short while as thousands of people spent the night close by in order to get seats of their choice.

The announcer broke the silence by uttering the following words:

**COMRADES ! COMRADES ! COMRADES !**

**BE SEATED COMRADES !**

The word Comrade is a traditional and common term used by the members of ANC and SACP organizations. That implied and still does imply brotherhood and unity in the struggle for liberation. It carries the tradition and history of their political movements.

Everyone positioned himself / herself advantageously. The occasion was so momentous and overwhelming that I myself began to move closer forgetting that I was watching television. It is not only the audience's spontaneous response to the announcer that captivated my mind but also the warmth and gentle imperiousness of his voice. The verbal techniques used by the announcer and his subtle inflexions and intonations conveyed much of his intended meaning. Jousse (1990:50), well aware of such verbal techniques, says:

**It would be a grave error to see in these forms of language only futile intellectual pastimes.**

Indeed, the techniques employed by the performer were not mere epideictic exercises, but certainly succeeded in eliciting the desired response from his audience.

### **3.3 ANALYSIS OF EVENTS IN THE FUNERAL CEREMONY OF CHRIS HANI.**

#### **3.3.1 THE CHANGING TIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

Chris Hani's funeral occurred at a time when the apartheid regime was almost over. It was only for this reason that the biggest and most popular stadium in the country was used for the funeral ceremony of a political figure who had communistic and socialistic leanings. The fact that the event was televised by the SABC, which was essentially under the control of the Nationalist Government, reflected a major shift in prevailing attitudes.

#### **3.3.2 THE FUNERAL CEREMONY BEGAN WITH HIGH EMOTIONS OF PEOPLE.**

The announcer introduced Mr Cyril Ramaphosa as Master of Ceremonies for the occasion. Mr Ramaphosa enthusiastically greeted the crowd with a slogan.

**VIVA SACP ! (Master of Ceremonies)**

**VIVA ! (Audience)**

**VIVA ANC ! (Master of Ceremonies)**

VIVA !                    (Audience)  
VIVA COSATU        (Master of Ceremonies)  
VIVA                      (Audience)

As the Master of Ceremonies aroused the crowd in the stadium, many of the unconscious aspects of speech styles and non-verbal behaviour of the people illustrated what Hani's death meant to them. The expression of people's faces, and the sounds of their voices depicted their emotions.

The slogan, while it would appear hackneyed and commonplace to the disinterested observer, was - in retrospect - appropriately chosen; the positive response to it shows that the performer was well in touch with his audience. This rapport between performer and audience is the basis of communication and reaction in a oral performance (cf. Finnegan 1992:91-100).

The slogan chanted by Cyril Ramaphosa began the proceedings and its careful articulation created the ideal atmosphere for the rest of the ceremony. The audience's positive response to his chant certainly helped to give momentum to the performance and ensured the success of the occasion.

Suddenly the *Umkhonto weSizwe* (MK) procession appeared marching and saluting the people attending the funeral. Meanwhile the brass band started to beat the drums. The audience established the mood of the occasion with hand clapping and ululations expressing admiration for the MK and brass band's performance. The

majority of the people continued to chant the aforementioned slogan and raised their right hands in salute.

The voices of *Umkhonto weSizwe* soldiers were accompanied by trumpets, and the divergent sounds made by the people produced a discordant effect which set the mood of pathos and tragedy. Even before people could utter vocal sounds their expressions indicated the extent to which they were moved by the occasion. Even the voices of the hardened soldiers betrayed their deeply felt expressions as they wavered in a range of vocal intonations under the emotional stress and strain of the tragedy of the occasion. The sound of the brass band gradually became lower and lower in response to the mood of pathos and tragedy that was established. Some people shouted incoherent sounds while others waved **SACP, ANC and COSATU** flags. These actions illustrated that the people's emotions were expressed in vocal and behavioural patterns typical of participants in the oral performance. Screams, ululations and numerous other sounds made by masses are oral expressions commonly heard in political gatherings and ceremonies of this nature.

Such expressions clearly indicate the feelings and emotions of the people in the performance. It is also evident that the people were enjoying themselves immensely; in addition to their much needed presence to bring the ceremony to a dignified and successful conclusion, the people themselves were entertained by the various components of the performance. Thus an oral performance also serves a social function. Nkabinde (1988:270) points out:



**Oral tradition that is performed, like song and dance, the singing of praises, folk tales and riddles also provides entertainment and recreation. It has an aesthetic value.**

An observation of the crowd's reaction, activity and contribution to the oral performance points to the validity of Nkabinds' comments.

### **3.3.3 THE ARRIVAL OF THE CORPSE AT THE STADIUM.**

Shortly, a long white limousine carrying the coffin slowly entered the stadium. Behind it was a row of cars and alongside were soldiers slowly marching. The funeral procession entered the stadium in a dignified and orderly manner. Vibrating voices to the accompaniment of waving flags emanated from the audience. Flute sounds and drums were heard. The leaders of *Umkhonto weSizwe* removed the coffin from the limousine. They placed it on a bier in the tent. An MK soldier placed a military cap on top on top of the coffin which was covered with an SACP flag. Then the MK soldiers marched away from the stage towards the mourners leaving the SACP flag hanging next to the coffin.

The performers, both *Umkhonto weSizwe* soldiers and the audience, engaged in an enthralling musical performance (the MK soldiers using instruments while the audience provided the vocal accompaniments) and this climaxed in a frenzy of emotion. There is an emotional identification which was the result of communication shared by the audience and performers in an oral setting. The dignified march and musical performance at the funeral ceremony were admittedly not traditional, but



were necessitated by the nature of the occasion, and it is a safe conjecture that the practice will become traditional for all similar future events.

The Master of Ceremonies asked the congregation to stand and sing the hymn - *NKOSI SIKELEL' IAFRIKA*.

This traditional hymn is a song that not only entertains the congregation but also transmits from generation to generation the customs, values and norms of the society. Craig Mackenzie (1988:263) notes:

**The chief function of oral performance, apart from its entertainment value, is its power to educate and to transmit through the generations the values, traditional wisdom and identity of the society.**

The national anthem raises a pertinent socio-political need viz. the blessing of Africa. The Lord is invoked to alleviate the hardships that people experience on earth. For the whole congregation the death of Chris Hani was a painful experience, particularly because the dead MK member was one of their dynamic Comrades who had a major role to play in the new dispensation.

People stood up raising their right hands and sang the hymn. Some of the members of *Umkhonto weSizwe* touched their foreheads with the right hands, to indicate their reverence; others put their left hands across the chest touching the right shoulder for the same purpose.

The hymn is obviously sung not only at funerals of politicians. It is commonly sung in political gatherings and all important socio-cultural events. It usually induces a spirit of mutual support, sharing and solidarity. In a changed and still changing society traditional life has to undertake the task of shaping new experience while still retaining what is of value in the traditional style of life.

#### **3.3.4 THE ESSENTIAL PURPOSE OF OUR TOGETHERNESS.**

After the hymn had been sung, the Master of Ceremony with a passionate expression of grief said that the death of Chris Hani had deprived the people of one of the greatest sons of Africa, and that by singing this hymn the people appealed to the Lord to respond to their prayers and to help in their fight for Africa. This is based on the belief that the hymn of this nature is one of the most powerful modes of verbal expressions of their concerns and conditions of being. Through hymns / songs, people give vent to their innermost feelings which they hope to make known to the community and to evoke a collective response.

When the Master of Ceremonies was addressing the audience, he spoke briefly about Hani, not drawing his information from notes but from memory. Memory was the composer's most important resource. Jan Vansina (1965:264) points to the importance of memory in the oral tradition.

There is no doubt that memory plays an important role in the oral transmission of information relevant to a particular society.

As the performer continued his carefully formulated and well pre-planned talk on Chris Hani, the emotions of the listeners developed to a peak showing that Mr Ramophosa had invoked the desired response. It became clear that a consummately conducted oral performance is by far the most effective means of communication albeit to a limited audience.

The audience honoured the outstanding qualities of Chris Hani by chanting the slogan:

<b>VIVA CHRIS HANI ! VIVA !</b>	<b>(one person from the audience)</b>
<b>VIVA !</b>	<b>(audience)</b>
<b>VIVA AFRICAN LIBERATION, VIVA!</b>	<b>(performer)</b>
<b>VIVA !</b>	<b>(audience)</b>

The slogan by its reference to Hani and African liberation conveyed, although not explicitly, the struggle for emancipation, at the forefront of which were the ANC and SACP. The history of the struggle for liberation and democracy is implicit in the slogan for those members who are reasonably politicized. Nkabinde (1988:269) makes a point that is perhaps relevant in this context:

**Oral tradition ("The continuing process of ... oral composition ..." Peabody 1975) encapsulates the history, culture and social development of a people.**

Of great significance in an oral situation is the performer - audience interaction. The style of chanting slogans in an oral political milieu is commonly uniform. One person

initiates the chant and the audience continues to chant at particular intervals. Ruth Finnegan's descriptive account of oral performance gives more details about different forms of interaction among the participants in a performance:

**There will always however be some such interaction in the context of the dynamics of any performance, and a number of questions to investigate.**

**The various participants and their actions mould the performance. (1992:109)**

On the issue of how the slogans are chanted there are stylistic methods which ensure that the participants are engaged in live performance. There are also thoroughly systematic ways of chanting a slogan. In the political rallies and demonstrations I attended there was undoubtedly strong evidence to support the above.

Another important characteristic of the oral tradition that illustrates interaction is found demonstrated in Hani's funeral pictures and placards of the SACP, ANC and COSATU which were raised while the *Umkhonto weSizwe* soldiers uttered sounds such as -

*Aa - w u - u - u !*

A sound such as this, while meaningless to the outside observer, is traditional, and engenders meaningful and shared associations amongst the participants. Its frequent use suggests that it is a stock device that is an essential component of an oral performance and which serves to enhance the message communicated.

### 3.3.5 TOYI-TOYING PERFORMANCE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS.

The audience paused and the MK soldiers dramatized a quick action, uttering the words "Attention halt !" .

Then from a distance the youth issued forth a vocal and gestural salute familiar to those in performance, while the rest of the people in the stadium continued to chant. Novices in the art of chanting a slogan also tried to emulate those who were more adept.

The enthusiastic attitude of the youth initiated the whole congregation into action. Musical phrases and whistling filled the air and even from the grand-stand similar sounds were heard.

1. ***Vii - YOO !*** (WHISTLING)
2. ***VIIYOO !*** (WHISTLING)
3. ***YEH EE, YEHE !*** (MUSICAL PHRASE)

Peculiar eye movements, repeated words or phrases were traditionally used by **imbongi** (the bard) in his oral composition while performing. These are features which underlie all oral narratives; hence their use by the youth while toyi-toying at Hani's funeral can be regarded as traditional.

Once again the voice of a young person arose, swelling into praise so majestic and strong that the audience was inspired with new courage.

## VIVA MK, VIVA !

was the phrase chanted accompanied by *toyi-toyi* dancing.

A common posture, the knees bent, the feet flat on the ground and the arms held out for balance, as well as the movements of the shoulders characterized the dances by the masses in the stadium. The performer would step forward, engaging in this kind of dance and the audience would imitate. According to Ruth Finnegan (1992:108), the performer is the main character, and his performance is the model that the audience try to emulate; the performer thus gives life and fullness to the collective dance, as evidenced by *toyi-toyi* dance at the funeral ceremony.

*-Toyi-toying*, I believe, increases the impact of what is chanted in the slogan; while the performer and the audience exchanged the words of the slogan, there was a similar exchange of action in performance. The smooth and balanced exchange of words and action took place when the entire audience was moved by the voices and the dances. The chanting of slogans without *toyi-toyi* dancing would be an incomplete performance. This is an element of oral style which embodies both vocalization and dramatization.

### 3.3.6 GESTURES AND MOVEMENTS AS A FRAME OF POLITICAL SLOGANEERING.

Chanting of slogans in funerals of politicians has retained the traditional use of gestures. The most noticeable characteristics of oral tradition emerged even before

the ceremony started. When the funeral gathering gained the spirit of oneness in performance, and when feelings were still running very high, the Master of Ceremonies tried to control the crowd's emotions and actions. He skilfully used gestures to this end, raising his hands at appropriate times while conducting the funeral service. The gestures he used were carefully chosen to support and physically convey the message of his speech. On the traditional use of gestures, Jousse (1990:8) says:

**In the beginning was the Gesture.**

The skilful use of gestures by the Master of Ceremonies in controlling his audience demonstrated that traditions of orality are very much alive; its usefulness in building relationships, and effectively sending the messages between the performer and the audience is still recognised and valued. By the use of gestures people speak the language of action. In this respect Tannen suggests that :

**strategies associated with oral tradition place emphasis on shared knowledge and the interpersonal relationship between communicator and audience. (1988:209)**

This was applicable to Hani's funeral where every external or internal stimulus was movement. The Master of Ceremonies appealed to his audience:

1. **VIVA SPIRIT OF CHRIS HANI !** (Master of Ceremonies lifting his hands now and again)
2. **CHRIS HANI !**
3. **THANK YOU COMRADES !** (Master of Ceremonies)
4. **THANK YOU !** (Audience)

The audience responded by waving hands, flags and hats. The usefulness of gestures for communication in an oral performance cannot be overemphasized. The Master of Ceremonies uttered the following words in a tone of the voice accompanied by a variety of gestures which expressed the intensity of his emotions.

1. ***VUKANI ZIGQILA ZEZWE LONKE !***  
**ARISE YE TOILERS OF EARTH !**
2. ***VUKANI EDYOKHWENI YOBUGQILI !***  
**ARISE FROM THE YOLK OF SLAVERY !**
3. ***SIZOKWAKH'UMHLABA KAKUSHA !***  
**TO END STARVATION AND POVERTY !**
4. ***QEDANI LAMASIKOKUSIBOPHA !***  
**END THE ILLEGAL LAWS !**
5. ***ASISODWA KULOMKHANKASO !***  
**WE ARE NOT ALONE IN THIS STRUGGLE !**
6. ***MAQABANE WOZANI !***  
**COMRADES LETS COME !**
7. ***SIHLANGANENI !***  
**AND BE UNITED !**
8. ***SIBHEKANE NEMPI !***  
**AND FACE THE WAR !**

The words of the first two lines are directed to the people who have been victims of oppression. These are the less politicized members of traditional society who were not aware of the evil societal practices. In the process of performance, deft and



appropriate bodily gestures, together with the voice and facial expressions, convey his thoughts to the audience. The use of gestures and various body movements, either formal or informal, helped him to execute his task with the desired effect. His voice and gestures were harmonized to convey the intended effect. He used oral methods to express whatever was necessary for the occasion. In the funeral, one of the very noticeable devices in performance was the use of the gesture. Both performer and audience physically demonstrated their inner state of mind. The chanted slogans were accompanied by a variety of supportive gestures which contributed to the spirit of brotherhood and inspired the audience. With great power the audience responded:

1. ***AMA - NDLA NGAWETHU !***
2. ***POWER TO THE PEOPLE !***
3. ***VIVA SACP !***
4. ***VIVA !***
5. ***VIVA ANC !***
6. ***VIVA !***

The youth stood up toyi-toying, followed by the rest of the people who employed emotional gestures and cried:

1. ***A WU !***
2. ***AWU AWU !***
3. ***AWU AWU AWU !***

The many aspects of speech styles and non-verbal behaviour demonstrated by the congregation - their vocal tones and their facial expression - were manifestly indicative of a positive response.

### 3.3.7 PLAY ON LIVE VOICE, PLAY ON WORD, PLAY ON GESTURES (OF THE ORAL TRADITION).

While the Master of Ceremonies continued to speak, women openly wept, while men looked at one another, holding back their tears and shaking their heads.

The spirit of the congregation, however, was high and the MK soldiers confidently marched and saluted the coffin for the second time. The whole gathering stood up, jumping and lifting their hands. While the soldiers' march was conducted to the sound of trumpets, the voices of the people produced a discordant and sad note in accompaniment. Even before people had time to cry out, their facial expression reflected their strong emotions. The voices of the performing soldiers also wavered through emotion. The audience screamed and ululated:

1. ***YH E E E ! (CRIES OF THE AUDIENCE)***
2. ***OH O O ! (ULULATION)***
3. ***VIVA MKHONTO !***
4. ***LONG LIVE MKHONTO !***
5. ***VIVA MKHONTO EWSIZWE VIVA !***
6. ***LONG LIVE MKHONTO WESIZWE, LONG LIVE !***
7. ***LONG LIVE !***

The use of cries and ululations in some slogans chanted cannot be analyzed outside traditional oral verse because they constitute, and are essential elements of, an oral performance. These sounds are highly indicative of the emotions of the people in an oral setting.

### 3.4 PRAYER.

Prayer at a funeral ceremony is customary to almost all societies. People believe that a funeral should begin and end with a prayer to help the departed soul on its journey to the netherworld - the world of 'Glory'. While such a belief has its roots in traditional society, Christianity has had a tremendous impact in shaping its present form. The opening prayer had to be conducted by a well known and dynamic Pastor / Reverend to whom the congregation could easily relate.

A prayer in a funeral, by its very nature is an oral delivery. The Reverend uses language and techniques (gestures, varying facial expressions, hand clapping and cries) which are conducive to the atmosphere of prayer. Voice intonation is an important vehicle for comforting the mourners and gives a spirit of hope to the congregation at large. While praying, the Reverend carefully chooses his words to comfort and inspire the audience.

Reverend Doctor Mgojo, a dynamic leader in the Methodist Church of South Africa, performed the task and tried to inspire confidence and hope by saying:

1. ***BANTU BASE MZANSI AFRIKA !***  
**PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA !**
2. ***BANTU BELIZWE ELINYE !***  
**PEOPLE OF THE SAME SOIL !**
3. ***NOMOYA OWODWA !***  
**AND SAME SPIRIT ! ...**

Reverend Mgojo began the prayer in a dramatic manner and the words quoted above are akin to a slogan in that they have political overtones in their suggestion of group and political identity. Just before the prayer was concluded hand clapping, whistling, and a variety of vocal sounds emanated from the audience, indicating their recognition of the efficacy of the prayer, not only as a blessing upon the departed soul, but also as a source of political inspiration. The prayer, then, could certainly be seen to assume the additional role of a political slogan.

### **3.5 SPEECHES (AS ORAL CHANTS).**

Naturally, a funeral service cannot be complete without speeches. It is not everybody who is allowed to give a speech at a funeral, though the service is open to everybody. The Master of Ceremonies called upon Comrade Balelwa to convey the messages that were sent by presidents and politicians from all over the world. Comrade Balelwa, an ANC member and active woman's empowerment leader, appeared from the audience chanting a slogan:

1. ***PHAMBILI NOMZABALAZO WOKUNGAYEKI !*** (BALELWA)  
**LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF NON-SURRENDER !**
2. ***PHAMBILI !*** (BALELWA)  
**LONG LIVE !** (AUDIENCE)
3. **LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF CHRIS HANI !**  
**LONG LIVE !** (BALELWA)  
**LONG LIVE !** (AUDIENCE)
4. ***AMANDLA !*** (BALELWA)

**POWER !**

5. ***AMANDLA !***

**(AUDIENCE)**

**POWER !**

The lady communicated to the audience the message sent by President Fidel Castro of Cuba which embodied the essence of all the messages sent to the funeral. As the lady left the stage she shouted/

1. ***AMANDLA !***

**POWER !**

2. **LONG LIVE CHRIS HANI, LONG LIVE !**

**LONG LIVE !**

3. ***PHAMBILI NOMZABALAZO WOVOTO !***

**FORWARD WITH THE VOTING CAMPAIGN !**

4. ***PHAMBILI !***

**FORWARD !**

5. ***SEKUNJALO !***

**NOW IS THE TIME !**

6. ***VOTELA I-ANC !***

**VOTE ANC !**

7. ***SEKUNJALO !***

**NOW IS THE TIME !**

8. ***VOTELA I-SACP !***

**VOTE SACP !**

## 9. **AMANDLA !**

### **POWER !**

The loud resonance of "*amandla*" (power) that followed upon Castro's message was a spontaneous reaction of the audience. The body language accompanying the word "*amandla*" indicated that the word had greater implications for the audience than one at first realizes.

#### **3.5.1 MR JAY NAIDU'S SPEECH.**

The Master of Ceremonies then called different speakers forward. My Jay Naidu who represented COSATU came forward. One cannot over-emphasize the extent to which solganearing formed the basis of every speaker's address,

Mr Naidu chanted:

1. **AMANDLA !** (Mr Naidu)

**POWER !**

2. **SPIRIT OF HANI HEYTA !** (Mr Naidu)

**HEYTA !** (Audience)

3. **HEYTA COMRADE !** (Mr Naidu)

**HEYTA ! HEYTA !** (Audience)

(Heyta means greetings)

The slogan cited here was orally communicated in a rhythmic style. Mr Naidu presented his speech and slogantering in a rhythmic style. He chanted the following phrase:

1. WE WILL FIGHT !
2. WE WILL FIGHT !
3. FOR THE EYES OF CHRIS HANI !
4. *AMANDLA* !  
POWER !

In the above example the speaker used short statements to establish and maintain the spirit of fighting for liberation. He further reinforced his consistent rhythm by means of 'salute' eg. *AMANDLA!* (Power!). Jousse (1990:109) makes a very important observation regarding the use of rhythm:

**The improvisation and memorization of rhythmic oral compositions are greatly facilitated by this linguistic phenomenon, which is found in all communities, employing the oral style.**

Mr Naidu obviously consciously imitated the traditional oral style commonly used by the bards (*izimbongi*) in performance. Another important oral element that featured in Mr Jay Naidu's speech was the use of the relevant stylistic language to maintain the attention of his audience. He used simple stylistic devices in his speech which appealed to all groups of people forming his audience. Xhosa, Zulu and Swati speaking people know the word "*Amandla*" (power); while the English know the phrase 'Long Live The Spirit Of Hani, Long Live !' and the word *HEYTA* (Greetings) is a commonly used colloquialism in ANC and SACP gatherings. The incorporation of simple "township" language in sloganeering - a deviation from traditional orality -

is aimed at appealing to the youth and other sectors of the audience who may not be literate enough to grasp the importance of a technically formulated speech. The adoption of a simple style thus fosters full participation since the slogan or speech conveys an easily intelligible message in the particular context. Vansina (1985:85) points out that:

**The meaning of any word only becomes intelligible when the context in which it has been uttered is taken into account.**

Indeed the needs of audience were considered by the speakers in the funeral. eg. Mr Naidu's speech was loaded with slogans in dramatic style to conform to the requirements of the occasion.

### **3.5.2 MR GOMOMO'S SPEECH.**

Mr Gomomo (an ANC Activist) followed in an emotional and lengthy speech and inspired the audience by chanting the slogan :

1. **AMANDLA ! AMANDLA !**  
**POWER ! POWER !**
2. **MAYIBUYE I-AFRIKA !**  
**LET AFRICA COME BACK !**
3. **MAYIBUYE I-AFRIKA !**  
**LET AFRICA COME BACK !**
4. **I-AFRIKA MAYIBUYE !**  
**LET AFRICA COME BACK !**
5. **LONG LIVE CHRIS HANI !**



LONG LIVE !

6. LONG LIVE SACP !

LONG LIVE ANC !

7. LONG LIVE COSATU !

LONG LIVE SASCO !

8. LONG LIVE *UMKHONTO* !

*AMANDLA NGAWETHU* !

9. POWER TO THE PEOPLE !

*AMANDLA* !

10. POWER !

The audience imitated each and every word chanted by Mr Gomomo. This is an element of the oral tradition which is widely used in political gathering. Through imitation and repetition of phrases the oral phrases are easily stored in memory. He inspired the audience to such an extent that when he actually delivered his address, the audience already had confidence in what he was going to say. Mr Gomomo used oral modes to express his thoughts and feelings the slogans cited above, which though appearing to be his own, was in fact one of the old SACP and ANC slogans. People screamed and lifted their hands. The slogan by Mr Gomomo had a powerful influence on the funeral congregation. This slogan is used and heard widely and its conception is patently formulaic. Opland (1983:154) says:

**On the basis of any of these formulas, the singer can construct similar phrases, so that the diction of any song can be termed formulaic: If the oral poet is never at a loss for a word or group of words to express his idea, it is because the formulaic technique has provided him, not with the formula for every idea, but with a means of constantly recomposing the formulae for the less common ideas, with a sufficient variety of patterns so that the idea can take almost instantaneous form in the rhythm of his song.**

Shortly after the chanted slogan, Mr Gomomo introduced his speech first in English and later in Xhosa ! He said:

**I am not here to praise Chris Hani but to stand for truth. Chris Hani has been a fighter for peace, freedom and democracy. I, Mr Gomomo, have no words to calm your feelings. 'AMANDLA' ! (POWER).**

These words stirred up the whole congregation. His manner of speech incited the people and the audience stood up and clapped hands, uttering a variety of words and sounds in response to his introductory words. He added to what had already been said (in his mother tongue):

1. ***UKUBA NDITHI LALANI NGENXEBA NDIYAKUBA (XHOSA LANGUAGE)***  
**IF YOU CAN SAY, SLEEP WITH THE DEEP WOUND**
2. ***NDIYANIXOKISA, ELINXEBA ALINGELUNGI***  
**I WOULD BE DECEIVING YOU THIS WOUND CANNOT HEAL WELL !**
3. ***ULALE NGALO NGOBA ALIPHOLI !***  
**IF YOU SLEEP LIKE THAT - BECAUSE THIS IS ANOTHER KIND**
4. ***UKUBA NDITSHO, NDAKUBA NDIVULA***  
**OF WOUND, NOT A HEALING WOUND! IF YOU SAY THAT, I WILL BE**
5. ***IKROBA, ABADYAKALASHE ABANKONE !***  
**GIVING THESE EVIL JACKALS A CHANCE, WHO ARE**
6. ***ABAFANA NABABABULALI BAPHINDE !***  
**LIKE THE KILLERS, TO COME 'AND KILL ANOTHER**
7. ***ENYE INKOKHELI !***  
**LEADER.!**

The audience interrupted his speech ululating and waving SACP, ANC and COSATU flags. In a moment, Mr Gomomo continues :

1. ***NGUBANI NA OZAKULANDELA ?***  
**WHO WILL BE KILLED NEXT ?**
2. ***BANYATHELE INYOKA EMSILENI***  
**THEY HAVE TOUCHED THE TAIL OF A SNAKE**  
**(MEANING THEY HAVE INVITED TROUBLE)**

The last sentence (*UKUNYATHELA INYOKA EMSILENI = TO INVITE TROUBLE*) is an old proverb heard and voiced by many generations in African culture. It was commonly chanted in the battle - field, and its use in the slogan above implied a recourse to war, if necessary, in the liberation struggle.

This provocative speech had the audience whistling, lifting their left and right arms, and stamping forward, as if they wanted to attack Chris Hani's killer.

Mr Gomomo elaborated:

1. ***YENA KE UBEJONGA AMATHUBA !***  
**HE (HANI) COULD PLAN THINGS WELL !**
2. ***LONTO IFUNA ABANTU ABACHUBEKILEYO !***  
**THAT NEEDS REFINED PEOPLE !**

The audience vociferously responded to these words. The performance was histrionic in that the sloganneering was accompanied by vigorous gestures, nonverbal shouts and noises.

Mr Gomomo continued:

1. ***KWEZE MISEBENZI, NEZEMFUNDO U-HANI LONA***  
**IN BUSINESS AND IN EDUCATION HANI**
2. ***UBEYINTSIZWA***  
**WAS A MAN,**
3. ***UMAVULA KUVALIWE.***  
**ONE WHO OPENS CLOSED DOORS**
4. ***UMADABUL'UMFOLOZI***  
**ONE WHO CROSSES BIG RIVER (LIKE UMFOLOZI RIVER)**
5. ***SIYAKUMATSHA NGENYAWO SIDE SIYEKUFIKA***  
**WE WILL MARCH WITH BARE FEET UNTIL WE REACH OUR**  
**DESTINATION.**

The audience raised their voices expressing their universal agreement. Mr Gomomo shouted:

1. **LET NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE !**
2. **WE WANT AN ELECTION DATE NOW !**
3. **CONSTITUENCY NOW !**
4. **CONSTITUENCY NOW !**
5. **WE WANT IT NOW !**

Without any pause his speech was broken by a shrill whistle and a long-drawn howl.

1. ***OH OO OO !***
2. ***YEBO ! YEBO !***  
**YES ! YES !**

Mr Gomomo said:

1. ***U-DE KLERK ONENKQAYI ENGATHI LITHAFA***  
**BALD-HEADED DE KLERK, WITH THE HEAD**
2. ***LOKUDLALE LIBHOLA !***  
**LIKE A SOCCER FIELD !**

The audience clapped hands and shouted in unison. Mr Gomomo was satirical in his speech. He castigated Mr de Klerk. Satire manifests itself particularly in the sphere of oral traditions in the Nguni languages (Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi). The use of satire is recognised in izibongo (oral poems). Raymond Kunene (1962:25) describes satirical poetry as being:

**Composed of songs expressing disapproval of the actions of some of the member of society.**

Mr Gomomo shouted in a poetic manner:-

1. ***AWUYIYO INKOKHELI YETHU !***  
**YOU ARE NOT OUR LEADER !**
2. ***ASIKUNYULANGA !***  
**WE HAVE NOT ELECTED YOU !**
3. ***ASISAYI KUKUMAMELA !***  
**WE WILL NOT LISTEN TO YOU !**

In a strong tone he said;

***LEYO KE YINYANI* = Such is true ! I say these words to defy you and secure forces that fight for employment, job creation, a living wage, parental right and child care.**

The audience responded:

1. **YEBO !**

**YES !**

He continued :

2. **SIFANA NENKOMO EZENZIWE NGODONGWE !**

**WE ARE LIKE CATTLE MADE BY CLAY !**

**(THE AUDIENCE CLAPPED HANDS)**

3. **SIYABEVA ABANGXIWA-NKULU !**

**WE DO HEAR THOSE WITH BIG BAGS !**

4. **KODWA MABAYE KUCACISA E-FACTORY !**

**BUT THEY SHOULD CONVINCING FACTORY PEOPLE !**

5. **MABANGAKHWAZI EMOYENI !**

**THEY SHOULD NOT SHOUT IN THE AIR !**

**(THE AUDIENCE RESPONDED: YES !)**

6. **SITHI ABANGXIWA-NKULU SODIBANA**

**WE SAY WE WILL MEET THOSE WITH BIG BAGS**

7. **NABO ETSHATSHALAZINI !**

**IN THE BATTLE FIELD !**

8. **IGAZI XA LICHAPHAZA ALIWI MAHALA !**

**WHEN HUMAN BLOOD DROPS IT DOES NOT DO THAT FOR NOTHING !**

In response ululations and whistling could be heard. Very confident in oral communication, Mr Gomomo emphasized:

1. **UTSHABA LWETHU LUNYE !**  
**OUR ENEMY IS ONE !**
2. **NGUMBUSO KA - DE KLERK !**  
**DE-KLERK'S GOVERNMENT !**
3. **WE MUST FIGHT IT ! WE WANT HANI'S SPIRIT TO COME BACK !**
4. **HANI TELL THOSE WHO ARE DEAD THAT**  
**WE ARE IN THIS WORLD OF TROUBLE !**
5. **THEY SHOULD MAKE US FREE FROM THIS SITUATION !**

To talk to the ancestors when things don't go well is one of the traditional beliefs of most Africans. Ancestors are believed to be the guardians of the people's lives.

Mr Gomomo (continued his speech) :

**I WILL MAKE SURE THAT MAY-DAY RALLIES ARE A GREAT SUCCESS !**

Without a break he concluded his speech by chanting a slogan :

1. **LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF CHRIS HANI !**  
**LONG LIVE ! (audience)**
2. **HIS SPIRIT IS ALIVE !**  
**ALIVE ! (audience)**
3. **AMANDLA ! AMANDLA !**  
**POWER ! POWER 1**
4. **NGAWETHU ! (audience)**  
**TO THE PEOPLE !**

### 3.5.3 MR PETER MOKABA'S SPEECH (CHANTED IN THE FORM OF SLOGANEERING).

Mr Peter Mokaba (ANC youth leader) stood up after his name had been called by the Master of Ceremonies. It is necessary at this point, since it was most noticeable in Mr Mokaba's performance and the response to it, to explain certain customs practised at political gatherings. Every political rally mass action, workers' boycott and the funeral of a political leader is an occasion that involves chanting of slogans as well as *toyi-toyi* dance which involve the whole congregation. Slogans and dances are often specially devised, reflecting a dance pattern that usually takes the form of one step forward and one backwards, knees up and down as well as a bending of the body. A pause on the strong beat is controlled by the regular pulse of the slogan chanted. In most of the political gatherings that I attended where Peter Mokaba was one of the congregation, he usually performed this kind of dance with great artistry.

Mr Mokaba was thus a great source of inspiration in the skilful manner in which he performed the *toyi-toyi* dance. He chanted the slogan with *toyi-toyi* actions:

1. **VIVA ANC VIVA !** (Peter Mokaba)  
**VIVA !** (Audience)
2. **VIVA MKHONTO WESIZWE VIVA !** (Peter Mokaba)  
**VIVA !** (Audience)
3. **VIVA PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA VIVA!**(Peter Mokaba)  
**VIVA !** (Audience)



4. **AWUFE UMBUSO KA DE KLERK AWUFE ! (x2)**  
**DE KLERK'S GOVERNMENT SHOULD DIE !**
5. **AWUFE !**  
**DIE !**
6. **HU RA LA MASA !**
7. **EYA MA RUMBA !**
8. **ARUMBA !**
9. **EYA RUMBA !**
10. **EYA RUMBA !**
11. **ASITH !**
12. **HEYI AZITH !**
13. **AYI YA !**
14. **SITHATH - RUMB-A**
15. **SOTHATHI R U -**
16. **HARI BHAZULA !**
17. **ARI - BHAZULA !**
18. **YE E E - E !** (Sounds and cries that cannot be interpreted by words.)

The *toyi-toying* dance accompanying the chanted slogan was performed spiritedly. The slogan chanted by Mr Mokoba was markedly rhythmical, since it was meant to be accompanied by dance. Dance steps and hand claps harmonized with the chanted words. Young and old, big and small - everybody was engaged in performance. The kind of emotional action and voices released in the oral

performance attracted my attention during the course of this study. This was the consistent style of dance with regular hand clapping, body swaying, stamping, marching and dancing with rhythmic exaggerations. Jousse (1990:232) describes this stylistic action as:

**In living matter, rhythm is the recurrence of the same physiological phenomenon at biological equivalent intervals.**

In most political performances, rhythm is a commonly used stylistic device. One can assume that many of Hani's funeral attendants were of similar political movements. The uniformity of audience response - and I speak of the rhythmic element here in the context of the above quotation - testifies to this.

In a moment Peter Mokaba shouted :

1. **AMANDLA ! AMANDLA !**  
**POWER ! POWER !**
2. **NGAWETHU !**  
**TO THE PEOPLE !**
3. **IGAMA LIKA CHRIS HANI MALIBONGWE !**  
**PRAISE CHRIS HANI'S NAME !**
4. **MALIBONGWE !**  
**PRAISE IT !**
5. **MALIBONGWE !**  
**PRAISE IT !**

### 3.5.4 MR JOE SLOVO'S SPEECH.

Joe Slovo (The chairperson of the SACP) followed Peter Mokaba.

As he was approaching the stage, the audience screamed:

*Oh ! Oh ! Oh h !*

Flags were waved and voices that cannot be easily interpreted issued forth. The response to his appearance was enough to show that Slovo was sincerely and dearly loved by the congregation. On his arrival at the stage he chanted:

1. **AMANDLA ! (X2)**  
**POWER ! (X2)**
2. **MAYIBUYE !**  
**COME BACK !**
3. **I-AFRIKA !**  
**AFRICA !**
4. **VIVA SACP VIVA !**  
**VIVA !**
5. **VIVA ANC VIVA !**  
**VIVA !**
6. **VIVA COSATU VIVA !**  
**VIVA !**
7. **UMKHONTO WESIZWE (X2)**  
**WESIZWE !**

8. **UMKHONTO !**  
**AMANDLA !**  
**POWER !**

Again, as in the other slogans quoted before, we notice the high incidence of repeated phrases. In oral poetry it is traditional practice and these are oral techniques which help the performer to retain the traditional aspects of material (cf Opland 1983:164-165). This slogan drew everybody to listen closely to what Slovo was to say:

**The assassinator, the killer who killed Chris Hani thought he has killed a man with everything he stood for but an army for democracy has risen up. Comrade ! Who killed Chris Hani has not killed his work ! Tell me - who killed Chris Hani ? The 'system' has killed the son of the South African soil. The person who killed Hani had the vote ! Yet Chris Hani and Mandela still have no vote ! We say to the killers - We don't want your condolences, your shared tears ! (The audience screamed and lifted fists up YEBO ! - YES !)**

Joe Slovo continued, describing Hani's origins:

**Who was Chris Hani ? He was born in poverty at Cofimvaba in Transkei! His father was a private worker in the mines ! His mother was a simple person who never worked in the open market !**

He chanted the slogan:

**VIVA PARENTS OF CHRIS HANI VIVA !**  
**VIVA !      (audience)**

Suddenly he shouted :

**THE STRUGGLE IS FOR THE WORKERS, THE STRUGGLE IS FOR  
SHACK DWELLERS !**

He chanted:

**VIVA MKHONTO WESIZWE VIVA !**

**VIVA ! (audience)**

He mentioned that Chris Hani returned to operate underground in 1976 in South Africa.

1. **VIVA SACP ! (performer)**

**VIVA SACP ! (audience)**

He concluded his speech by the following :

**We will listen to Chris who fought for people's democracy. We won't  
listen to de Klerk. (Joe Slovo stamped the table).**

**Now is the time !**

2. **VOTE ANC !**

**VOTE ANC ! (audience)**

**THAT IS NOW !**

3. **KE NAKO ! (SOTHO LANGUAGE)**

**NOW IS THE TIME !**

**VOTE ANC !**

**VOTE ANC ! (audience)**

4. **SEKUNJALO VOTE ANC ! (ZULU/XHOSA LANGUAGE)**  
**NOW IS THE TIME !**  
**VOTE ANC ! (audience)**
5. **WE HAVE THE MAJORITY !**  
**WE HAVE THE MAJORITY ! (audience)**
6. **VIVA THE MEMORY OF CHRIS HANI !**  
**VIVA ! (audience)**
7. **VIVA ! VIVA !**

### **3.5.5 MR MZWAKHE MBULI (AN ORAL POET)**

He chanted:

1. **AMANDLA ! (Mzwakhe Mbuli)**  
**POWER !**
2. **THE TRADITION OF NON-SURRENDER !**  
**VIVA ! (Audience)**
3. **LONG LIVE ! (Mzwakhe Mbuli)**  
**LONG LIVE ! (Audience)**

The oral phrases chanted by Mzwakhe Mbuli were introductory chants for Mr Mandela's speech.

### **3.5.6 MR NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA (CHAIRPERSON OF ANC)**

Mr Mandela's speech was in the form of idioms and proverbs provoking the audience a number of times. He chanted:

- 1. FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA NOW !  
NOW ! (audience)**
- 2. RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTH AFRICA !  
NOW ! (audience)**
- 3. NON RACIAL, NON SEXIST SOUTH AFRICA !  
DEMOCRACY NOW !**
- 4. FREEDOM, PEACE AND STABILITY  
CAN NO LONGER BE STOPPED !  
(he quoted Hani's words)**
- 5. ONE PERSON ONE VOTE !  
THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA !  
(the audience shouted YES !)**

Mr Mandela continued:

- 1. THE STRUGGLE IS FAR FROM BEING OUT !**
- 2. GO BACK TO YOUR HOMES !**
- 3. REGIONS ! ORGANISE YOURSELVES !**
- 4. MORE THAN BEFORE !**
- 5. TOGETHER WE ARE INVINCIBLE !**
- 6. LET CHRIS HANI LIVE IN ALL OUR HEARTS !**

7. HANI WILL REMAIN IN OUR HEARTS !
8. **AMANDLA ! AMANDLA !**
9. **POWER ! POWER !**
10. **NGAWETHU ! NGAWETHU !**
11. **TO THE PEOPLE ! TO THE PEOPLE !**

Mr Mandela's speech embodied the ANC's vision of the new South Africa. In his emphasis of the ideals of a democratic South Africa (freedom, reconstruction, non-racialism, non-sexism, peace, stability and one person one vote) one can perhaps discern electioneering propaganda. It is noteworthy that he began his speech by attempting to arouse his audience in this fashion, and it was only later in his speech that he made reference to Chris Hani. The speech of Mr Mandela, therefore, could be viewed primarily as political sloganeering, and to the critical observer it would appear that this purpose took precedence over what one would expect a funeral speech to be.

**3.5.7 MR RAYMOND MHLABA - (AN OLD ANC MEMBER, ONE OF THE ELDERS ON THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA).**

He stood up and appealed to **Qamata** (the Creator) saying:

**APHA KWI ANC KUFUNEKA**

**IN ANC WE HAVE TO PUT THE**

**SIBEK U - QAMATA ! (AN ANCESTOR)**



**CREATOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH FIRST !**

***EMVA KE SIFUNE UNKULUNKULU !***

**THEREAFTER WE PUT GOD !**

As mentioned earlier the belief of most Blacks is in their creator as Qamata (the great ancestor). The majority of Africans believe in the ancestors as their great Gods who could also form strong bonds with the great ancestor known as Qamata.

### **3.5.8 ARCHBISHOP TUTU (OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH).**

He drew the attention of the audience to the religious closing words: AMEN ! The tendency for the preachers is to use knowledge that is assumed to be commonly shared as an introduction to launch their message. Archbishop Tutu did so in the following words:

- 1. *EGAMENI LENKOSI U-YESU KRISTU - NDIYABULISA !*  
IN THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST - I GREET YOU !**

Archbishop Tutu asked the audience -

- 1. IS THERE ANYONE OF YOU WHO DOUBTS THAT CHRIS HANI WAS  
THE GREAT SON OF GOD ?**  
The audience responded: NO ! NO ! NO !
- 2. DURING HIS LAST DAYS HE WAS PREACHING THE PEACE CODE !  
CHRIS HANI IS A MAN OF  
TRANSPARENT INTEGRITY !**
- 3. NOT A COWARD !**

4. HIS DEATH IS NOT A DEFEAT !
5. HIS DEATH IS OUR VICTORY !
6. HIS DEATH IS OUR VICTORY OF TRUTH !

He chanted:

1. WE ARE MARCHING TO VICTORY OVER OPPRESSION AND INJUSTICE !
2. WE ARE MARCHING TO LIGHT OVER DARKNESS OF APARTHEID !
3. WE ARE MARCHING TO VICTORY OF GOODNESS OVER EVIL OF APARTHEID !
4. WE ARE MARCHING TO VICTORY OVER SELFISHNESS OF APARTHEID,  
PEACE AND RECONSTRUCTION NOW !
5. WE WILL BE FREE !
6. WE WILL BE FREE !
7. WE ARE THE RAINBOW OF GOD !
8. NOBODY, NO GUN, NOTHING WILL STOP US MOVING !
9. FOR GOD IS ON OUR SIDE !

(Hands of Archbishop Tutu and the audience were waving as if they were waving to their God).

He continued saying:

**BLACK AND WHITE WE ARE MARCHING TO FREEDOM !**

The congregation clapped hands. People jumped left and right full of confidence. The family of Chris Hani and congregation then proceeded to the cemetery where Hani's corpse was to be buried.

Slogans of the difficult times (those which were chanted in guerilla forests, in jail and in exile), were chanted at the cemetery. The oral performance demonstrated by MK reminded the audience of the painful experiences of the past. Gun shots were heard to say farewell to Chris Hani while the wife and three children released white doves as a symbol of the Peace that Chris Hani fought for. It must be noted that it is traditional to let the family participate fully in funeral proceeding.

Chris Hani's wife had a message for her husband. It was a short oral verse:

1. I LOVE YOU !
2. I WILL LOVE YOU !
3. AND ALWAYS LOVE YOU !

The repeated lines or phrases were traditionally and commonly used by *imbongi* (bard) to exhibit parallelism. This is one of the oral features on the oral tradition. Parry and Lord analyse these oral utterances as formulas which are patterns firmly ingrained in the performer's mind. They are orally composed as formula by the composer for the performer's use [Parry (1928:272) and Lord (1960:65)].

Political slogans certainly show a formulaic structure, and the techniques of repetition and parallelism are an essential feature.

### **3.6 CONCLUSION.**

Considering oral tradition in relation to what is discussed in this chapter, political sloganering is found to be an established practice. To disregard political

sloganeering as related to the traditional practice would mean a dismissal of the beautiful and meaningful traditional oral qualities in chanted slogans.

A political slogan is a phrase chanted in a live performance. When a slogan is chanted in actual performance it becomes an element of oral literature as it operates within oral / orality terms. When people chant slogans in a live performance messages are passed among themselves orally on the basis of memory. Socio-political and cultural experiences from the people's memory are handed down from one generation to another through sloganeering.

Some chanted slogans may be composed and passed along orally in performance from the experience of the past so as to modify societal life. Aspects of oral composition, oral transmission and oral performance are displayed during the process of sloganeering. These are the three basic aspects of orality that have been analysed in most parts of this dissertation.

Human beings in political situations express and clothe their ideas, emotions and actions in political slogans. Chanting of slogans can convey little meaning if not accompanied by some of the following: use of gestures, facial expressions, *toyi-toyi* dancing, and rhythmic behavioural patterns. Speech, action, ideas, performance - all of these are basic to human communication. They are artistic or aesthetic aspects of the oral tradition which are incorporated into political sloganeering.

One can conclude, then, that political sloganeering of the kind analysed in this chapter, while a new development comparatively, has its roots in the traditional of African orality spanning a great expanse of time. Certain aspects of sloganeering are admittedly Western imports, as will be seen in the following chapters, but that is to be expected in the context of a changing society continually exposed to extraneous influences. The fundamental aspects of political sloganeering, however, are unquestionably traditional, and derive from an erstwhile dynamic and vibrant oral tradition.

## **CHAPTER FOUR.**

### **4. ORALITY/ORAL TRADITION: VISUAL/MATERIAL ELEMENTS AS ART IN POLITICAL SLOGANEERING - GRAFFITI, RADIO AND TELEVISION.**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION.**

In the previous Chapter I presented political sloganeering through the analysis of events that took place at the funeral of Chris Hani which I observed for the purpose of this study. In the analysis of those events I gave an account of those elements of orality that could be discerned in the ceremony.

This chapter focuses on visual elements which also constitute a part of the oral tradition and which are important vehicles for political sloganeering. While visual elements cannot strictly be "oral", yet they combine to enhance the process of oral communication, and it will therefore not be perverse to treat them as adjuncts of the oral tradition. The discussion will analyze political slogans particularly as they appear in the form of graffiti. Radio and television will briefly be mentioned as instruments of "secondary orality". The discourse will focus on the selected political slogans used by ANC and SACP in performance. The ability to expand and elaborate, often introducing a more narrative element into oral tradition, will be discussed as a heritage that has continued in political sloganeering.

## 4.2 VISUAL/MATERIAL ELEMENTS AS VALUED FEATURES IN PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL SLOGANEERING.

Finnegan (1992:105) makes the point that:

**Visual elements can also be important, in some cases part of definition of the genre, in others a valued aspects of good performances.**

She mentions some components of these visual elements: colours, costume, dress, jewellery, flags and sculpture.

### 4.2.1 UNIFORM.

At Hani's funeral, the MK soldiers appeared in the stadium in full uniform. Hani's uniform cap was observed on top of the coffin. The audience was colourfully dressed, wearing uniforms of their political organizations. When the congregation was engaged in political sloganeering, their attire added more meaning to what they chanted by mouth.

This is particularly relevant to the discussion of the uniforms worn by ANC and SACP members at Hani's funeral. Even in political meetings, rallies, mass actions and in celebrations of important events, members of ANC and SACP movements wear their uniforms. Uniforms are extensions of a group's identity and express how much people value their allegiance to a particular political movement.

Psychologically, uniforms influence the emotions and attitudes of the observer. This is clearly reflected in any live oral performance, when the performer in a uniform reflecting his allegiance delivers the slogan or speech; his utterances are given added meaning by the attire. Both the attire and his words inspire the audience. This makes a great impression on the members of the organisation since what is verbally expressed is further highlighted by the visual dimension which further emphasises the traditions of a political movement. One should note that use of uniforms is a western import, but the practice has become so pervasive amongst black political organisations that it is now an integral component of orality in the political context.

The ideals of each political organization are reflected in its uniform. As mentioned in Chapter 2, colours used by ANC as well as SACP in their attires reinforce the ideologies of these organizations and help foster a sense of social unity.

The donning of a specific form of attire adds to the process of oral communication by sending non-verbal messages. A suggestion that is relevant to this explanation is made by Finnegan. For her, importance of visual elements is underlined by their inclusion in the definition of the genre. It is an integral aspect of good performance. Finnegan says that there may be recognised links between visual or material elements and spoken performance (1992 : 105).



#### 4.2.2 BANNERS AND POSTERS.

When relating Orality to performance, banners and posters are important constituent elements of the tradition. Their use in a particular live context enhances the performance, in that they are the visual elements that the performer exploits to communicate with the audience and also to solicit audience participation.

Finnegan, when discussing visual elements in a ceremony, writes:

**Such aspects may seem extraneous to the "central" verbal component but may in fact be an expected part of the performed art form fortunately are, now, becoming of greater interest to anthropologists (Finnegan 1992 : 106)**

The value of visual elements in live performance cannot be overemphasized. By the process of reinforcement and consolidation, the use of posters and banners as an accompaniment to the chanted words unquestionably enhances the message of the spoken word and helps clear certain doubts and uncertainties that may arise in the perception of verbal stimuli were they to be the sole medium of communication. The use of banners in political ceremonies has become customary for ANC and SACP organizations after their unbanning. Naturally when these organisations were illegal and had to operate "underground" and meet covertly, banners were not used for very obvious reasons. The frequency of this practice has now made it an essential component of orality in the political context.

At the funeral ceremony of Chris Hani, the audience continuously waved ANC and SACP flags, and more vigorously when a slogan was chanted. The coffin was

covered by an SACP flag, while on both sides of it, ANC and SACP flags were left hanging throughout the occasion. Each slogan was chanted with posters of Chris Hani, Mandela, Tambo, the past and present leaders of these political organizations, forming an apt backdrop.

### 4.3 GRAFFITI.

The word "Graffiti" has its origins in Greek; it has assumed its present form via transmission through the Roman languages, particularly Italian. Graffiti can be defined as ideas informally scribbled on walls, building doors, toilets etc. where they can be read by the public. Sketches are also sometimes embraced by the term. Written signs taken from ANC and SACP flags are commonly seen drawn on the walls of buildings, or pillars along the road and even on toilet doors and walls.

EXAMPLE:

1.



- (these words are scribbled next to an ANC flag.)

**ANC CARRIES COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY**

Sometimes drawings of the leaders or members of political organizations and sketches that symbolise a specific idea are scribbled on building walls so that the public could be aware of the current ideologies of those organisations. eg.

1. **MANDELA UYIMPIMPI**

**MANDELA YOU ARE A SPY. (an INKATHA slogan)**

The word '*impimpi*' is a Zulu word derived from 'ukumpimpiza' meaning to talk ill about someone.

The sketch drawn on the wall may be a prominent leader of the society e.g. the President of South Africa, Mr Mandela with his hand up and the word "**Viva**" written next to the scribbled sketch. This sketch symbolises a slogan.

1. **PHILA NGONAPHAKADE MANDELA !**

**VIVA PRESIDENT MANDELA!**

The scribbled diagram aims to attract an "audience" i.e. individuals who would observe and react to the inherent message.

More common is the writing of words alone to convey a particular message. eg.

1. **PHANSI NGO DE KLERK noma IMFUNDO EKHULULEKILE KUWO  
WONKE UMUNTU.**

**DOWN WITH DE KLERK or FREE EDUCATION FOR THE MASSES.**

These indicate that political sloganeering can function in a context different from a live oral performance; in the envisaged response to the slogan, an individual or a group become the participants who variously agree, argue, add a point and thereby affirm that they are actively involved in the performance.

Visual elements thus serve as political slogans directed at the public and raise the question of what is orality in political sloganeering. An investigation of the concept

of orality in graffiti will now be conducted, analyzing various examples of slogans to be found in graffiti.

#### **4.3.1 FROM THE ORAL TO THE WRITTEN DIMENSION: THE SPOKEN WORD TO SCRIBBLED SKETCHES AND/OR WORDS.**

Graffiti are creations of individuals in the society and reflect certain developments in the field of orality/oral tradition. These indicate that what was once the province of a strict orality has now gone beyond those confines into the realm of the visual and the written; memory is no longer the sole medium of storage and transmission. The visual dimension comes to its aid by perpetuating for posterity, as far as possible, a particular ideology. What is the point of formulating political ideologies if these are not preserved and transmitted to posterity. It is obvious that a literary tradition better subserves this end and I now trace the extension of orality into the dimensions of the visual by citing examples of political slogans expressed in the form of graffiti.

Ong (1982 : 137) says:

**The contrast between orality in the past and in today's world will highlight the contrast between primary and secondary orality.**

Graffiti, unlike the spoken word, is "passive". The spoken word, by its very nature, actively impinges upon the consciousness of the person or group to whom it is addressed and demands a response in a relatively direct manner. Graffiti, on the other hand, is "passive" and "dead", and becomes active and alive only when it

attracts the attentions of observers who respond positively to it. In this context, graffiti becomes dynamic and meaningful, and becomes adventitious to the spoken word in conveying a message. The society is no longer a "primary oral" one, but together with things like radio and television, writing assumes a communicative role, ushering in the stage of "secondary orality".

Ong (1982 : 136) gives examples of what he interprets as new orality:

**New orality has striking resemblances to the old in its participatory mystique, its fostering of a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment, and even its use of formulas.**

He explains the new orality as a development that has its roots in primary orality. This new orality is called secondary orality, a phase where the spoken word is supported in its communicative role by technological developments. Ong further states that it has a wider audience than primary orality. This audience he describes as a true one, presumably because it is not coerced, as it were, into response, but because such response is the result of volition and will.

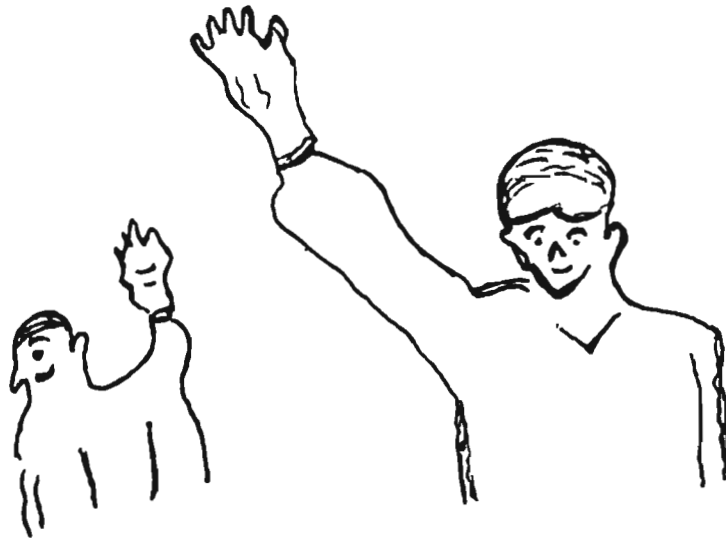
In the political context, graffiti helps to convey political ideology over generations through a medium which Ong describes as "artificial", and not natural.

#### **4.4 SKETCHES SYMBOLISING POLITICAL SLOGANS.**

Sketches can be included as part of the domain of graffiti, but would appear to be a step further removed from the written word since a drawing is merely symbolic and

requires the imaginative interpretation on the observer. Sketches and drawings are useful in a society where literacy is not widespread as writing, on its own, is not likely to be effective in such a society. Examples of such sketches now follow.

#### 4.4.1 SKETCH.



A diagram of hand signs is drawn on walls of the old buildings, on road pillars, and in toilets.

#### **SLOGAN AS CHANTED BY ANC AND SACP, CONVEYED BY THE SKETCH**

***UKUTHULA ! UKUTHULA !***

**PEACE! PEACE!**

***UKUTHULA ! MAKUBE SEZWENI !***

**PEACE MUST PREVAIL IN OUR COUNTRY!**

***UKUTHULA !***

**PEACE !**

## ANALYSIS OF CONVEYED SLOGAN

Before Chris Hani died, he addressed the question of violence and crime that was commonly experienced in South Africa. His many speeches propagated the eradication of instability that caused violence in the society. One of his major aims was to prepare for peaceful elections. The second line of the slogan affirms his main objectives.

The scribbled diagram below is in contrast to the above one in the message it conveys. Its message is violent and controversial, and runs totally counter to the ideal of peace that certain political organisations purportedly espouse. It is unfortunately the propagation of the methods of violence and force that is in the main cause of much of the violence that has beset the country.

### 4.4.2 SKETCH.



The diagram shows a man holding a rifle.

## **SLOGAN AS CHANTED BY SACP, CONVEYED BY SKETCH.**

**1. *DUBULA ! DUBULA ! DUBULA!***

**SHOOT ! SHOOT ! SHOOT !**

**2. *DUBULA IZITHA !***

**SHOOT THE ENEMIES !**

**3. *GA ! GA ! GA!* (Sound of the bullets)**

## **ANALYSIS OF CONVEYED SLOGAN.**

The slogan cited above is an illustration of how the MK soldiers prepared themselves to destroy their enemy. The slogan refers back to aspects of their preparations in the guerilla forests. What was happening in the MK camps is conveyed to the present time. It is a transmission from memory to sketches and to action.

In the graffiti that deal with anger, complaints and dissatisfactions, there are numerous inherent and implied sounds that appear frivolous but which convey a deadly serious message. When this slogan is chanted in live performances, the last line with "GA ! GA ! GA !" is evidently enjoyed by the participants, but their facial expressions are very serious. It is this response that the sketch intends to elicit by association and symbolism.



#### 4.4.3 SKETCH.



A sketch of a woman, carrying a piece of rock.

**THE SLOGAN (FOR ANC AND SACP) AS CONVEYED BY THE SKETCH.**

**1. *I - MBOKODO !***

**THE BOULDER !**

**2. *WATHINT' ABAFAZI !***

**YOU STRIKE A WOMAN !**

**3. *WATHINT' IMBOKODO !***

**YOU STRIKE THE ROCK !**

**4. *BHASOBHA BO !***

**WATCH OUT !**

5. **BHASOBHA BO !**

WATCH OUT !

6. **UZAKUFA !**

YOU WILL DIE !

**ANALYSIS OF CONVEYED SLOGAN.**

The slogan emphasises the role of women in the political struggle. The objective of using the "word" "ROCK" or "BOULDER" is to make the society aware that men are not alone in the liberation struggle in the country. The goal of destroying what does not satisfy the people in the country is also shared by women. This slogan carries the supportive role of women in the South African liberation struggle.

**4.4.4 SKETCH.**



Youths bending, with legs partially raised and with hands pointing in different directions and with mouths wide open.

**SLOGAN, (belonging to both ANC and SACP) AS CONVEYED BY SKETCH.**

1. **MADOLO PHEZULU MAN'AWUZWA' !**  
**KNEES UP MAAN ! HEAR !**
2. **SHOLO PHEZULU MAN'AWUZWA !**  
**VOICE IT OUT MAAN !**
3. **NOMAZAKA ... AWUZWA ! AWUZWA !**  
**BARBED SPEAR ... HEAR ! HEAR !**
4. **GA ! GA ! GA ! GA ! GA ! GA !** (a participant imitating automatic rifle)  
**COME MK ! COME !**  
**GRIND THEM UNDERSTAND !**
5. **AWUZWA !**  
**UNDERSTAND !**

**ANALYSIS OF CONVEYED SLOGAN.**

(The word "MAAN" is taken from Afrikaans). In the example of the slogan cited above, the youth publicly demonstrate the *toyi - toyi* dance in political sloganeering. The aim of the *toyi-toyi* performance is to recruit people into action so that the message of the political movement could be shared amongst a massive group of participants. Indeed the idea functions well since both young and old are easily drawn into participation by slogans enacted in this manner. *Toyi-toyi* dance appeals to the rhythmical sense of the listeners. *Toyi-toying* became a practice of MK soldiers in guerilla forests. This helped to inculcate a sense of esprit de corps and comaraderie when they trained in foreign countries and in underground camps.

It should be noted that the kind of sketches cited above do not have as broad an appeal as intended. It requires the imagination of people in-the-know (politically speaking) to make sense of them. Hopefully if such people happen to observe and take an interest in the sketches, they will be attracted as an audience to interpret the intended meaning. IF such is the case, then the sketch as graffiti becomes functional as an extension of the oral tradition.

#### **4.5 TELEVISION AND RADIO.**

I now discuss television and radio which are technological developments which help to extend the realm of the oral tradition and which, as mentioned before, bring in the phase of secondary orality. The voices of people, which are heard on radio, and pictures of people and their sounds heard and watched on television, give a new form of oral experience. They are in a sense unnatural sounds and pictures since they are conveyed at second hand; all the same they enhance and subserve the basic purpose of direct oral communication. At any rate, they cater for a far broader audience than a traditional live performance.

The difference between primary orality and secondary orality discussed in section 4.3.1 above does not suggest a rejection of the importance of technology (writing, radio, television).

**Orality is not an ideal, and never was.**  
(Ong 1982 : 175)

He further states that:

**Developments in food production, in trade, in political organization, in religious institutions, in technological skills, in educational practices, in means of transportation, in family organization, and in other areas of human life all play their own distinctive roles. Ong (1982:175).**

At first one would think Ong defends orality and criticises technology (and writing) yet it is implicit that he recognises the importance of both media. The wisdom of the past oral culture is preserved, not only by an oral tradition but also by writing and technology. Radio, television, writing or drawings (in our discussion graffiti specifically) collectively create the added dimension to the spoken word, which dimension facilitates and enhances the transmission of political slogans, which are the concern of this thesis.

#### **4.6 CONCLUSION.**

Goody (1987:259-289) in his work **The Interface Between The Written And The Oral** analyses "the oral word" in opposition to "the written word". According to him, the introduction of writing in oral culture/tradition does not - and cannot - replace the living voice. The use of television and radios and tapes still conveys the audible voice. The spoken word is human. It is life. Even the words written in text, (in graffiti) imply the living voice for its interpretation. Literate culture claims to possess power and authority to rule and to oppress the non-literate culture, but orality is equally important in that it co-exists with literacy.

Political slogans, then, as heard recently on television, radio and symbolised in scribbled sketches, are still moulded in the traditions of orality, as evidenced by the examples cited in this chapter. Secondary orality, I would suggest, has an advantage over primary orality, as transmission is not confined to the one medium alone, which in virtue of its very nature can be restricted and confined to a particular group. The various and multifaced components of secondary orality ensure a broader dissemination of the political message, and make its preservation over a longer period of time far more likely than the oral tradition. The truth of this observation can perhaps be observed in the so called dark ages of Greece (C 1100 to 700 BC), where apart from the epics of Homa, little of the historical, social and political traditions survive because of the submergence of writing as a transmittive device.

## **CHAPTER FIVE.**

### **5. SACP AND ANC POLITICAL SLOGANS AS INDICATORS OF SOCIAL AWARENESS.**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION.**

Chapter 4 suggests that orality/oral tradition has not been seriously undermined by the arrival of writing or technology (radio/television/tape) in society. The presence of technology marks a development that enables storage and wider dissemination of knowledge of the past to the present and the future generations. Orality has not become superfluous in the light of the nature of the society we are considering. Literacy is far from pervasive enough to relegate orality to the periphery of the communicative process. Oral communication still has a prominent role; the technological devices mentioned, however, enhance and give a broader basis to the communication process. Stored knowledge will need the voice to interpret it. In other words, the voice/word is brought back to life. This is what occurs in sloganeering.

This Chapter will focus on the analysis of SACP and ANC political slogans, per se, as expressive and interpretative instruments in understanding social consciousness. The analysis will give examples of political slogans as the preparation of the description/interpretation of various themes.

## 5.2 SACP AND ANC SLOGANS.

### 5.2.1 SLOGAN.

1. ***ALUTA CONTINUA !***  
**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES !**
2. ***ALUTA !***  
**THE STRUGGLE !**
3. ***U - OLIVER TAMBO !***  
**OLIVER TAMBO !**
4. ***UTATA WETHU !***  
**IS OUR FATHER !**
5. ***U - MANDELA !***  
**MANDELA !**
6. ***LISOTSHA !***  
**IS A SOLDIER !**
7. ***PHAMBILI !***  
**FORWARD !**
8. ***MAYIBUYE I-AFRIKA !***  
**LET AFRICA COME BACK !**

In the slogan the powerful figures in the ANC movement are individually mentioned by names. The aim is to inform young and not-knowing individuals in the organisation about the pioneers and leaders in the struggle. The named figures in



the slogan are made to appear as deified ancestors although they are still alive. Such associations, in enshrouding these figures in an aura of spirituality, lend them credence as revered and dedicated members of the organisation.

The first two lines of the slogan, while they would appear to be advocating an ideology that is outdated in the present context, remind ANC and SACP that the ultimate good is yet not achieved. Equality for all, the democratic ideal, is a tenuous and Utopian ideal, and only perseverance and a continuous striving can result in some kind of realization of the objective, in as far as that is possible. Thus in line 7 the word "*PHAMBILI*" (Forward) encourages the people to continue in their fight to come as close as possible to attaining their ideal.

If there are people who are not aware of the major objective of the ANC and SACP, lines 7 and 8 urge them to strive on so that Africa may once again become the land of its native peoples.

### **5.3 CRITICAL MOTIF.**

#### **5.3.1 SLOGAN.**

**1. *UTHELEWENI PHANSI !***

**DOWN WITH THE PEOPLE WHO POUR WATER ON MOUNTAIN !**

**(referring to the South African Police)**

**2. *PHANSI NGONGXOWANKULU !***

**DOWN WITH THOSE WITH BIG BAGS !**

**3. PHANSI NGAMAGUNDWANE, PHANSI !**

**DOWN WITH THE RATS, DOWN !**

**4. U - MANGOPHE PHANSI !**

**MANGOPHE DOWN !**

**5. U - GATSHA PHANSI !**

**GATSHA DOWN !**

**6. INCELEBANE PHANSI !**

**DOWN WITH THE INFORMERS !**

**7. PHANSI !**

**DOWN !**

The critical motive is clear in the slogan. In the first line, it is implied that the South African Police do not protect the people and are responsible for the escalating violence and death in the country.

Line 2 addresses the rich leaders in the South African community. These people are referred to as capitalists (those with big bags). There is the strong socialist belief in the ANC and SACP that sharing of material things should be promoted. If one fails to give something to the poor and instead always takes from them, that person is regarded as a capitalist. These ideas obviously originate from the strong marxist leanings of these organisation.

Lines 3 - 7 indicate that Mangophe and Gatsha are the puppets of the Nationalists Government. Since the ANC and SACP do not accept what the government does, these two (as the spies of the government) are also not accepted. In performance, the slogan tries to arouse the ire of the people against such negative elements who are regarded as a threat to a stable democracy.

#### **5.4 MEMORIAL POLITICAL SLOGAN.**

##### **5.4.1 SLOGAN.**

1. ***SENZENI N—A ! (x3) (should be chanted in sombre tone)***  
**WHAT HAVE WE DONE !**
2. ***SENZENI N—A ! (x3) (sombre tone lower than at the beginning)***  
**WHAT HAVE WE DONE !**
3. ***WENA MNTOMNYAMA !***  
**YOU BLACK PERSON !**
4. ***UTHWELE KANZIMA !***  
**YOU ARE CARRYING A BURDEN !**
5. ***UTHWELE KANZIMA !***  
**YOU ARE CARRYING A BURDEN !**

Memorial slogans are generally classified as mourning political slogans. They are sung in funerals of the political organizations members. The elderly ANC officers in Durban told me that when slogans of this nature were chanted, sometimes they could barely restrain their tears.

In lines 1 and 2 the slogan is addressed directly to *UMVELINQABA*, the creator. The audience ask him why things of this nature happen to them. In addressing the creator, the audience sing or hum the words without the toyi-toyi dance. The slogan is sung by the audience in a sorrowful tone, expressing their attitudes and feelings towards ones who have died.

Even in the memorial ceremonies of their members who died long ago and recently this slogan is sung. Slogans sung at the funerals of comrades or at their memorial services have become a ritual practice of the ANC and SACP.

Lines 4 - 5 bring back the history of the forefathers of the black people and their suffering; they also refer to the present conditions experienced by the blacks in the country.

## **5.5 THEME - "NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH".**

### **5.5.1 SLOGAN.**

1. *SH ----- I*

2. *SH ----- I*

3. *SH ---O---O---NA I*

*SE -----T I*

4. *SIZODIBANA NGE BHAZUK' EHLATHINI I*

**WE SHALL MEET AT DAWN IN THE FOREST (WAR) I**

Through the political slogan the audience show their awareness of the intolerable conditions in which the majority of people in South Africa live. The majority of the people had no freedom of speech. Lines 1 and 2 suggest that they should keep quiet though they are aware of their predicament; there is no freedom of speech for them.

In lines 3 and 4, the audience chant words of anger. MK soldiers (SACP members) found themselves free only in the forests - not in this country. The traditions of SACP and ANC are brought back into memory when this slogan is performed.

## **5.6 CONCLUSION.**

On the whole, this chapter has described ANC and SACP slogans as expressive and interpretative instruments indicative of a high degree of social consciousness. Political slogans illustrate the social structure and power relations as they existed and also show how the related problems should be resolved.

## **CHAPTER SIX.**

### **6. CONCLUSION.**

This study was designed to investigate the role of political sloganeering as a mode of communication and its relationship to the oral tradition with special reference to South Africa.

#### **6.1 ORAL STUDIES AND POLITICAL SLOGANEERING IN RELATION TO COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL INTERACTION.**

Oral studies seek to develop a positive attitude towards systems of communication and social interaction where reading and writing, if present at all, do not, in any significant way, affect the traditional way of life. In traditional societies methods must be developed by individuals or groups to process and preserve experience and knowledge in the collective memory. In this regard expressive devices, such as special methods of transmitting this knowledge, were devised over thousands, possibly even hundreds of thousands of years. Such devices are among others oral phrases, slogans and material objects. It is essential to understand that these devices as employed currently are the outcome of the contributions of generations and generations of oral performers. One could reasonably assume that a performer would, in addition to drawing from preceding tradition, introduce his personal compositions. If these were of a sufficiently good standard then it would be accepted and add to the repertoire of that particular tradition, creating a greater pool from

which subsequent performers could draw. Communication depending entirely on living words, that is, sound and gestures, occurs where individuals are an integral component of the group, or the community, or possibly even of the environment as a whole. Focusing on oral studies in relation to systems of communication and social interaction, Marcel Jousse (1990:50) employs such phrases as:

**Play on word, play on gestures.**

The importance of the spoken word and gestures as messages in social interaction underlines the need for intensive studies to analyze political sloganeering in relation to oral studies. Furthermore, political sloganeering seems to have a closer relationship to the traditional means of oral communication among groups of people in political marches, gatherings, rallies and demonstrations although the written word and other Western influences have made their impact.

Jan Vansina (1985 : 124) points out that:

**Communication of oral tradition is part of the process of establishing collective representations.**

The representation referred to by Vansina are, ideas, values, and images. People in a community share these representations collectively.

The idea expressed above is relevant to political sloganeering. In a political rally or gathering, the ANC or SACP is a group of the community that share representations explained by Vansina.

According to Vansina (1985) a group of people who do this constitute a culture since the people forming that group have something in common. The ANC, for example, is made up of a group of people who have the same ideology. Their values are the same and the slogans will therefore evoke a common and collective response from its members.

How does the process of sharing occur? In response to the question, Vansina (1985: 124) speaks of transmission. Thus the ideas and values are orally transmitted among the members of a group. In the ANC or SACP, political slogans are messages which are orally transmitted. This process of sending the messages in a group in the oral tradition is oral communication. Sloganeering is an activity that is orally communicated in a live performance of a group of people.

It was the task of this study to trace how sloganeering as a process of oral communication happens in the ANC and SACP in relation to the oral tradition. Many examples that illustrate political sloganeering as an oral medium of communication have been examined.

The concept of oral communication in political sloganeering involves the leader (the performer) and audience (the followers). Each political slogan exhibits a leader - to - followers relationship. The performer begins the slogan and the audience follows the leader in response. In their slogans values, ideas and images of their political movements are shared by the group.



The audience and the performer complement each other in the performance.

Drama, humour, rhythm, repetition etc, are characteristics that are fundamental to the sloganeering process.

In the study of political sloganeering as a mode of communication in the ANC/SACP oral performance, the "voice" was found to be the most powerful instrument. Through the medium of voice messages chanted in political slogans are understood by the group of people involved in the performance and the ideas are spread among the members of its group.

Thus political sloganeering is essentially a process of uttering sounds and words. The use of voice, "sound" the "live word" which are elements of oral tradition, has become increasingly evident in recent times in ANC and SACP rallies, funerals, mass meetings, etc. The spoken word is powerful, as illustrated by the continuation and increasing prominence of live oral performance.

Speeches and prayers of various people during the funeral of Chris Hani were spoken words powerfully voiced. Sound is a basic human instrument and the deepest feeling are voiced with spoken words or sounds. That is the task of political sloganeering which belongs to the ancient heritage and is still a powerful force presently.

This study illustrates the following:

- Each performer of a political slogan, though having his own phrases patterns and methods of communication, relies heavily on the mainstream of the tradition.
- a political phrase is deeply rooted in history but is modified in accordance with the temporal circumstances of its reception.
- the expression of political slogans depends on a system of standard phrases and verbal formulas that are so elaborate, and at the same time so strictly functional that they must be the product of a tradition developed by oral performers over several generations,
- slogans generally provided each generation with a direct bridge into its historical part.
- the concept of voice in sloganeering is fundamental to life. It is a natural process - Walter Ong (1982 : 73) states :

**The centring action of sound (the field of sound is not spread out before me but is all around me) affects man's sense of the cosmos.**

- political sloganeering is essentially about power.

In conclusion, I would like to say that my brief foray into this extensive field has tellingly brought home to me the opportunities that await the interested researcher. It is doubtless a field that demands further investigation, and it is my humble wish that my study paves the way for further serious scholarly enquiry into a much neglected area of the discipline.

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